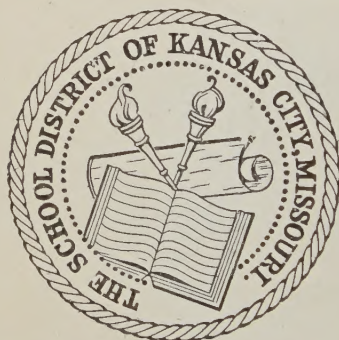


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PRINCETON REVIEW

FOR THE YEAR

1850.

VOL. XXII.

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THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1850.

No. I.

ART. I.—*The relations of Religion to what are called Diseases of the Mind.*

Our attention has been particularly directed to this subject by an elaborate and somewhat ingenious article in a foreign periodical of great respectability.* In a cursory examination of the article upon its first appearance we were disposed to question some of its positions, but, in hope that it would be better and more quickly done elsewhere, the purpose was dismissed, and casually revived by a reference to some of the cases which it records in support or illustration of the author's views. A more particular examination reveals to us a vein of error running through the body of the argument, and tinging all the doctrines and inferences which it sets forth.

No one can contemplate the present provision for the comfort and cure of the insane without gratitude to God, nor without admiration of the philanthropy and science which have together

* Winslow's Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology. April, 1848. London.

achieved such amazing results. It seems but yesterday, when to lose one's reason, was to lose all claim to sympathy or even pity from nearest and dearest friends. The sufferer was regarded and treated as a fiend. The first decided symptom of insanity was the signal for loading him with chains and fetters, and for building a pen, or digging a cave, for the hopeless exile's abode. The stoutest heart melts at the scenes of refined cruelty which an investigation of prisons, poor-houses and private families has brought to view, even within fifteen or twenty years; and to those who have been familiar with such exhibitions, a modern insane hospital, like that at West Philadelphia, Trenton, Hartford, Worcester, or Zanesville, must seem to be among the richest of heaven's blessings to a suffering world.

The patient observer of the phenomena of insanity, for a series of years, and in multiplied varieties of subjects and circumstances, a close investigation of the causes, proximate and remote, from whence it is supposed to have proceeded, and the results of the several modes of physical and moral treatment, constitute the elements of a distinct science; but it is important that the principles which are adopted as its basis shall be well considered. To subserve this purpose we venture a few remarks upon the relations of religion to what are called "diseases of the mind."

The article to which we just now referred bears the popular title of "*Religious Insanity.*" This phrase, of itself, conveys a false notion, though it is very naturally adopted from the title of the work reviewed.* We hope it will be dropped from the tables of supposed causes of insanity in our public documents.

The reviewer sets out in his examinations of Dr. Ideler's book with the singular assumption, that "the object and aim of revealed religion is to modify the earthly and false principles which natural religion includes and promulgates; and the whole of what is termed religious education ought to be conducted," he says, "with the view of bending the deductions of the untutored mind to the truths of revelation, and by a diligent circulation of sound doctrines, eradicate the false." The passage is almost obscure enough to pass for a scintillation of

* "*Religious Insanity, illustrated by histories of cases; a contribution to the history of the religious errors of the age. By Dr. K. W. Ideler, Professor of Medicine and Chemical Psychiatry at the University of Berlin,*" &c.

transcendentalism. So far as we can comprehend it, we think it places natural and revealed religion in an attitude towards each other which their relation by no means warrants.

If we understand "the object and aim of revealed religion," it is to make known to men the true character of God—the infinity and harmony of his moral attributes—the holiness and spirituality of his law, and the condition and prospects of the human family as transgressors of it—the interposition of Christ as an atoning sacrifice—the offer of a gratuitous and perfect salvation to all who believe in him—the nature, evidences and fruits of this faith—and the covenant of eternal love which Jehovah makes with those who truly embrace it. It certainly cannot be regarded as in any sense a modifying system. It is rather revolutionizing. It introduces man into a new existence, with new relations, duties, &c. The offer of an executive pardon to a convict in his cell could scarcely be called a modification of his imprisonment, or of his sentence, or of the law by order of which he suffers. The return of the prodigal to his father's house could hardly be called a modification of his exile.

The "object and aim of revealed religion" is represented by its author to be no less than a complete and radical change of human hearts. When it is communicated to man in his natural state, and with all the helps to a knowledge of God which natural religion can supply, its appropriate effect is so completely transforming as to be but feebly illustrated by the restoration of sight to one born blind, or the return of the dead to life. Instead of modifying the earthly and false principles which natural religion includes and promulgates, it utterly repudiates and unequivocally condemns them. The knowledge of God which has been derived from nature only has always and every where degenerated into sottish idolatry. When the better portion of natural religionists have known something of the Supreme power, from the plain tokens of it which are stamped on every production of his omnipotent hand, they have not glorified him as God, nor has it been heard or known that any such revelation of his existence or attributes, as natural religion includes or promulgates has ever led a guilty man to abhor himself and repent in dust and ashes, or even to inquire what he should do to be saved. Is it not a shame to represent a poor, meager, unhelpful thing like this, as the basis or substratum

on which the faith and hope of Christianity must rest; or as that which revealed religion merely *modifies*? Or to represent religious education as a nursery man who finds all his grounds filled with desirable fruit trees, requiring only to be bent this way and that to secure their maturity and fruitfulness, instead of a field overrun with thorns and briars of rank growth—nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned, and which can be reclaimed only by instant and diligent toil and the peculiar and sovereign interposition of omnipotence.

This false position in which the reviewer places revealed religion naturally betrays him into false views of its offices. He takes the history of an ungodly world resisting the influences of Christianity, for the history of Christianity itself, striving to reconcile the world to God; and this, of course, leads him in the sequel of his article, to mistake the confusion and derangement which some minds suffer, when they contemplate the pure doctrines of religion through an obscure and distorting medium of its own, for the influence of the doctrines themselves. "If we were to look only on the dark side of the picture which the history of *Christianity* presents," he says, "we might be easily tempted to pronounce *it* a curse rather than a blessing, and despair of human happiness." But he totally misconceives the object of vision. It is not the history of JOHN HOWARD that presents a revolting exhibition of crime and squalid misery. That is all bright and glowing with warm sympathies and earnest philanthropy. It is the loathsome abodes of degradation and suffering into which he groped his way, and the wretched convicts, whom he describes as dragging out a burdensome existence within those dark and dripping walls, from which we shrink with such instinctive horror.

"The object and aim of revealed religion" is to present to the mind objects of contemplation appropriate to its highest capacities and widest desires; and to excite in the spiritual nature of man hopes and aspirations of what it is always and everywhere ignorant and incapable, without such a divine revelation. But he is naturally opposed to the contemplation of such objects. He has "a carnal mind which is enmity against God." So corrupted and perverted is his nature, and so evil are his deeds, that he loves darkness rather than light, and prefers the bondage of Satan to the liberty of a child of God! When as a

self-convicted traitor he is summoned to return to his allegiance, upon the promise of a pardon, purchased at an infinite price, and to submit thereafter to a wise and holy government—he derides and contemns the summons and persists in his rebellion. It is indeed an unnatural and offensive exhibition of guilt and madness; but it is his own memoir, and not the history of the Sovereign nor of his government, that is rendered infamous by it.

“Fanaticism, folly, knavery, insanity are traceable in the professors of every form of religious belief—very traceable in the false creeds, but too lamentably manifest in the true. The history of the church of Christ—the great teacher and promulgator of his doctrines, and the means by which many successive generations of mankind have been taught religious truths, displays an immeasurable delineation of the most dangerous errors as the necessary results of a degenerate piety and an ignorant devotion. Mad bigotry and fanaticism may be seen hand-in-hand, and darkening the fair doctrines and morals of Christian truth. The most frightfully destructive wars, the inconceivable cruelties, caused and practised by inexorable power, the deepest sagacity and the maddest insanity, have been the means used on too many occasions to root out heresy, to promulgate dogmas, or to defend a degenerate and an erroneous faith.”

This picture is dismal enough, one would think. But our reviewer is not unnaturally betrayed into another error more plausible and therefore more dangerous. He evidently regards the heretic as a religious madman, to be cured, like other madmen, by a purgative. “To the psychologist,” he says, “*this dismal view of our holy religion* (mark the expression) becomes the more dismal when he finds in scrutinizing the details of history, that often the heretic was only a religious madman, and that purgation by hellebore would have been the remedy for his heterodoxy rather than purification by fire. Knowing the all-engrossing nature of religion, and the intensity of the emotions and feelings that it excites, he is prepared, *a priori*, to expect every form of insane aberration from religious truth, and every form of mysticism and fanaticism. How often religious excitement is mere animal excitement! How often religious insanity is excited by religion, and how often by functional or structural diseases of the cerebrum, are important questions to

solve, inasmuch as the solution involves not only the discrimination of what is religious truth, but also the determination of the ætiology and treatment of insanity in matters of religious belief and conduct."

We readily admit the absurdity and sin of attempting to "remedy heterodoxy" by fire, and we do not doubt that the vagaries of many religious errorists have originated in some disorder of the physical system, which medical skill might have controlled. But the heresies which have been so general as to excite persecution by fire or so disastrous in their nature and results as to impart to the history of our holy religion a "more dismal" complexion than all the wars and cruelties which bigotry and fanaticism have engendered, must be something more than, here and there, a case.

And yet how can we conceive of a whole community, embracing all ages, associations, habits, and temperaments, to be seized at the same time with the same form of heresy, so as to constitute a general and simultaneous paroxysm of religious insanity! If, for example, the denial of the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ must be regarded as a heresy, we can scarcely suppose our author to mean that it could be cured by a "dose of hellebore." The great apostle to the Gentiles was not a "religious madman," when he sought authority from the high priest and set out upon his bloody mission to seize, bind, and persecute to death any disciples of the Lord whom he could ferret out at Damascus. The wonderful scene which occurred upon the journey was not fitted to restore a maniac to reason, though it was marvellously efficacious in transforming a blasphemer into a believer, and a persecutor into an apostle. The madness was in his heart: the disease was in his moral nature and not in the structure or functions of the cerebrum. He was filled with enmity to the humbling doctrines of the cross. A learned Pharisee and a disciple of the great Gamaliel could not endure the thought of submitting like a little child to the teachings of a crucified Nazarene. To accept salvation as a free gift of grace, through faith in the merits of another, was perfectly intolerable to his proud heart. He voluntarily yielded himself to the dominion of malignant passions and waged a war of extermination against the new religion, and against all who were otherwise minded than himself towards its claims. It is

substantially so with every errorist, and every persecutor. They refuse to come to Christ that they may have life. They have not his spirit; and their heresy, whatever form it may assume, is the issue of a corrupt heart, not the vagary of weak or deranged brain.

It is not "the engrossing nature of religion nor the intensity of the emotions and feelings which it excites, that shall prepare the psychologist to expect, *a priori*, every form of insane aberration from religious truth and every form of mysticism and fanaticism." The assumed cause is neither adequate nor appropriate to the product of such a result—at least not with so much uniformity as to warrant an *a priori* expectation of its occurrence. The true cause is the introduction of a pure principle into a corrupt nature. It is the conflict of light with darkness. It is the struggle of the strong man armed, and in his palace, with the stronger than he who comes to dispossess him. It is the war which the law in the members carries on with the law of the mind.

If the religion of the gospel did indeed absorb the whole man, and bring all "his intensest emotions and feelings" into captivity to Christ, peace would flow in upon the soul like a river, and all its purposes and desires would be and remain in perfect accordance with the divine will. In a word, such an one would be a *truly rational man*. But through some *pre-existing* moral defect or derangement in himself, religion has but an imperfect dominion over him, and hence the "insane aberrations from religious truth—the heresies and the persecutions and the endless forms of mysticism and fanaticism."

Passing over the many instances of such erratic and fanatical extravagances which history records, and to some of which the review before us alludes, we will glance at two recent and notable ones occurring among ourselves, that we may the better judge whether religion makes men insane, or whether it merely fails in many cases to bring them to their right mind. It may be said that they continue insane in spite of all that religion can do for them.

A clergyman, in infirm health, sought to amuse his listless hours by framing a puerile romance after the manner of eastern fabulists, with names, dates and localities, bearing no relation to sober history. These writings in some way, without the author's privity, came into the hands of strangers. In 1826, one

Joseph Smith professed to have found, in the town of Palmyra, N. Y., some brass plates enclosed in a box, such as is used for packing window glass. Of these plates he pretended to be the interpreter. With a stone in his hat, and his hat over his eyes, he dictated, while a man named Harris, wrote. Harris departed before the interpretation was ended, in consequence of some dispute, and one Cowdrey took his place and completed the Book of Mormon. Smith then avowed himself a prophet, and the founder of a new dispensation, and gathered many disciples, who accompanied him to the state of Missouri, where they established a city and built a temple.

The contents of the Book of Mormon were neither more nor less than the self-same tales of romance which the invalid clergyman amused himself with writing. A large number of persons, however, embraced the delusion; many abandoned a profitable business, some sacrificed large property, and not a few were ruined in soul, body and estate, by putting their trust in this bare-faced imposture.

It is perfectly obvious, we think, that a mind well informed and established in the received doctrines of the Christian faith, and endued with an usual degree of discernment, would be proof against so bold an imposture. If any intelligent and respectable persons joined the Mormon ranks, that, of itself, shows either a predisposition to insanity which this fanciful revelation was fitted to develope, but with which religion has no connexion whatever, or that there is a deficiency of discernment, or a neglect or abuse of the reasoning powers, or a morbid love of distinction and notoriety, to gratify which they are willing to sacrifice all other interests. If a judicious faithful parent or Sunday school teacher had given direction to their inquiries and furnished their minds with just and systematic, though exceedingly simple, views of the doctrines of revelation, they would have had balances wherewith to weigh the pretensions of the new prophet, and by means of these their variety and falsehood would have been made manifest.

At a somewhat later period a man named Miller, a Baptist minister, as it is said, professed to have had a revelation of the precise day on which the second advent of Christ would occur, and his people would be called to rise and meet him in the air! He and his deluded apostles or agents went from

town to town, and from house to house, leading captive silly women, and imposing upon the credulity of the ignorant. So settled was the conviction of many minds of the truth of his predictions, that they arranged their worldly affairs in reference to it, as an ascertained event; made no contracts extending beyond the designated day; prosperous citizens sold their estates, declined the ordinary avocations of life, that they might give themselves wholly to the business of preparation; and as the eventful period drew nigh, they evinced the sincerity of their convictions, by providing what they regarded as suitable apparel, for an aerial flight, and many actually assembled in groups upon summits which might be supposed most favourable to an early and easy ascension! The dupes of the false prophet were counted by thousands. Some were crazed with excitement, and others with disappointment, and many within and without the charmed circle were doubtless left to believe that all revelations are as idle and delusive as Millerism.

We need not say how the plainest scriptures must have been wrested from their true intent and meaning, nor how deaf an ear must have been turned to the voice of reason and common sense, before the mind could have surrendered itself to such a fancy. There is not a trace of insanity however, in any stage of the process. It is a simple voluntary subjection of reason to the influence of imagination or superstition, instead of a child-like submission of all the powers and faculties of body and mind to the revealed will of God. And although we may admit that such delusions have, in many instances, been the ostensible cause of insanity, as our hospital returns allege, "revealed religion" is no more responsible for it than for the paroxysms of *mania-a-potu*. It is because the plain truths of revealed religion were misapprehended or perverted, that the imposture succeeded, and the mind was led captive by Satan at his will. It is not strange that a vessel left to itself, on a stormy sea, should sooner or later go to the bottom, or fall into the hands of wreckers.

Dr. Ideler's book, as we learn from the review, consists of twenty-six pages of introduction, followed by a history of nineteen cases of what he calls *religious insanity*. His theory is represented by the reviewer as "too transcendental and impractical to suit the English mind, but in connexion with this theory."

He says, "and indeed as a principal object, he develops his ideas as to the nature of these observations of the human mind, *in matters of religion*, which becoming manifest from time to time, in great numbers of people give them the characteristics of an epidemical disease, closely analogous to insanity, if not identical with it."

We confess our inability to understand the meaning of this passage if the printer has been true to copy. What are the "observations of the human mind," and how are they manifested in large numbers at a time? We can solve the difficulty only by supposing that "observations" is a misprint for "aberrations;" and then the theory is that these aberrations on the subject of religion at times, became manifest in large numbers of people simultaneously, the characteristics of an epidemic closely resembling insanity, if not insanity itself.

As a matter of theory, we can conceive of scarcely any thing more fanciful. It involves the idea that these aberrations spring from a common cause operating at or near the same time, with substantially the same effect, upon various minds. That this idea was present to the Doctor's mind is manifest from the cases he cites in illustration. He seems to overlook the fact that no two cases of insanity ever occur resembling each other, as any thousand cases of cholera, or small-pox, or yellow fever, or other epidemic resemble any other thousand. If we take the Shakers or Jumpers for an example (being one of Dr. Ideler's cases,) we find at first, one person holding some radical doctrines which distinguishes their community. He is peradventure a blasphemer or an infidel, but having observation or shrewdness enough to select a form of imposture which fits the times or the class on which he proposes to operate, he presents himself as a prophet or a revealer of visions. He pretends to have had communion with the invisible world, or to have been commissioned in some supernatural way to proclaim a new system of faith. He is not an insane man in any sense, except that in which all wicked men are insane. He has formed a deliberate purpose of imposing upon the weak and ignorant to whom he may have access, and though oftentimes this devilish intent is never fully disclosed, it not unfrequently shows itself sooner or later in the most revolting forms of brutal licentiousness. The impostor enters upon his baleful mission, taking, if he sees fit,

seven other spirits more wicked than himself for his accomplices, or relying on his first converts for such services. At all events, he must make his separate and distinct approach to each human mind that he deludes, and that mind must be so unprepared through ignorance or perverseness to judge between truth and error as to embrace the delusion, not from any such necessity as that which subjects the body to the prevailing fever or influenza, but from a necessity of which they are themselves the authors and disposers. One after another falls into the snare. The delusion is self-propagating, and in a few months the arch-deceiver is able to count his ministers by scores and his disciples by thousands. And is not this one of the cases where great numbers of people manifest aberrations of mind to which Dr. Ideler attributes the characteristics of an epidemic disease, closely analogous to insanity, if not identical with it?

A tailor of Leyden went to live at Munster, and privately taught what was called "the doctrine of rebaptization," and won many converts among the lower orders. When an attempt was made to confute him and his co-religionists, several went running about the streets crying, "Repent and be rebaptized every one of you, lest the wrath of God overwhelm you." After a while they got worse in their insanity (?) and began to teach practices and doctrines very like those of the Mormonites of the present day. Prophets and prophetesses began to arise, and supernatural revelations were plentiful. John of Leyden, the aforesaid tailor, betaking himself to sleep, continued in a dream for three days together. Being awakened "he speaks not a word, but calls for paper. In it he writes the names of twelve men who were to be chief officers over this new Israel, and to govern all things, for such," he said, "was the will of the heavenly Father, when he had thus prepared the way to his kingdom." He propounded as a revelation from heaven, that no man was bound to one wife only, but that every man might have as many as he pleased. John himself took three; and those were considered to be the most pious and praiseworthy who had the greatest number. One of John's queens (for he was very naturally made king) thinking that it was not pleasing to God that men should die of famine, as they did during the siege of Munster,* ventured to express her opin-

* On the lofty steeple of the church of St. Lambert, in Munster, are still sus-

ion, for which John led her into the market place, and commanding her to kneel down, struck off her head!

This case is cited by Dr. Ideler as an instance of *religious insanity*. If it is fairly made out then what all men would regard as duplicity, fraud, falsehood, licentiousness, and murder, under ordinary circumstances, is changed into various developments of disease, for which the sufferers or actors are no more responsible than they would be for an ulcer. John of Leyden, for aught that appears, was a lazy, idle, worthless fellow. He may have left Leyden and come to Munster for the very purpose of finding an order of persons low enough to be duped by his shallow arts. He draws around him a few kindred spirits whom he persuades to abandon their lawful calling to become brawling propagators of his folly. Emboldened by a rapid increase of adherents, the fanatics, (if we may not better say, fiends,) proceed from one degree and phase of iniquity to another. The judgment of God upon their daring impiety does not linger. They are soon given up to a strong delusion that they should believe a lie, till at last pretended revelations are announced giving license to brutal lust, and ending in deeds of blood. How can we persuade ourselves, that the authors, abettors and partakers of such a delusion are not to be regarded as voluntary transgressors of the laws of God and man, and responsible for all the consequences. Why should the attempt be made to cloak the iniquity by a suggestion of "epidemic insanity?" The drunken trance, with all its circumstances, was a clumsy and impious imitation of the birth of John the Baptist, and the number selected as his chief coadjutors, was doubtless intended to suggest some resemblance between his spurious office and mission and those of the divine author of our faith. There is too much method in such madness to justify us in holding the subject of it guiltless, and we earnestly deprecate any attempt to confound so clear a case of imposture with involuntary "aberrations of mind."

The first which the reviewer selects from Dr. Ideler's nineteen cases of religious insanity, is substantially as follows. The patient was the son of a carpenter and was born in 1813. He

pendent three iron baskets or cages which contained the remains of John and his two chief accomplices, who, after obstinately defending the city against the bishop, were made prisoners and tortured to death with red hot pincers.

was affected with scrofula from his infancy, and up to the age of sixteen had chronic ophthalmia. His father was a drunkard, had frequent fights with his wife and abused his children. It was a quarrelsome family. The paroxysms of anger in the mother brought on epilepsy, which first deprived her of reason, and, after sixteen years, of life. One would think that an infancy and childhood passed amid such scenes as these, would account for almost any eccentricity and perverseness in after life. But the reviewer in enumerating what he regards as predisposing causes of insanity, in the case, mentions "an hereditary tendency derived from both parents. The long-continued series of epileptic attacks to which the mother was subject previously to her death, and which in effect proved ultimately fatal, on the one side, and the habitual desire for alcoholic stimulants, show on the other, this predisposition sufficiently, for all experienced persons know that habitual intoxication is in many cases only another form of insanity." We presume there may be authority for regarding such a disease of the mother, though developed at an advanced period of life, and attributable to a known and specific cause, as predisposing to insanity in her offspring, and through inordinate alcoholic stimulation, may in rare instances be the effect as well as the cause of cerebral disease affecting the mind. We question the author's doctrine that habitual intoxication is in any case to be regarded as "a form of insanity" in the popular use of the term. It is not yet regarded as a valid defence to a criminal charge that the accused was "habitually intoxicated," though it may be that we are making rapid progress towards such a point. But to return to the patient. The disease of his eyes prevented him from attending school, so that he scarcely acquired the rudiments of secular knowledge; and hence he had not "that training of the mental faculties and that development of the intellectual powers which would have modified if not over-ruled the predominant instincts." Is this a professional phrase? "The predominant instincts" of a human being! What are they beyond those of his animal nature? For want of such training and development, says the reviewer, "the religious element of the man's character took the lowest form of religious manifestation, and the Deity was regarded as an avenging being, to be propitiated by prayers and intercessions and a scru-

pulous attention to ceremonials. It was a modification of demon-worship." Surely this is a new doctrine—that a training in secular knowledge would have prevented the patient from regarding the Deity in such a light. Have not some of the most learned of Pagan philosophers adopted such a view of his character, and among the learned and intelligent of Christian communities, do we never find those who seek to propitiate the divine favour by prayers, and intercessions, and a scrupulous attention to ceremonials? They would feel themselves sorely aggrieved if such an inference should be drawn with respect to them, or if they were regarded as using a "modified form of demon-worship."

But besides the disease of his eyes the patient had frequent times of weakness and giddiness, and, from the age of sixteen to twenty-five, a daily hemorrhage from the nose. At twenty-two he suffered from a determination of blood to the head and chest, violent palpitations, intense head-aches and flashings before the eyes. From seven years of age, through life, he had spectral illusions, changing their character as he advanced in years. "He considered them as but phantoms of the imagination, and it was only with increasing *religious* terrors that he began to think them visions of the devil."

Among other eccentricities of conduct it is mentioned that "having persuaded his brother to receive the sacrament, he insisted upon washing his feet in imitation of Christ who washed the feet of his disciples." On another occasion his sister presented him with a small sum of money for some purpose, and accompanied it, as he conceived, "with a peculiar grimace; at the same moment he observed an old broom placed against the wall which if met in the morning, according to an old superstition, indicates bad luck, and might even call up the devil himself. The thought came like a flash of lightning, that his sister was the devil, and that he had taken her form to give him the money and thereby bind him to his service. Just at this time a piece of glass wounded his foot through his boot, and this he considered to have happened through the agency of the devil, who was continually meeting him. He now took to continued prayer or perusal of the Bible for assistance and consolation. A passage in the tenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles in which Peter addressed Cornelius to the effect that his prayer

was heard, suddenly excited the idea that God might be induced to hear his supplications if he should fast as this century did, and he fasted from Sunday till the Monday-week following! During this time he felt no hunger. He occupied his time with a continual perusal of the Bible and was constantly haunted with spectres having almost exclusive reference to the devil. After reading Christ's announcement (prediction) of the destruction of Jerusalem, he was convinced that the world was coming to an end, and that Berlin would be destroyed by fire. Under this impression he set forth with a piece of wood as an amulet, to bless the houses of his friends and thereby preserve them from the impending destruction. He walked before the house fixed upon for this purpose murmuring—In the house of God the Father, &c. He went about blessing public buildings and institutions as well as private houses. The day after this he was admitted to the hospital, fed with a tube, &c. He remained but a short time, though he was soon after re-committed, and was under treatment eight months, when he was restored to his friends in tolerable health of body and mind."

These are the predominant features of the case, and what there is in them to give it the character of "religious insanity," the reader will judge. We cannot divine.

We are informed in the course of the narration that "the religious teaching made a deep impression on his mind; so that he viewed the mimicry and mockery of the minister by other boys with lively displeasure; and often prayed earnestly to God to deliver his mother from her afflicting malady." What this "religious teaching" was, or from whom, or at what period of life received, we are not informed. Both the health of the mother and the habits of the father would seem to forbid, even the usual parental care, and there is an intimation in the narrative that after the mother's death there was a lamentable alienation among the members of the father's household. Certainly such a house is far enough from being propitious to a healthful, religious inculcation or development. We should not be surprised to know that some superstitious shrivelled, petulant, old school-dame had filled his excitable brain with stories of fairies and hobgoblins before he was out of petticoats. For though he seems to have gathered some fragments of scripture history—such as a child's memory easily retains—the statement does not furnish

ground to believe that he ever had a single just or abiding impression of any religious doctrine or precept whatever, during his whole life. On the contrary, it furnishes the clearest evidence that those delusions which are used to connect the case with religious subjects are really the result of constitutional disease of the brain, and though taking their hue from the superstitious notions which he had conceived or imbibed, had really no more connexion with "revealed religion," than his belief that Berlin would be destroyed by fire had with the true theory of combustion.

In this discussion we assume that Dr. Ideler and his reviewer mean by the term "religious insanity," that form of mental alienation which manifests itself upon religious subjects—as when one conceives himself to be God or the Saviour, or takes a false or defective view of his personal relations to God and his revealed laws, as by conceiving himself to have committed "the unpardonable sin," or to be a hopelessly doomed subject of divine wrath. A gloomy or melancholic temperament, especially under the influence of false or partial teaching, may have induced this conviction. But whatever the cause, when the delusion once takes possession of the mind, it deranges its powers and spreads its pall over almost every object of its contemplation. And who ever heard that such an unhappy sufferer sought relief from his "mental troubles" in the intoxicating cup or in the haunts of courtezans? "His mental troubles were still further increased by an indulgence in illicit pleasure—this was followed by bitter remorse, and in consequence he was induced often to receive the sacrament!" On the contrary who does not know that the religiously insane, as they are called, brood with a ceaseless grief over what they suppose to be an inevitable doom, and are sometimes with difficulty restrained from rushing upon it rather than endure the anticipation of it. In the case Dr. Ideler presents, and especially in the remarkable passage of the narrative just quoted, we have two aspects of character, either of which would account for his mental troubles without connecting them even nominally with religion, viz: *licentiousness and superstition.*

The reviewer remarks that "it is very usual to attribute 'religious insanity' to religion itself." In the case which has been stated, however, he thinks no such imputation can be made."

"Nay, it seems rather probable," he says, "that the strong religious sentiment of the man guided him aright, when he would otherwise have failed, and it was rather the cerebral disease that aggravated this, than this that induced the cerebral disease and its manifestation in religious insanity." We do not know what the original narrative may have shown, but so far as the statement in the review is concerned, there is not a tittle of evidence that the man had any religious sentiment so strong as the libidinous and superstitious sentiment; nor are we informed to what it guided him. If instead of attempting to convert his brother and sister, this poor carpenter's son had gone to a ship-builder and contracted for a ship, and then for a cargo, should we call it *commercial* insanity? Or if he had purchased a large farm and ordered ploughs, and oxen, and horses, and labourers, to improve it, would it be spoken of as *agricultural* insanity? And yet these terms would be equally appropriate, and their aid is as much needed to distinguish peculiar manifestations of derangement like these, as the term "religious insanity" is to denote the character of such a case as has been described. The most that can be said to connect it with religion is that upon that as upon all other subjects he manifested a disordered mind.

But another case is given, in which a sort of religious excitement is charged with having occasioned insanity. The man was a shoe-maker, forty-five years old, and happy and contented in his business. He was "so little given to religious duties, however, that he rarely went to church." If a man capable of religious thoughtfulness, lives forty-five years in this state of probation, without sufficient concern for his soul's well-being to evidence the most ordinary religious habits, we must not be surprised by extraordinary phenomena, if at any time strong emotions on that subject should be suddenly excited, especially if it should take the form of some unscriptural dogma. The shoemaker was converted, not to the faith of Christ, but to the doctrine of the Anabaptists, who persuaded him to submit to baptism as the only way of escaping damnation. An account is given of the ceremony of baptism, but nothing appears to distinguish it from other administrations of that ordinance. He was afterwards involved in a sharp controversy with his co-religionists, and the excitement which this occasioned termi-

nated in a paroxysm of insanity. Now that an utterly irreligious man, whose mind was suddenly impressed, late in life, with a false view of Christian doctrine and duty, should embark in religious controversy, is of itself no slight indication of *previous* intellectual unsoundness, but that the adventure should result in the derangement of such a mind cannot surprise anybody. In the end he fell into a raving *mania* from which "he was happily recovered by tartar-emetic ointment applied to the shaved scalp."

In commenting on this case, the reviewer remarks that "it presents a series of phenomena in remarkable contrast with those of the preceding. The patient appears to have been a good husband and father, but without any religious predisposition or turn of mind. It is only when the stimulus is accidentally applied by the proselyting tracts of the Anabaptists that there is action excited. The enthusiastic character of the tracts would have an abiding influence on a mind untrained in religious discipline, and thus that morbid condition of the brain was excited which a less stimulating and a more judicious communication of religious knowledge would have led only to a religious life and conversation." The case, as stated, discloses nothing as to the nature of the tracts, whether they were tame or enthusiastic, nor does it show that an injudicious communication of religious knowledge had any more to do with the development of his insanity than the sedentary business he followed, or the temperature of the water into which he was plunged at baptism. For aught that appears, he may have been brought to the knowledge of what seven-eighths of the existing evangelical denominations regard as the cardinal doctrine of revealed religion that the grace of God and a new spiritual birth are necessary to put away sins. That this spiritual grace is signified or symbolised by the washing of water in baptism, is also an item of almost every Christian creed. Yet we should suppose from the manner of the narration that the belief of this doctrine was regarded as one of the phases of insanity! As to the state of stark madness into which the patient was afterwards thrown, there is nothing to indicate the presence of religious excitement even as a remote developing agent. Fourteen other persons were baptized at the same time with the poor shoemaker, converts to the same faith, and for aught that appears, brought to

submit themselves to the ordinance by a process quite as stimulating as that which was employed upon him, and one of the fourteen was his own daughter, fifteen years old! Were they all so well balanced or fortified as to resist or elude the influence that wrecked him? Or did they pass through the seas of religious excitement with substantially similar views and emotions up to the period when it was the shoemaker's misfortune to fall into a controversy, which had much the same effect upon him that a severe political campaign or a hotly contested lawsuit would have produced?

It is certainly a bold assumption that less enthusiastic tracts or a more discreet communication of religious knowledge would have led to a religious life and conversation. Perhaps a weaker *stimulus* would not have served to excite him at all, and a less vehement appeal than his brother sectarians made, or what our author calls a "more judicious communication of religious views," might have been entirely unneeded. At all events we cannot see from the statement made, that the "Anabaptistical enthusiasm" was the obvious exciting cause of the shoemaker's insanity. And then as to the series of phenomena in this case which stand, as our author conceives, in such remarkable contrast with those of the carpenter's son, we are at a loss to discover them unless they are seen in the physical constitution or condition, or in the fact that the mind of one is represented to have been early imbued with a deep religious sentiment and to have been denied the ordinary training process of education, while in the other there was no more advantage of intellectual cultivation, but the religious sentiment was entertained at an advanced period of life. The grand feature common to both is, that the doctrines and duties of religion were never rightly apprehended, and of course never exerted upon their hearts or habits the legitimate influence. It would be a shameful act of injustice to condemn a boat as a deodand, because the drowning man for whose rescue it was pushed out did not get fair hold of it and perished. And it is less ungracious to attribute to religion, or associate with it even by name, a calamity which it is its peculiar office, as we shall by and by show, to avert.

Passing specific cases in which religion is made responsible for such direful consequences, our author feels it incumbent upon him to notice the mental aberrations that have been ex-

cited by so called popular preachers, and takes occasion to "admonish clergymen, ministers, and priests, to study more diligently the history of religious insanity, so as to be enabled to distinguish accurately between the ravings of the insane or semi-insane and the operations of the Holy Spirit," and he proceeds to show very conclusively, that it is a most dangerous error to confound them. He thinks "men consider too seldom that as regards eternal life and a preparation for it, the access of incurable insanity is virtually death, and consequently that the wild preaching of the enthusiast have as deadly an influence on the victim's future state, as if by means of arsenic he had sent him to his account with all his imperfections on his head."

One would almost infer from such a solemn warning, that the wild preaching of the gospel is a chief agent in the production of insanity, and that it must require considerable study and no little skill so to distinguish the fruits of the ministry of the word, as not to mistake the fancies of a disordered brain for the sober convictions of truth and duty. So far from this we apprehend that the true work of the Spirit of God is indicated by tokens far more distinct and unequivocal than those by which the sanity of the men in general is determined. In other words, it is much more likely that a sane man will be found in a lunatic hospital, than that an insane man will be received with the company of believers in consequence of mistaking his morbid delusions for the fruits of the Spirit of God.

And even if it were not so, the appeal of the reviewer loses much of its pathos when it is considered that it would not aggravate the condition of an unconverted man to pass into the world of spirits in a state of insanity. So far as it abridges the term of human trial, or excludes the hope of pardon and salvation, it is a dreadful calamity to him to become insane. But if the probationary season is unimproved, and the offer of pardon rejected, and the soul finally lost, the period of his insanity and his infancy will be the only seasons of his life, the review of which will not sting him with remorse.

What our author intends by the wild preachings of the enthusiast, we have no means of determining. What we understand by the term is very rare in the United States, and we had supposed it to be still rarer in Europe. An enthusiast

preaching wildly would at once pass among us for an insane man, and his influence would extend but little if at all beyond those who are predisposed to the same class of mental aberrations or already under their power.

It is not impossible that the reviewer has in mind the same sort of preaching which drew upon the great apostle of the Gentiles the imputation of religious insanity from the lips of the Governor of Judea: "Paul thou art beside thyself, much learning doth make thee mad." Mistakes of this kind are not unfrequent in lunatic hospitals. A patient imagining herself to be a queen is surprised at the impudence of those who approach her without tokens of profound respect, and who will undertake to persuade her that the false conception is in herself. So it may be that the reviewer has false conceptions of the condition and prospects of men without hope and without God in the world; false conceptions of the gospel itself; false conceptions of the natural legitimate effect upon the character and conduct of one who receives it in faith; false conceptions of the mode of presenting it and the divine agency which imparts to it a saving power.

We have known clergymen, to whom the inquiry "What shall I do to be saved?" has been addressed with an earnestness betokening a sense of guilt and an apprehension of a judgment to come, who have directed the inquirer to try riding on horseback or a free indulgence in worldly amusements. No thoughtful mind can be at a loss to determine which is the insane party in such a dialogue, and yet we are quite in doubt how the reviewer would decide the point.

The third case which the reviewer cites from Dr. Ideler's list is that of a female in humble life who was grossly ill-treated by her step-mother; suffered divers and severe bodily diseases; was a servant at an ale-house, and then a dress-maker and was at last supplied with the same sort of mystical and fanatical tracts which worked so much mischief for the poor shoemaker. Her history was so remarkably analogous to his that we forbear farther detail. Suffice it to say that when she was received into the lunatic hospital she was registered as the victim of religious melancholy, but after less than a year's treatment she wrote an autobiography and was discharged cured. That she was derauged there can be no doubt, nor that her

derangement was exhibited in her religious habits, but there is not a particle of evidence that attention to religion or her views of its doctrines or duties had the remotest agency in producing it.

The reviewer evidently anticipates the construction which would be put upon his reasoning by those who regard revealed religion as the soother of all human woes and the antidote to all human ills; and he would fain avert it by drawing a "distinction between those deranged affections of the mind which result from the influences of false religion upon the understanding, and the healthy effect of legitimate Christianity upon the feelings and actions of men. During the course of our experience," he says, "we have never seen a case of insanity which could be clearly traced to true religion. We mean religion as inculcated by the great author of Christianity—the religion that teaches peace and good will towards men—that advocates the noble sentiments of love and charity—which inculcates the feeling of preferring others to ourselves—the religion which represents LOVE, MERCY, and FORGIVENESS as the pre-eminent attributes of the Godhead—the religion whose tendency is to make us take lowly views of ourselves, to humble human pride, to produce a cheerful, serene and happy state of mind—the religion that enables us to bear with fortitude 'the whips and scorns of time, the oppressor's wrong, and the proud man's contumely.'"

This eulogy of the Christian religion and its effects is certainly well deserved, but it has two faults. The Christian religion does something for which the eulogist does not give it credit, and he ascribes to it an important feature which it does not possess. To deny one's self, take up the cross daily and follow Christ, to forsake father and mother, brother and sister, house and lands, home and country, yea, one's own life also, for Christ's sake and the gospel's, is a far higher attainment of religious faith, than to bear with fortitude "the whips and scorns of time," &c. The former includes the latter and vastly more. And for the second error, we can say, without verbal captiousness, that we know of no *true* religion that represents love, mercy, and forgiveness as any more pre-eminent attribute of the Godhead, than justice, holiness, and truth. "Legitimate Christianity" is at best a very suspicious phraseology.

The system of doctrines and duties taught by Christ to his

followers, as contained in the New Testament, is Christianity. There is no other Christianity, legitimate or illegitimate, and this reveals God in ALL his attributes, in his truth as well as in his love, in his holiness as well as in his mercy, in his righteousness as well as in his forgiveness. He who separates these attributes, and presents to us a combination which he thinks safer or more winning, incurs a responsibility which we should be very slow to assume for any end.

That our author's views may be more clearly understood, we cite another passage: "False, fanatic, and mistaken views of our duty to God and man, of our relationship to the divine and benevolent governor of the universe have decidedly a most pernicious effect upon the feelings and intellect, and often produce unequivocal insanity. How many, with we believe the purest intentions and from the best motives, represent God, whose great and noblest attribute is love, as a God of vengeance and terror, and who have no conception of the Deity except as one riding upon the whirlwind and the storm, hurling his thunderbolts among those transgressing his laws;" &c. We are all prepared to hear that false and fanatical views of religion have an unhappy effect upon the human mind. It could not be otherwise. But what the reviewer would call false and fanatical views, might seem to others just, rational and scriptural, and such as a teacher in religion would be inexcusably blameworthy for withholding. We more than suspect that his system, if fairly drawn out, would lack some of the essential features of legitimate Christianity, and though it might not craze people, it would certainly fail to convert and save them. We know of no revelation of the Almighty which authorizes us to represent love as a nobler attribute of his character than holiness, and it is surely a false, fanatic and mistaken view of his revealed nature which excludes such representations as the following, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord. Rom. xii. 19. With God is terrible majesty. Job xxxvii. 22. While I suffer thy terrors I am distracted. Ps. lxxxviii. 15. The day of vengeance is in my heart. Isa. lxxxiii. 4. Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance? Rom. iii. 5. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men. 2 Cor. v. 11. The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not

God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. 2
Thess. i. 7, 8.

That there may be, and often are, distorted views of the divine character given and taken, we do not deny; but we are not prepared to admit that persons of weak minds or extreme nervous susceptibilities are particularly exposed to be affected by such errors. On the contrary we have known a far greater number of instances in which persons of strong mind and well-braced nerves have suffered from the misapprehension of truth in this form. It has been their mistake to indulge in long-continued and intense meditation upon some single item of our faith, as for example, *the guilt of sin*, until the mind is incapable of any other or happier exercise. It has lost the power to turn towards the cross of Christ and the infinite sacrifice for sin which is there disclosed, and the ordinary communications of grace are not sufficient to overcome this cultivated tendency towards gloom and despair. But a weak mind is incapable of so steady and protracted a survey of the breadth and spirituality of God's law and its unyielding sanctions, and a nervous temperament would shrink from so continuous a task as the case supposes. Such a distorted view of the Christian system has not unfrequently resulted in the dethronement of reason; but religion and its ministers are no more responsible for it, than science is for the derangement of one who loses his wits in seeking out a new invention, or than the law is for one who goes mad because he loses an important case.

In the course of the discussion, the reviewer suggests a hypothesis which seems to us void of authority if not of plausibility. "On a careful perusal of those histories which modern literature affords of the great periods of religious excitement and enthusiasm and of those minor fermentations which have led to the establishment of new sects or have excited local manifestations of religious aberration, (we are not responsible for obscurities of style) we find this general principle manifested in all, viz: that the minds of men have been directed to one dogma or principle or point of discipline, in especial, either to the total eclipse of other doctrines or to their partial obscuration and neglect; and for the most part it may farther be stated, as an important fact, that the dogma, or principle, or point of discipline to which

this prominence is assigned is generally of secondary importance in the general estimate of Christendom."

It would add much to the point and intelligibleness of this passage if the author had specified some of the great periods of religious excitement and enthusiasm which he had in view. Whether, for example, he would reckon the Reformation in the time of Luther, the accession of Cromwell, or of James I., or the rise of Wesleyanism as among them. And if he does, then what dogma, or doctrine, or point of discussion was urged in each or either of these cases to such a mischievous extreme, so that we might judge for ourselves what plan it occupies "in the general estimate of Christendom." It would be desirable to know, moreover, what he would regard as among the minor fermentations" that "have led to the establishment of new sects," &c.

We are the more inclined to draw the author out on these points, inasmuch as the only example with which he favours us affords but a very lame support to his theory. He cites the various views which prevail in relation to baptism. "While all Christians maintain, with one exception, (Friends, we suppose,) that baptism is an essential rite, one sect attributes to it a sacramental efficacy, while another maintains that it is only a point of discipline or a ceremony which may be varied according to circumstances. One sect may think pedobaptism is the important thing, while another may assert the absolute necessity of adult baptism. Now the common faith of all these sects is, that abstractedly, baptism is necessary to salvation by Christ; and this, therefore, is a fundamental principle of their Christian belief, yet none assert this fundamental principle. What distinguishes each, is that baptism shall be performed in a particular age, and with a belief in certain dogmas of less importance than the fundamental principle itself."

We feel quite prepared to admit that undue importance is often given to non-essentials, but we do not see what this has to do with any theory of religious insanity, unless it is shown that these are the points on which reason is most commonly wrecked, and we cannot believe that the phenomena of insanity are sufficiently understood to enable us to classify its causes so minutely as this. We may say perhaps, in some rare instances, that an undue excitement of the mind in reference to religious

subjects generally was the first indication of its insane state, or possibly, in a solitary case, here and there, the deranged thoughts may be concentrated upon some single religious dogma or ceremony, but to affirm that the inculcation of one class or order of religious dogmas has been chiefly or conspicuously productive of what is called religious insanity, we think is quite presumptuous in the present stage of inquiries on the subject. The cases of Thomas Muncer and John of Leyden, though cited in illustration of the author's theory, seem quite insufficient to maintain it.

In view of the dangers which, the author supposes, attend the inculcation of religious truth, he exhorts "the teachers of religion and the conductors of public worship to avoid all controversial topics, all exalting services, all enthusiastic methods of teaching or preaching—to make the *precepts* of Christianity the themes of their discourse rather than the *doctrines*, and great moral duties rather than sectarian peculiarities."*

This passage reveals to us, very plainly, a grand defect in the author's religious views, and, of course, a very decided disqualification to judge of the character of religious teaching, or of its appropriate effects on the minds of others. The exhortation is addressed to preachers and religious teachers, of all orders and grades, and the rule for their government is not restricted to particular occasions or audiences. If it were to be heeded, what a ricketty, disjointed system would Christianity become. The being of a God is a fundamental *doctrine* of all religions; and what force or sanctions have his *precepts* until his nature and authority are revealed? That man has sinned and incurred the displeasure of God, is a *doctrine* of all religions, and what great moral duties can be inculcated without recognising and prominently exhibiting it? Forgiveness of injuries is certainly a great moral duty, which nothing can enforce more effectively than our Saviour's declaration, If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father which is in

* If our memory serves us, counsels, not unlike these here offered, were addressed to the public some years ago, occasioned by an extraordinary revival of religion in the city of Hartford. The absorbing interest which was manifested in the concerns of the soul, by people of all ages and classes, led some philosophic spectator to think that the people were beside themselves, and to prevent the excitement from spreading, he attempted to show that it would turn the good city of Hartford into a Bedlam, if it were continued. We have sought in vain for the pamphlet to which we refer, but it was not a little talked about at the time.

Heaven forgive you your trespasses. But how are the magnitude and aggravation of these trespasses of ours to be estimated, apart from the infinite attributes of the law-giver and the perfect wisdom and righteousness of the law itself. If I know not what the pounds are which represent my debt to my lord, how shall I admit the insignificance of the pence that my fellow-servant owes me? The summary of the divine law-giver by the great Teacher sent from God; Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbour as thyself: may be regarded as the all-comprehensive precept of Christianity; but who can understand it or obey it intelligently, to whom the character of God is not disclosed as fully and completely, as the scriptures disclose it? What love could be felt towards a governor who should suffer the laws of the state to be violated with impunity, or who should indiscriminately pardon all offenders? What safety could we feel under an administration that should forget to protect the innocent and vindicate the right, in its eagerness to excuse the guilty and to screen the condemned from deserved punishment? Is it not obvious that we must know God as the moral governor of the universe, and of course, that we must know all the *doctrines* that involve his attributes, or the revealed principles and designs of his administration, before we can properly appreciate the purity and righteousness of his precepts, the faithfulness of his promises or the terror of his threatenings. To present less than this to a rational being as a system of revealed religion, would be impious and presumptuous beyond degree. If our author's rule of teaching and preaching were observed, men would be called upon to love and obey an unknown God. Without love to prompt obedience or fear to constrain it, the very incompleteness and poverty of the scheme, and its utter inappropriateness and inadequacy to meet the felt wants of the human soul, would prove it to be spurious, and it would not be strange if such a balking of the desires and aspirations of the immortal mind should occasion not only insanity but hopeless despair.

The truth probably is that the views of sane men—even intelligent and scientific men—of the nature of the Christian faith and of its influence when truly embraced, are so indefinite, that when they are at a loss to account for any more specific cause

of "the mind's disease," they feel at liberty to ascribe it to religion, especially if in the vagaries of the disordered brain some of its half-understood doctrines are harped upon with considerable frequency. We are not prepared to say what extravagant conceptions of religious truth or ceremonies may consist with a sane mind. If any man, of standing enough to give his opinions a fair start, should announce some of the dogmas of the papal faith for the first time—such as that the body of Christ is really and truly, wholly and entirely in the whole sacrifice of the mass, and wholly and entirely in each part at the same time, or that a dying sinner's soul can be benefited by the oil that is daubed upon his dissolving body, or that after having passed into the eternal world, he can be aided in his escape from the penalty of sin by prayers purchased with money; would not such a man be regarded as beside himself, and his followers as madmen? Are the oddest conceptions of religious insanity more wild and fanciful? Suppose the renowned *Laplace* had suddenly broken off the most abstruse train of thought on the theory of probabilities and asked his assistant to cut his toe nails; or suppose *Dugald Stewart* had stopped in the middle of a public lecture to direct his dinner to be boiled and not roasted, would not the incident in each case be marked as unequivocal token of derangement? Yet who counted *Socrates* insane when he paused in the midst of his last discourse on immortality, to order the sacrifice of a cock to *Esculapius*!

If we would rightly understand the phenomena of insanity, we must extend our investigation of its causes or excitements to points quite remote from those presented by *Dr. Ideler* or his reviewer. The unsubdued temper of a child exhibits itself in paroxysms of passions. Every little disappointment occasions violent irritation. This morbid impatience ripens into sullen discontent with all the allotments of life. The unhappy creature persuades himself that an evil spirit haunts all his footsteps and rules his destiny. This conception is easily made to assume a religious phase or association, and is succeeded by settled gloom, which the hospital register or the newspaper records as a case of religious melancholy, whereas it is really a case of unsubdued temper.

We might readily illustrate our position by actual cases of disappointed ambition or affection. As where one has aspired

to high distinction, and has suffered a defeat so unexpected and mortifying as to unbinge the mind, it is natural that he should assume some exalted character, and insanely suppose himself to be a king, or even the King of kings. Or when the young affections have been so sadly blighted as to veil all the joys and hopes of life, and excite a disgust for life itself, we might expect that reason, overpowered by such a shock, would lead the sufferer into some morbid conception of herself, that would be most congenial to seclusion and a renunciation of the world; and hence she is very likely to assume the character of the Virgin Mary, or to hold herself in readiness for some extraordinary holy service as a companion of some angelic potentate. These are not fictitious cases: they have had their parallel if not their counterpart in lunatic hospitals, and in neither of them, we apprehend, could there be found a single feature to justify us in classing them among cases of "religious insanity," since religion has but the remotest connexion with their unhappy state.

If in the instances just cited, and others of like character, faith in God had been a controlling principle, the mind would probably have stayed itself on him, and its integrity would have been preserved. Have our readers never known a lone woman, in humble life, buffeting courageously with the rising tide of disappointment and sorrow, a kind and faithful husband removed by death: the means of daily sustenance straitened, perhaps almost to penury; a promising son proving reprobate; a helpful and cheerful daughter deprived of sight, and another prostrate under the power of chronic disease: in these or like circumstances reposing her trust in her covenant God, and saying with the afflicted but not despairing patriarch, "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" or in the words of one who knew the bitterness of grief,

"My lifted eye, without a tear,
The gathering storm shall see,
My steadfast heart shall know no fear;
That heart shall trust in thee."

It is not a superior mind, nor higher moral gifts that makes this obvious difference. It is that in the one case religion is inculcated, and the mind entertains it as an infinitely pure and welcome system of divine truth, embraces its sublime and often mysterious doctrines as a little child receives the lessons of pa-

ternal wisdom, and esteems its precepts as just and good, and worthy of prompt and cheerful obedience. God's providence is regarded as directing and overruling all; and the spontaneous language of the soul is, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him. Though the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines, the labour of the olive shall fail, and the field shall yield no meat, the flocks shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stall, yet will I rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation."

In the other case a perverse, fretful, impatient spirit, indulged in childhood, falls, and is "utterly cast down" in the first conflict with the stern realities of life, and becomes the prey of fitful melancholy, if not of settled *mania*.

Esteeming it of transcendent importance, as we certainly do, to give children just ideas of God's character and government, and such a knowledge of the doctrines of revealed religion as their immature capacities can receive, we must express our unqualified dissent from the views of our author on this point. He thinks that "to prevent what is termed religious insanity, we should be careful, particularly in early life when the imagination is most alive to impressions, to avoid alluring the mind to dwell too much on the consideration of the abstractions of religion, and to keep a check upon the feelings. Religious exercise," he says, "though all-important not only in reference to this life, but to a future state of existence, ought to be kept within reasonable and healthy bounds." No sane person would hold that the religious or any other exercises of the mind should exceed those bounds. But to understand the author properly, we must know what he would regard as "abstractions," and what bounds he would consider "reasonable and healthy." It would surely be injudicious to attempt to impose upon a little child's understanding the propositions of Euclid, or a theory of the tides, though it may comprehend some of the elements which are essential to the solution of these propositions and that theory, and without a knowledge of which neither of them could have been conceived or propounded. Upon the same principle we might forbear to indoctrinate a pupil of such tender age in the high mysteries of God's foreknowledge, the introduction of evil into the world, and the inscrutable arrangements of his providential government; but there are truths revealed to the comprehension of

"babes and sucklings," which are so interwoven with those higher doctrines as to make the reception of this auxiliary to a strong and elevated faith. There is a nurture in the "milk for babes," from which the transition to the strong meat of men is almost imperceptible. Our author seems to have overlooked the simplicity of the truths which are set forth in what he would call the "abstractions of religion." Nor does he seem to be aware of the facility with which the *principle* involved in them can be made intelligible to little children. We cannot forbear to commend to him an hour's interview with the far-famed Dr. Watts, through the medium of his Divine Songs for children, in some of which this process of accommodation is beautifully exemplified: and lest so humble a production should not be found without difficulty in a learned man's library, we quote a few illustrations.

The stupendous doctrine of divine omnipotence :

"I sing the Almighty power of God
That made the mountains rise,
That spread the flowing seas abroad
And built the lofty skies."

The omniscience of God :

"Almighty God, thy piercing eye
Strikes through the shades of night,
And our most secret actions lie
All open to thy sight."

The eternal destiny of men :

"Just as a tree cut down, that fell
To north or southward there it lies,
So man departs to heaven or hell,
Fixed in the state wherein he dies."

The mystery of human redemption—

"'Twas to save thee, child, from dying,
Save my dear from burning flame,
Bitter groans and endless crying,
That thy blest Redeemer came.
May'st thou live to know and fear him,
Trust and love him all thy days,
Then go dwell forever near him,
See his face and sing his praise."

These are what we might call, in the phrasology of school-book makers, "abstractions made easy;" nor have we any fear that a knowledge of them can be inculcated too early or too deeply upon the human mind. We detect the same misconcep-

tion of the relations and offices of religion in another caution which our author throws out. "Where there is already a predisposition to cerebral disease in a religious family, that is to say a family in which the doctrines and discipline of religion have a marked influence on their actions and habits, it is a fatal mistake to encourage the religious sentiment in early infancy and childhood, and thereby render the youth precociously religious. The irregularity of development of the mental faculties, that will necessarily arise out of this exclusively religious training, will as necessarily lead to irregularity of life and conduct, and the proverb be verified in the individual—'A young saint, an old devil.' "

"A predisposition to cerebral disease" in any family, religious or irreligious, should put all its members and friends on their guard against any influences that are likely to develope it. It should be borne in mind too, that such a tendency is quite as likely to be developed by the too eager pursuit of pleasure, or by the irregularities and extravagances of a worldly and fashionable life, as by a becoming sobriety and a diligent attendance upon religious duties. Indeed, if such a "predisposition" exists in a religious family, may we not reasonably hope that the elevating and tranquillizing influences, which never fail to attend true religion, contribute much to counteract, if not to extinguish it. The calmness and cheerfulness which are diffused through all the apartments and occupations of a Christian household, are certainly fitted to produce such an effect.

If the "doctrines and discipline of religion have a marked influence on the actions and habits of a family, the religious sentiment cannot but be encouraged" in all its members. It is scarcely possible to surround a child with more potent agencies and instruments to secure the education of the religious part of his nature, than to place him in a family "whose actions and habits are plainly ordered and governed by the doctrines and discipline of religion." To live in the midst of such influences during the impressible period of "early infancy and childhood," and yet not have "the religious sentiment encouraged," would be quite as impossible as for a colony of New Zealanders to live in Broadway or Chestnut street, without changing their habits and manners: he must therefore remove the child who suffers from such cerebral tendencies, entirely away from such associa-

tions, or we must run the risk of encouraging most effectively the religious sentiment. What our author understands by "precociously religious youth," we do not know. Samuel, Josiah and Timothy were very religious while they were very young. They have generally been regarded as examples which it would be safe for children in all generations to copy. And many parents have been stimulated by viewing the grace of God, manifested to those youth, to hope for a like early exhibition of godliness in their children. The wisest man that ever lived seems not to have apprehended the danger which our author points out, for he clearly enjoins an early encouragement of the religious sentiment in that familiar proverb of his: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." The "way" in which all religious parents would doubtless wish their children to go "when they are old," is the way of the godly. And to this end the wise man (very philosophically it must be allowed) counsels them to turn their childish footsteps into that way, in other words, to encourage the religious sentiment in early infancy and childhood, without any exception in favour of cerebral infirmities or predispositions to insanity.

The captive little maid, who waited on the Syrian general's wife, seems to have evinced the very strong controlling influence that religious faith may exert over a child without danger to its intellectual faculties: and it also shows (what many analogous cases might be cited to show) that such an early development of religious principles is not without peculiar advantages. Probably the parents of the little girl had trained her to revere the servants of the Lord, and confide implicitly in the miraculous tokens of their divine authority, and hence her confident commendation of her noble but afflicted master to the supernatural skill of "the prophet that was in Samaria." The "children in the temple," too, seem to have been quite as much excited by the presence of the son of David, as the rulers were with indignation at their hosannas, but instead of fearing to "encourage unduly the religious sentiment," the divine teacher speaks of it as the fulfilment of an ancient prophecy, that "out of the mouth of babes and sucklings God's praise should be perfected." How strikingly at variance with all this is the doctrine of the reviewer

that it is a fatal mistake to encourage the religious sentiments in early infancy and childhood.

We are at a loss to understand whence our author, in the case supposed, takes the idea of an "exclusively religious training." A child may live in a "family in which the doctrines and discipline of religion have a marked difference on their actions and habits," and may feel the happy and healthful effects of such an example, and yet go to school six hours every day, and engage to his heart's content in all the innocent and invigorating sports of childhood. He has no ill-humoured or intemperate father to frown upon him, no thrifless or negligent mother to regard his return home as a new burden of care, no selfish and quarrelsome brothers and sisters to abuse and provoke him, but he enjoys the blessing of a pleasant home, made happy and attractive by the gentle influences of religion. In such associations he is saved from countless crosses and imitations which are almost inseparable from an ungodly or worldly family, and this of itself must be of inestimable advantage in resisting any predisposition to "cerebral disease." Moreover, the idea of an "exclusively religious training" is preposterous. It cannot be. There are countless agencies, within and without every child, that are incessantly active in educating its powers of body and mind. These agencies cannot be eluded. With all the forethought and anxiety that godly parents can exercise, the religious influence will be but one of a score of influences in constant pressure upon him; and while the former acts, single-handed, against his natural desires and propensities; the latter, with combined energy, coincide with them and thus have the inestimable advantage, and they would retain it and lead the soul captive at their will, if it were not for the interposition of divine power.

But admitting our author's position to be tenable, and that an "exclusively religious training" were practicable, we could not but admit his conclusion that "an irregular development of the mental faculties" would necessarily arise out of it, nor that such a training would "necessarily lead to irregularity of life and conduct, making an old devil out of a young saint." Such false deductions arise from ignorance of the moral condition of men. If we take our opinions from Him who knows perfectly what is in man we shall be in no danger of such mistakes. He tells us

that the things which assimilate men to devils are in the **HEART**. "There is the nest of evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, and blasphemies." These lead to "irregularity of life and conduct," and no development of the mental faculties will expel or even disturb them, but often give them a more vigorous activity. God, our creator, has clearly taught us that these native tenants of the human bosom are not to be ousted by any ordinary process. The strong man posted there is armed and will keep his place till a stronger than he shall come, and the expulsion is accomplished "not by might, not by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord." The earlier this divine work is accomplished, the better for the subject of it, the better for the world, the more for the glory of God's grace. And hence the earlier a child knows the plague of his own heart, and the earlier he is led to resort to the great Physician for a cure, the happier it must be for him and all concerned. Judicious religious training, coeval with the earliest indications of moral susceptibility, tends directly to produce these desirable results; and to defer it through fear of developing a predisposition to cerebral disease is inconsistent with all sound Christian philosophy, and must involve the parties in great guilt.

In our inquiries on such a subject as this we are apt to be so intent upon the study of immediate and present effects as to overlook general principles, by which they explained or governed. It is worth while to consider what effect we might expect to follow the offering of the Christian system to the faith of the human soul. It has been said that "the undevout astronomer is mad." Even the very partial and imperfect knowledge we can attain of the composition and magnitude, causes and revolutions, distances and relations of the heavenly bodies must prompt a sane mind to devotion. These wonders of divine wisdom and power; though material and perishable serve for a medium through which the thoughts pass upward to spiritual things that endure. The sight of them leads us to exclaim, Lord! what is man that thou art mindful of him? There are, however, fixed principles which science employs in investigations, of this nature, which seem to put the whole subject within our grasp, and we persuade ourselves that there is nothing hidden which we cannot bring to light. But the things which the Spirit of God reveals to us (eye hath not seen nor the ear heard,

nor the heart of man conceived them) are infinite. Our capacities are completely filled, the moment they are turned to the full contemplation of the glory of God, as it shines in the face of Jesus Christ.

We know that before sin entered into the world, the soul was capable of, and actually enjoyed an intimate communion with God like what is permitted to angels. The contemplation of their Maker's glory was in the highest degree beautifying to the first created pair. So that all the beauties and glories of paradise become insipid and insignificant, by reason of the excellent glory and beauty of the divine presence. They had powers essentially such as we possess, and had they retained the image of God in which they were created, this open and perfect communion would have been our glorious privilege, and we should have had capacities to receive revelations of God's character and designs of which in our fallen state we are wholly incapable. The sad effects of that one original transgression are seen not only in the pollution and degradation of the soul, but in the confusion and weakness of the intellectual powers.

When they have past through the present state of trial believers in Christ will be re-united to the society of holy beings. Their faith makes them members of Christ's body. They become one with him as he is one with the Father, and their powers and capacities are restored to their primitive state. No new capacities are said to be bestowed. It is enough that sin and its consequences are all separated from the soul, and it perhaps becomes *ipso facto*, capable as at first of holy and perfect communion with God.

It would seem then that whatever incapacities or weaknesses are inherent in our present nature, they are the product of sin, and whatever "revealed religion" does, counteracting the power, and remedying the effects of sin, it does in an equal degree towards enlarging and improving our capacities of divine knowledge. Now if the contemplation of but a minute portion of the visible wonders of creation may be expected to lead any sane mind to devotion, what must be the effect of revealing to it the moral attributes of the great Creator himself? If the mechanism of the sky, and the perfection and harmony of the intricate laws which preserve and govern its countless orbs, are so impressive as to justify us in esteeming an undevout astronomer as mad,

what must be thought of one who can receive, without the deepest emotion, the revelation of the great mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh! The stupendous scheme of man's redemption exceeds in wonder and wisdom all the visible things of creation, as much as that which is eternal and infinite exceeds that which is finite and perishing. And yet it may be comprehended in all its elevating, sanctifying and saving power by a little child! It is not needful that intricate problems should be solved, and that a life-time should be spent in elaborate investigations into the law of forces, and the combinations of light and air and motion. These exercises of the mental powers, stimulated only by the love of science or the desire of fame, must oftentimes exhaust, if not confound their powers. But when the soul, even of a little child, receives Christ by faith as its Lord and Saviour, a light is struck that no power will ever extinguish. It will shine brighter and brighter to the perfect day. The radiance of heaven is instantly shed upon the little pilgrim's path. Now objects seize his attention and rivet his affections. What was before mysterious and perplexing now becomes plain and satisfying: he was blind, but now he sees: he was dead, but is alive again. Reasoning *a priori* we shall conclude that to solve the astronomer's problem, would be comparatively an easy task for powers that would strive in vain to apprehend the truths of "revealed religion;" yet the testimony of experience and observation constrains us to a very different conclusion. It proves on the one hand that he who is incapable of mastering the multiplication table, may comprehend mysteries which angels desire to look into, and on the other that one who can unlock all the secrets of human philosophy may be confounded and baffled by the simplest of revealed truths. The scriptures explain to us this paradox when they declare that the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned. This spiritual discernment is a gift, not an acquirement. It is bestowed on the humble and childlike, not on the proud and self-conceited. He who has it is lifted by it above the war of elements. He observes, unmoved, the direction and fury of storms that dash in pieces cavillers, skeptics and bold blasphemers, like a potter's vessel,

and he follows with his eye the dispersing clouds as they give place to the bright outshining of the sun.

He can even reconcile the seeming inconsistencies of God's providential dealings, at which so many stumble and fall. He traces an outline of order in the wildest confusion, and discerns a cheering gleam of light where the worldling and sensual are enveloped in a darkness that may be felt. It is not strong intellectual powers that enable him to do this, nor are these the points of any carnal philosophy. So far from it, the carnal mind, which is enmity against God, has been subdued. The renewed soul receives with implicit faith and obedience all God's revelations of himself and of his will. It contemplates with equal satisfaction and serenity his holiness, justice and truth, and his love, compassion and forgiveness. The question of the religious educator should therefore be, not what predispositions may exist to "cerebral disease" and nervous excitability; but what is the temper of the mind? Is there the spirit of docility which inquires, "Lord what will THOU have me believe?" Is there a willingness to become a fool in order to be truly wise? If so, the simple saving truths of "revealed religion," including both doctrines and precepts, will show no tendency to dethrone reason nor to derange its powers. So far from it, they and they alone are fitted to enlighten, guide, sanctify and sustain it. The mind's capacity to receive new truth, or to perceive it in new and higher relations, will improve and expand by exercise, from the first throb of spiritual life in the new-born soul, until it reaches unto the measure of the stature of a perfect man in Christ Jesus.

There is still another view in which the doctrine or opinion of our author is unsound. The history of the results of religious training shows that in a very great majority of cases parental fidelity in the Christian nurture of children has been amply rewarded even in this world by their godly walk and conversation. The most stable, useful, active and trustworthy citizens in public and private life have come out of those families "in which the doctrines and discipline of religion have a marked influence on their actions and habits." Early subjection to the restraints of a parental authority and domestic law has prepared them to govern themselves in all the relations they afterwards sustain. The dutiful and affectionate son, whom

our author might regard as a "young saint," has been called in ripe manhood to occupy the most elevated social positions; while the "old devils" have almost uniformly sprung from a neglected childhood. The attempt to encourage the religious sentiment has not been made, and the "cerebral disease" is developed in some enormous crime.

The "fatal mistake" we have to fear, according to our author's creed, is making the "youth precociously religious." The fatal mistake which has actually been made, since the world began (as history and experience shew), is to neglect the religious training of infancy and childhood, and thus encourage a precocious development of natural depravity.

Those who are so forward to ascribe mental derangement to influences connected with religion cannot be aware we think of the proper relation of cause and effect. If a drowning man is so far exhausted as to be incapable of seizing the oar or the boat that is thrown out to him, we cannot properly say that the oar or the rope caused his death. So when "the doctrines and precepts of revealed religion" are brought to bear upon a depraved and guilty creature like man, his carnal nature rises up in instant rebellion to them. This is the development of true *moral insanity*. He cavils at what would humble the pride of reason. He cannot tolerate the restraints that obedience would lay upon his sensual appetites and worldly desires and in the tumult of conflicting passions, it is not strange that the mind should be distracted and run into eccentricities and incoherencies. But religion has nothing to do with it. All that can be said of her is that she would have saved the man if he had availed himself of her proffered help, but she can in no sense be regarded as the author or cause of his calamity.

Our reviewer would evidently be a staunch advocate for the modern theory of moral insanity. He would probably argue that as the too early inculcation of the religious sentiment tends to produce religious insanity, the too early inculcation of moral sentiments tends in like manner to the production of moral insanity. Hence he must, in all due consistency, advise that where there is a predisposition to "cerebral disease," the distinction between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, integrity and dishonesty, should not be too strenuously urged, and that where these qualities seem to be confounded, so that a man

mistakes another's watch or pocket-book for his own, or breaks open his neighbour's house under a misapprehension of the rights of property, or shoots an heiress because she will not marry him, he should be put upon strict diet, all excitement of his nervous system should be avoided, and care taken to divert his mind from the study of ethical subjects.

We are not trifling. We regard the notion of "moral insanity," lately promulgated, as a device for the protection of wicked and ungovernable men from the just punishment of their crimes, where there can be no pretence of any common type of insanity to answer the same purpose. There is such a thing as moral insanity, as we have before intimated. So intimate and mysterious is the connection between the immortal spirit of a man and its earthly tabernacle, that disease may impair or pervert for a season his moral feelings and affections, while the reasoning faculty is not materially weakened. But it is not difficult to distinguish such cases from those which in the most refined modern philosophy passes under the name of "moral insanity." The divine oracles speak of a "madness in the hearts of men" while they live. Our moral nature is, in the strictest sense, deranged, and if our being in this state exempts us from responsibility for violations of the law of God or man, we must look for an entirely new system of divine and human government. The Bible becomes obsolete at once, with all the motives and sanctions which it reveals, and the law by which every man governs himself is to do what is right in his own eyes.

As the result of the present discussion we suggest the following propositions :

I. It is as unjust to ascribe cases of what is commonly called "religious insanity" to religion, as their cause, as it would be to charge our insane hospitals with originating or confirming the cases which they do not cure.

II. There is no such thing as religious insanity : i. e. it cannot be said of religion, as it can be of grief or disappointment or chagrin that it causes or is the occasion of insanity.

III. To inculcate the doctrines, as well as the precepts, of revealed religion upon the human mind, at the earliest period of its capacity to receive them, is the clear scriptural duty of all persons who have the care of children and youth.

IV. To neglect or delay such an encouragement of the religious sentiment, from any apprehension of developing a tendency to "cerebral disease," is as unphilosophical and fatal, as it would be to withhold all food from a child through fear of strangling it or destroying its digestive organs.

V. The due apprehension and influence of religious truth, as revealed in the scriptures, constitutes the best preservative against mental aberrations, especially such as originate in moral causes.

VI. The earlier the mind is brought under the supreme influence of religious truth, the more likely it is to retain its integrity, when the exciting occasions of derangement occur.

ART. II—1. *The Freemason's Monitor.*

2. *Encyclopedia Britannica.* Ed. 7th. Art. *Mysteries.*

3. *The Secret Societies of the Middle Ages.* London: Charles Knight. 1837.

4. *Opinions on Speculative Free Masonry, relative to its origin, nature, and tendency, &c.* By James C. Osborne. Boston. 1836.

5. *Secret Societies.* A discourse by J. Blanchard. Cincinnati. 1845.

6. *I. O. O. F., Constitutions, Bye Laws, and Rules of Order; to which is added a Digest of the Laws of the Order.* Charleston, S. C. 1847.

7. *An Oration Delivered before the Independent Order of Odd Fellows.* By W. D. Porter, N. G., Charleston, 1844.

8. *M. W. Grand Sire's Report.* 1847.

9. *Resolutions and Reports of the Consociation of Fairfield, West Connecticut;—The Presbytery of New York;—Salem Presbytery, Mi.;—Presbytery of Ithica;—Synod of Cincinnati, &c., against Secret Societies.*

IN a former article we have considered the principles of secrecy in its relation to man's moral and religious obligations, and have endeavored to prove, that the use made of it by the various Secret Societies, now multiplying among us, can be justi-

fied neither upon the ground of philosophy nor religion, but is on the contrary, repudiated and condemned by both.

We now proceed, according to promise, to confirm our general argument against Secret Societies, by an examination into their history and results, by an exhibition of their contrariety to all the precepts, practices, and teachings of true religion,—and by a faithful exposure of their fatally dangerous character, considered as substitutes for practical Christianity.

We allude not to any recently established order. We are debating principles, and we appeal to all experience. Let us trace, then, the history of secret societies.

Secret Societies originated in the corruptions of the human heart, and through it of true religion. The religion of the Bible is essentially simple, intelligible, and free from all secrecy. It is designed for all, adapted to all, addressed to all, level to the capacities of all, and open to the examination, the experiment and the enjoyment of all. Like the atmosphere, it is in its nature, and in the nature of its mysterious and incomprehensible objects, beyond our reach of knowledge. But in all its revelations about these infinite realities; in all its operations consequent upon them, and in all its requirements and prescribed rules, it is plain, perspicuous and comprehensible. It was so in its original promulgation. The promise of a Redeemer—salvation through Him—faith in his name—the worship of God by sacrifice and prayer—these were the few and simple elements of antediluvian religion. Man's corruption then manifested itself in infidelity and not in idolatry, and we read therefore of nothing like an attempt to mystify or secrete the dogmas or the duties of religion.

This state of things continued till after the dispersion, and men began to establish empires. The priesthood was then in the hands of the patriarch, prince, or king, and was thus identified with the power of the state. Avarice and ambition, therefore, soon suggested the introduction of articles, rites, and usages which might make religion more powerful as an engine of state, and a means of overawing, prostrating, and taxing the people. Hence came the secret societies of Egypt, in which the primitive traditions were gradually incrustated over with pageantry and form, and rendered more imposing by darkness, by secrecy, by

forms of initiation, and by the most terrible sanctions.* From Egypt these secret societies, or mysteries, were carried to Greece where they were universally adopted, under the patronage and control of the great, and became wonderfully powerful. Similar societies were established, for similar purposes, in Chaldea, Phœnicia, Persia, and in the Roman Empire.

All these associations, however otherwise peculiar, were alike in professing to inculcate true religion and pure morality;—in professedly requiring good character and good family as qualifications for admission;—in having initiatory rites of discipleship, which were often of the most severe and terrible character: in holding up to special reverence some God or Gods; in excluding, by necessity, multitudes around them; in having their oaths of secrecy, and in performing their religious rites in secret places, and by night or in darkness; in having progressive stages of initiation and advancement: in requiring fees of admission and of frequent assessment: and in promising amply remunerative benefits. These benefits, as Dr. Anthon states them, were “security against the vicissitudes of fortune, and protection from danger both in this life and in the life to come.”† All these associations had also the same political effect—the concentration of power, the subjugation and enslavement of the people, whose respect, admiration, reverence, and awe they every where secured by means of superstition and terror. All offences against the mysteries were under the jurisdiction of the chief magistrate, and a court consisting only of the initiated. Even in the ordinary courts this was the case, and none but the initiated were permitted to come within hearing of any cases involving their interests.‡

It is finally true of all these institutions, that whatever may have been their original character, they became gradually corrupted in membership, in motives, in manners, and in morals. With wealth and power, came pride, carnality, riot, and indulgence, until at length they pandered to the vilest licentiousness, and catered to the most beastly appetites, so that even women carried in procession the *pudenda* of both sexes; heard in the presence of all, lectures upon their nature and use; and,

* Encycp. Brit. p. 658. Vol. xv.

† Dictionary of Antiquities, p. 652.

‡ See Anthon as above.

phrenzied with intoxication, were ready to tear to pieces the daring man who would interfere with their enormities and attempt their reformation, even though he was the son or nephew of the murderers.*

Judaism had no mysteries, in the proper and present meaning of the term. The term mystery does not properly signify that which by its very nature is above our comprehension, but that which is purposely hidden and kept back from the understanding and knowledge of man. The plain and simple truths of religion however were taught to all and not to a few, and that all might learn them, all were required to participate in the ceremonies and sacrifices by which these truths were more impressively enforced, and to submit to the clearer instruction of Levites, of prophets, of the written word, and of the synagogue services. Its holy places, and things and persons, were not secret but sacred, not unknown but revered, not concealed from knowledge but from profanation. Character and fitness—by preparation and knowledge—were the only limits to men of all nations enjoying the amplest privileges in the Jewish church. “The Jews were therefore positively forbidden,” says Milnor, “to be initiated into the mysteries.” In the Greek text of the Septuagint in Deut. xxiii. 17, a passage was either interpolated or so translated as to condemn all secret associations as peculiar to paganism, and forbidden to the followers of the true God and the true religion.†

Notwithstanding all this, however, an attempt has been made to sustain the principle of secret societies by an appeal to the scriptures. But this appearance of support is only secured by confounding what the Bible says of perfidiousness and falsehood, and against talebearing, and treachery, with the inculcation of secrecy as in itself a motive or a duty.‡ The Bible, assuredly, inculcates foresight, prudence, and discretion. It undoubtedly requires us to conceal what by its publication can only do injury and no good. It most surely enjoins honour and truth and sincerity between man and man. It does unquestionably represent the Deity as being incomprehensible in His nature and His ways. But it reveals God to us just to the

* Encycp. Brit. Vol. xv. p. 666. Milman's Hist. Christianity, Vol. i. p. 33.

† See this urged by Pritchard in his Analysis of Egyptian Mythology, p. 415.

‡ See Freemason's Monitor, p. 59, and The Covenant, p. 97.

utmost extent we require in order to know and to do our duty to Him, and it reveals this not in secrecy or reserve, but on the pages of inspiration and in the pulpits of the church, to all men. The Bible, therefore, nowhere authorizes secrecy except where the benefit of society demands it. As it regards the privileges and doctrines of the Bible, it condemns and anathematizes their concealment, and commands and requires their free and universal inculcation at all times and to all nations. As it regards Christianity, it is pre-eminently the dispensation of light—of free open and universal privileges. Its author is Himself a revelation of the inscrutable Deity—"God manifest in the flesh"—and disrobed of his darkness. Its doctrines are propounded to all. Its duties are enjoined upon all. Its blessings are offered to all. Its worship is open to all. Its privileges are conferred on all recipients. And even its ecclesiastical government is openly and fully submitted to the examination, inspection and judgment of all, and limited, in any case, only by the good of all.

Christ "went about" on his errand of mercy, and in secret, as He testifies, He said and did nothing. All barriers of age and sex and of condition were removed. Forms and ceremonies were almost entirely abolished. Instruction took the place of pageantry, and light of darkness. Christianity is therefore to be proclaimed to all, even to children. There was nothing covered but what Christ revealed, nothing hidden that he has not made known. What he told in darkness suited to the parabolic taste of the times, "That," says he, speak ye in light, and what ye hear in the ear that preach ye upon the house tops." (Matt. x. 27, and Luke xii. 3). Christians are light, not concealment, the children of the day and not of the night. They are to have nothing to do with the unfruitful works of darkness, and are expressly warned against what is believed to have been the secret and voluntary associations of the Essenes and others, in the Epistles to the Collossians. (ii. 4-18).

There was nothing in apostolic Christianity approximating to secrecy.* On the contrary, it denounced and deprecated the coming of this spirit which it foretold as the "the mystery of iniquity," the "Mystic Babylon" whose secrecy, and vows, and

* See Coleman's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 35.

orders, and lying wonders, and delusions, should corrupt and heathenize Christianity.

And we may go still further, and affirm that there were no secrets, no mysteries, no hidden rites or associations known to Christianity for generations after the time of the apostles. This fact is proved by Bingham, the learned High-church Antiquarian, who supports his conclusions by the testimony even of learned Romanists.* About the time of Tertullian—that is early in the third century,† when the pagan mysteries “the last hopes of the ancient religion,” as Milman calls them,‡ were losing ground, Christians endeavoured to hasten their destruction by adopting their principles and adapting Christianity to the tastes, habits and opinions of the times. The sacraments, ordinations, and other services were therefore for this purpose administered in private, and as in every other case where worldly wisdom has accommodated truth to human predilections, corruptions and degeneracy fast progressed until as secrecy prevailed and the darkness settled down, Christendom became as full of secret associations, both religious and secular, lay and priestly, as ever Pagandom was.§ Christianity could then boast mysteries as great, ceremonies as gorgeous, superstition as gross, terrors as profound, ignorance as universal, and immorality as extensive as Paganism itself. It had become thoroughly contagionized, and the leprosy had eaten into the very vitals of society.

During this era the secret principle developed itself in the assassins of the east,—the Knights Templars, the Secret Tribunals of Westphalia,|| the masonic order, the Inquisition, the order of the Jesuits, in those Anti-papal societies of which Dante, Petrarch and others were the exponents, and in numerous other societies.

In regard to all secret societies relating to social and civil matters, the author of the work on the secret societies of the Middle Ages, says: “It is an important advance in civilization

* See Bingham's *Antiquities*, vol. iii. p. 98, and *Oxford Tracts*, vol. v. Tr. 89. p. 11. † Bingham do. p. 99. ‡ *History of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 31. § Bingham do. p. 108–110.

* *Secret Societies of the Middle Ages*, Lond. 1846. p. 407, 408. See Rossetti on the Antipapal Spirit in Literature before the Reformation, vol. i. p. 149, 150, 155, and vol. ii. p. 111, 113, 117, 143.

and a great social gain, to have got rid, for all public purposes, of secret societies—both of their existence and of their use; for, that, like most of the other obsolete forms into which the arrangements of society have at one time or other resolved themselves, some of these mysterious and exclusive institutions, whether for preserving knowledge or dispensing justice, served, each in its day, purposes of the highest utility, which apparently could not have been accomplished by any other existing or available contrivance, has been sufficiently shown by the expositions that have been given, in the preceding pages of the mechanism and working of certain of the most remarkable of their number. But it has been made at least equally evident that the evils attendant upon their operation and inherent in their nature were also very great, and that considered even as the suitable remedies for a most disordered condition of human affairs, they were at best only not quite so bad as the disease. They were instituted for preserving knowledge, not by promoting, but by preventing that diffusion of it which, after all, both gives to it its chief value, and, in a natural state of things, most effectually insures its purification, as well as its increase; and for executing justice by trampling under foot the rights alike of the wrong doer and of his victim. Mankind may be said to have stepped out of night into day, in having thrown off the burden and bondage of this form of the social system, and having attained to the power of pursuing knowledge and justice in the spirit of justice. We have now escaped from that state of confusion and conflict in which one man's gain was necessarily another man's loss, and are fairly on our way towards that opposite state, in which, in every thing, as far as the constitution of this world will permit, the gain of one shall be the gain of all. This latter to whatever degree it may be actually attainable, is the proper hope and goal of all human civilization.*

* Another illustration of the extent to which the principle had been carried and the evils to which it had led will be here given: "The importance of the change which substitutes the public and oral form of procedure for the secret sittings and written *acten* of the courts under the old German Landrecht cannot be too highly estimated. It is, in itself, a revolution. Under the old system the judge was also the prosecutor; all his ingenuity and legal knowledge were arrayed against the accused; all his skill was devoted to procuring a conviction, or driving the prisoner to a confession, often by the most cruel mental

Similar societies still, to some extent, exist.* The evil, corruption, tyranny, impiety and immorality which led to the suppression of others turned the tide of favour towards Masonry, which prevailed to a wonderful extent, until similar causes led to similar results, and the growing degeneracy of the system together with some evidences of unlawful and antisocial tendencies, led to its unpopularity, and to its open renunciation by a great number of its adherents. There are now therefore Masonic Clubs against which even the fraternity are openly warned.†

When the Odd Fellows began to exist history does not inform us, and its advocates cannot determine.‡ There is a variation between selecting the period of the Fall, the age of Christianity, and some recent period.|| Be this as it may, the society had so far degenerated in 1813, that it became necessary to "revolutionize" in order to reform.§ "A Declaration of Independence," as Mr. Porter says it may very properly be called, was drawn up by a convention, and a new society formed, under the title of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows;¶ a society into which the spirit of secrecy has completely emptied itself.

torture. It might be difficult under such a system for a guilty man to escape; but the position of any one unjustly accused of a crime, even in Prussia, where the Landrecht had been modified, was a frightful one. A criminal inquiry that only lasted a year from the time of the arrest till the delivery of the sentence was to be considered a speedy one, the number of sittings and examinations within that period being unlimited. An illustration of this has just occurred. Within the last few days a man named Classen, a cabinet-maker or carpenter, has been condemned to imprisonment for life for the murder of his wife; the crime was committed during the Christmas holidays of 1847, and the trial has been going on ever since. In the case of the Catholic priest Riembauer, tried for murdering his maid-servant, whom he had seduced, the documents in four years swelled to 42 folio volumes, still extant, though there was but one direct witness as to the fact. At one of the hearings the judge suddenly uncovered the skull of the victim for the purpose of surprising the prisoner into some exclamation that might reveal his guilt. At the hundredth sitting the accused became conscience-stricken, and admitted he was guilty of the crime, but with some qualification, and from a technical difficulty in proving the exact cause of death after the lapse of years, he, in spite of the 42 volumes recorded against him, escaped the punishment he deserved. The trial of the Pastor Tinnius, for two murders, robbery, and embezzlement of church funds, all committed to indulge a mania for collecting books, lasted ten years.

* They exist in a form very analogous to these, in China. See the *Middle Kingdom*, vol. i. p. 391, vol. ii. 280, ends of 394, 395, intimated by and degeneracy of p. 284.

† *Freemason's Monitor*, p. 53, and *Odiorne's Opinions*. ‡ *Porter*, p. 13.

|| *The Covenant*, p. 98, 100, and *Oration* p. 13. § *Porter*, p. 13. ¶ *Oration*, p. 15.

The object, aim, and end professed by this society, and to a most praiseworthy extent carried out, is of unquestionable goodness. It is free from all convivial habits, which open up an immediate entrance to corruption in such societies. And it guarantees much benefit to its members, by the number of pious and respectable members enrolled in the order.

Already, however, we perceive by the report of the M. W. Grand Sire, for 1847, that some discord, and some division and some independence, rather too independent even for Odd Fellows, has created fears for the permanence of that cordiality, subjection and love essential to the harmony of 120,000 members, and the expenditure of \$300,000 per annum. "The discussion, says the Grand Sire, of the internal affairs of our institution, by a portion of the public press, claiming to be organs of Odd Fellowship, will I fear be seriously detrimental to its best interests. Many erroneous constructions of law and usage have been by means of that press, scattered abroad throughout this jurisdiction. The domestic relation of the institution, as well as the laws by which it is governed, have been made the subject of controversy and comment: paper has warred against paper, each enlisting in its support a portion of the Order; and discord has been fostered, if not created, where peace and harmony previously existed."

In estimating the claims of the Odd Fellows, however, it is to be remembered that this society is in its virgin and primitive purity and simplicity. It is only laying its deep foundations and erecting its gorgeous superstructure. And with charity as its object, and purity and wisdom as its directors, it is a most invidious task for us to prognosticate future evil. We do not wish it, and if it were in our power we would not will it. But still we have our fears, founded upon human imperfection, and past invariable experience of the course of similar societies, which are closed against the sunshine and the atmosphere of a full, free and unobstructed public canvass, opinion and review. Our objection is not to the conduct, of which we know little, but to the principle of the society. We object to all similar societies, whether Sons of Temperance, Rechabites or what not, on the following grounds: They are secret; they are therefore, anti-social and anti-republican; they conflict with the claims of friendship, of love, and of society; they endanger

the spirit and principles of a pure and candid heart in which there is no guile, no deceit, no subterfuge, no pride, and no pharisaic love of distinction and superiority; they are, because secret, liable not only to corruption, but to perversion; they may become the engines of political power, the organs of disorganizing and demoralizing factions. We ask, therefore, as Philo did in the first century, since "nature makes all her most beautiful and splendid works, her heaven, and all her stars for the sight of all; her seas, fountains, and rivers, the annual temperature of the air, and the winds, the innumerable tribes and races of animals and fruits of the earth for the common use of man; why then are the mysteries confined to a few, and those not always the most wise and the most virtuous." This is the general sense of a long passage.

Such societies claim to be what they are not. Charity and benevolence is the high and holy mission which they affirm to be their sole and entire object. The language of St. Paul is therefore, by a most gross perversion, taken as their motto: "And now abideth faith, hope, and charity, but the greatest of these is charity." But true charity "is no respecter of persons." Charity is kind to the unthankful as well as to the grateful, to the evil as well as to the good. Charity knows no distinctions, and in its eye there is neither male nor female, bond nor free, poor nor rich. Charity giveth to the poor that have nothing to return, and expecteth not again. The charity of these societies, however, is limited by sex, by character, and by obedience to their rules—by conformity to all their views—by paying an entrance fee varying from five dollars to thirty-five dollars according to age, that is, in proportion to men's need of it and inability to afford it, and by the payment of a yearly sum varying from seven dollars to an indefinite amount. "If even a brother," says the covenant, "be more than thirteen weeks in arrears to his lodge, he is not entitled to his benefits, nor can he get into any lodge in any part of the world." "THE SYSTEM," adds this organ, "IS FORMED AS IF THE PLAN HAD BEEN ARRAIGNED BY SUSPICION ITSELF."

While, therefore, these societies claim from God and man the merit of the holy mission of charity, and while they blow a trumpet before them to let all men know that they exist only to be charitable, their nature, after all, is only that of mutual

insurance societies and this their organ is obliged to admit.* "The two great objects," says the covenant, "are to foster a regard for each other's interest and welfare, and to provide a fund for life and health insurance to its members."† To this end it accumulates funds, erects buildings, and increases power, credit, and influence among men. For self-gratification and self-exaltation, therefore, while poverty abounds around them, they provide houses, expensive arrangements, and dresses without which no one can enter a lodge or parade: they multiply orders, honours, titles, forms, obsequious salutations, and marks of respect, and thus they feed the principle of pride, vanity, aristocracy, envy, jealousy, and selfishness. And by securing universal provision for sickness and for bereaved families, may they not in many cases foster indolence, and idleness, and unworthiness, and break down the spirit of a manly independence and industrious prudence?

But our greatest objection to these societies remains, and it is, that while they unnecessarily use the bond of secrecy, (which is in no way essential to maintain their own securities,) they lay claim to the high and holy character of religion and tamper with its sacred words, offices and spirit.

"What is Odd Fellowship," asks the Talisman? "We answer in a single word it is practical Christianity."‡ In their

* "An intelligent member of the Order in question stated to the writer recently, that it was a matter of regret that the claim had ever been set up that they were a 'charitable society,' for, said he, 'the principle of benevolence has no place in our code at all; we pay out to those who are by our rules entitled to funds, and to no others: we pay out so long as members pay in, and when they stop paying, their membership ceases, and our obligations to them cease; we are in fact an extensive insurance company; if I am abroad among strangers I have a right by my well-earned membership to receive the notice of brethren of the Order; and they in return know that if they come here they have a claim on my attention, and if I refuse it, they would report me to the Order, and I should be disciplined or expelled.'"

† Vol. i. p. 101.

‡ "WHAT IS ODD FELLOWSHIP!—The astonishing progress which the Independent Order of Odd Fellows is making, both in this country and in Europe, renders the above question one of no ordinary importance. If there is an institution in our very midst which has made the most gigantic onward strides, and which already numbers among its members many of the most influential and powerful citizens of this great republic, and is still increasing; the inquiry is both necessary and proper. What is Odd Fellowship? We answer in a single word; *it is practical Christianity*. It combines all that is excellent in religion, pure in morals, and benevolent in practice. Beneath its sweet and gentle influences the rugged nature of man becomes softened by sympathy; the finer feelings of the heart are developed and cultivated; the social principle is strengthened; the fra-

instructions, therefore, they associate with emblems, signs and symbols "lessons from the sacred scriptures,* and distinctly recognise in their initiation office, the divine authority of the Bible and their obligation to be governed by its spirit.†

"The Bible," said one of their members to me, "is the basis of the whole order." It is therefore in every lodge room, and is carried about in every procession and is called that great "luminary of the craft."‡

These societies quote and appropriate many scriptural passages.¶ They have their prayers, their benedictions, their blessings, and their funeral services. "A good mason," or other brother can never therefore, it is said, "be a bad man."§ And "the triumphs of Odd Fellowship are those of peace and good will among men."¶

God, therefore, is the grand architect. Melchisedec, and all the prophets and apostles, not excluding the Saviour, were members of the fraternity,** and while (as they blasphemously pervert the words) the secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him—here, and He will show them *his (their italics) Covenant.* "The faithful shall be welcomed to the grand lodge above."††

Now in reference to these allegations we remark, first, that they do not state what is the fact in the case. Christianity is in part doctrinal, and in part practical. It contains doctrines, worship, church officers, ordinances, duties, and many practical requirements. But these societies know nothing of any one of the doctrines which distinguish Christianity. They know nothing of the author, the founder, the very life and light of Christianity. They know nothing of the spiritual views, feelings, motives, and qualities, which enter into practical Christianity. They know nothing of the church, the worship, the ordinances, or the duties enjoined by Christianity. None of these things enter into the constitution of these societies. They know them not. They heed them not. Like Gallio they care for none of these things. The doctrines, the duties, the ordinances, the officers, the rules, and the government of Christ's

ternal relations cherished and invigorated. Before his onward progress, woe and crime flee away; the unhappy fiends of unholy passion shrink into their dens of shame."—*The Talisman.*

* The Covenant, Vol. i p. 103. † Do. ‡ Do. p. 102. Freemason's Monitor, p. 103. ¶ Do. p. 128. § Monitor, p. 120. ¶ Mr. Porter's Oration, p. 19.

** Monitor,

†† The Covenant, Vol. i. pp. 193, 194.

kingdom—these things which constitute the very end and essence of the Bible, as a revelation of God's will and of man's duty, are set at nought. A man, therefore, may become a partaker of this "practical Christianity," and yet neither believe, nor obey any one of the characteristic and essential doctrines or duties of Christianity. He may be a Jew, or a Mahometan, or a Heathen, or an infidel, or an ungodly sinner, or an impenitent, unbelieving, and unregenerate man, under God's frown and condemnation, and exposed to everlasting damnation, and yet according to the teachings of these societies he may be a practical Christian. Membership in an Odd Fellows' lodge is thus made a substitute for that Christian piety, without which no man can see the Lord. While claiming to reverence the Bible, God, and Christianity, the Bible is first prostituted and then suborned: Christ is annihilated as a Prince and Saviour, and God is made the "Grand Patron" of error and delusion. Pride, passion, envy, jealousy, hatred, and opposition to all but their own order, fact and unbelief, may riot in the heart, and yet their guilty victims be guaranteed comfort upon earth and happiness in heaven.

It will not do to say, as some of the advocates, to escape from conviction of such deep and dangerous guilt, do say, that the forms and ceremonies of these orders are not religious. What then we would ask are they? They are placed in juxtaposition with the Bible. They are performed in the name of God. They imply homage to Him. They refer to the soul in life and in death. And are not these elements of religion?

When, therefore, good and Christian men unite with such societies, and give them their name, influence, and sanction, do they not become responsible for taking God's name and God's word in vain, and for erecting upon the foundation of eternal and unalterable truth, (unalterable either by way of addition or subtraction under the penalty of everlasting death) "the hay, wood and stubble" of man's inventions, and man's will-worship? Do they not lead others to regard this system as in all respects sufficient for them, and are they not involving themselves and their posterity in all the evils which must and will result from these societies, as they become gradually corrupt, unless they form a singular exception to all other secret societies that have ever existed in the world? Nay the evil is already working

and producing in many Christian minds the secret leaven of ultimate and thorough-going infidelity. We are not a little astonished that sentiments like the following should be cherished and expressed by one who boldly calls himself "a humble and sincere disciple of the Lord."!!! "Both my experience and observation demonstrate the truth that there is little of Christian love in the church, and that a man in a strange land can claim nothing as a Christian that he could not claim as a worldling." Where, in this wicked world, does this Christian brother live, that he should have imbibed as truth this stale calumny of infidelity. We know not where he lives nor who he is. But we know that such feelings are the natural result of the associations and working of these secret societies. They begin by making men Pharisees, and end by transforming them into Sadducees. "To suppose that Christ Jesus, for the purpose of benefiting or reforming men, would have joined a society like the Sons of Temperance or the Odd Fellows; pledged himself to keep its transactions secret from all the female, and most of the male disciples; to receive and call the members of such societies, whether Jews, universalists, atheists, deists, or Mahometans, his brethren; that he would have listened to unconverted men pronouncing a sort of blessing in the name of the great Patriarch above; to suppose that Christ would have devoted or advised his disciples to devote the time and expense called for by such societies to such ends: that he would have put on their regalia, and walked thus in processions: that he would have entered into their meetings by the outside and inside sentinels: sat with closed doors and shutters: addressed the presiding officer by the title of 'Most worthy Patriarch,' whether the person elected 'Patriarch' 'by ballot every three months,' happened to be old or young, worthy or unworthy of such a sounding title: to suppose the blessed Jesus would have met in such a secret conclave to devise measures and execute schemes of reform, which are kept secret from the persons to be reformed: to suppose this is to betray an utter ignorance of Christ, his character, doctrines and mission. Christ was open in all his proceedings, these societies are dark. He rejected pompous titles; these societies confer them. He was a pattern of severe simplicity in person and in speech; these employ garish regalia and cabalistic jargon.

“Christ explicitly declares, and we repeat the expression, that he resorted to no secret methods of reform: ‘IN SECRET HAVE I SAID NOTHING.’ All the ends which he proposed, and the means by which they were to be reached, were open, and the world’s scrutiny was constantly invited. This information is explicit, and it is to the point. There were no secret societies among Christ’s disciples. Cabals and conclaves there were in their days; Venus had her mysteries, and Bacchus his orgies, and Jupiter his games; and these all had their processions, their badges, their signs of initiation and degrees of progress. But these were not of Christ nor for Christ. Their pretended foundation was philosophy, and their professed end happiness and light. But their practical working was fraud and imposition, superstition and lust. Every idol temple was a lodge room, and every junto of pagan priests was a lodge, who amused the multitude by shows, pageants and processions; attracted the philosophic by pretensions to wisdom; awed the superstitious by their mystic rites; gained money from all classes; and, in the name of one God or another, gratified the appetites and ambition of cunning and corrupt leaders, while time bore generations to the tomb and to the judgment beyond.”

The origin of these societies is to be found, therefore, not in Christianity, but in Christianity paganized and corrupted by popery. And hence these societies find a remarkable parallel in many Romish societies,* and hence also the principles upon which they are founded constitute the basis of the Tractarian movement in England and America, and have formed the easy pathway for many of its followers “from Oxford to Rome.”†

It seems that Dr. Hook is a member of the Manchester Unity of Independent Odd Fellows, and that, influenced by his example, or “feeling confident that he could not go wrong while treading in the footsteps of the most eminent and practical parish priest of the age,” a Sussex clergyman (the Rev. H. Newland, Rector and Vicar of Westborne) was induced to join the Society and advise his people to do the same. He has since preached a sermon before the members of the order at Southampton, in which his well known “Church principles” are not indistinctly stated; but there is one passage so curious, and we must say, so

* See Hall on Purgatory, p. 320, 321.

† See Oxford Tracts for the Times, Vol. 5, p. 6 and Pt. 11, §5.

suspicious, that we cannot forbear adding it. It is as follows—

“The revival of the ancient institution which we are this day met to celebrate, is but another display of that feeling which God in his mercy has stirred up in our hearts, as a fresh bulwark to the Church he has promised always to be with; it is a reverence for, it is a desire to return to the institutions of our forefathers. The name indeed is modern, it was changed, for reasons that I shall afterwards mention; but the principle is ancient, and though perhaps thirty years ago the word *Odd Fellowship* was unknown, yet societies similar in all respects to that which we see revived in our own days, existed 1200 years ago, and in the times of the Saxon Heptarchy.

“In those days they were called *gilds*, from the Saxon word ‘*gildan*,’ which means ‘to pay,’ because the necessary constitution of societies so called together, was that the members should pay something towards the support of the brotherhood to which they belonged. ‘*Gilds*,’ says Dr. Lingard, ‘were an institution of great antiquity among the Anglo-Saxons, and in every populous neighborhood they existed in various ramifications.’ In those times (as is now the case in Germany), they generally consisted of particular trades: such as the *Gild of Weavers*, the *Gild of Masons*, the *Gild of Fishmongers*, the *Gild of Apothecaries*, and the like, who used, at stated times, to meet at their *Guilddhall*; but in our days it has been considered more convenient to do away with the exclusiveness and party feeling, which so frequently arose from the conflicting interests of the different trades, and to join them all under the general title of *Odd* (that is *unconnected*) *Fellows*.

“‘The *Gild* was at all times essentially a Christian association or brotherhood, inasmuch as the ordinary members, over and above the special object for which they were associated, bind themselves to the performance of certain religious duties, with a view to their daily improvement in virtue.’” Thus we—though associated for the purpose of providing relief in sickness and a payment at death, for ourselves—sanctify that object by raising a fund for the relief of widows and orphans generally, the first fruits of which we present at God’s Holy Table, and thus throw the authority and protection of religion around institutions of a character otherwise secular; acknowledging that

human institutions will be for the most part vain, unless we bring religion in aid of earthly wisdom.

"To show you how little altered the principle of the society is now from what it was a thousand years ago. I will transcribe a translation of part of the laws belonging to the Gild of Abbotsbury.

"If any one belonging to our association chance to die, each member shall pay one penny for the good of the soul, before the body be laid in the grave: if he neglect it he shall be fined a triple sum: if any one of us fall sick within sixty miles, we engage to find fifteen men who shall bring him home: but if he die first, we will find thirty to convey him to the place where he desires to be buried, and the Steward shall summon as many members as he can to assemble and attend the corpse in an honourable manner, to carry it to the minister, and pray devoutly for his soul." "Let us act in this manner," says the commentator, "and we shall perform the duties of our confraternity: for we know not who among us may die first, but we believe, with the assistance of God, this agreement, if rightly observed, will profit us all."

"These laws, modified in some slight degree to suit the times, are the laws of the present day, and the brotherhood, as we now see it, may be defined as a benefit society, bound by general laws, and sanctified by the exercise of a religious act,—Charity towards the fatherless and widows."

Let no man then be deluded by the supposition that secret societies whether Masonic, Temperance or Odd Fellows, are "Practical Christianity" or Christian at all. They are in their origin pagan, in their tendency popish, and in their spirit anti-christian. Hence they are regarded by Nolan and other writers, to form a part of the destined instrumentality by which the great predicted aposiasy will effect its destructive purposes.*

Neither let any one look to these societies as the source of moral reformation. Reliance for promoting benevolence and goods morals generally, must be solely and wholly on the gospel and the grace of God. Torn from this living root, this evangelical basis, all experience shows that sound morality will quickly wither and expire. All other methods are empirical

and delusive. The bad tree cannot bear good fruit, and every plant which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up.* In proportion as we vigorously ply the gospel means for making men better, we may expect success; in proportion as we forsake them to try other devices, nothing but defeat.

Would we see what the gospel and the church have done? Let us contrast Christian with heathen lands and Christian with heathen ages. Extinguish every institution found in the former and never known in the latter, for the poor, the aged, the sick, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the destitute, the cold and perishing, the orphan and widow, the superannuated and imbecile, the ignorant and them that have no guide. The fact is that every thing that refines and elevates society, and that soothes its sorrows, and alleviates its calamities, is the fruit of Christianity. And would we see what Christianity could do? Let all among us become Christians and let Christians be what they should be, and then there would not remain a tear unwiped, a sorrow unrelieved, or a calamity unprovided for. Yes, if all the members of our churches would thus live and act and give to the church the energy, time, activity and zeal devoted to other objects, and if they would promote among themselves as far as need be, associations for the ends contemplated by these secret societies, how would our churches, instead of being languishing and faint, arise and shine, the glory of the Lord being arisen upon them, and how would they constrain all men to see and feel that "God is in them of a truth."†

* See Bloomfield on this passage.

† We would here call attention to the Christian Mutual Benefit Societies established in New York, of which the following is a notice: "The Third Anniversary of the Christian Mutual Benefit Society, No. 3, was held on Wednesday evening, 17th ult., in the Central Presbyterian Church in Broome street. The Rev. J. C. Hopkins, of the Bethesda Baptist Church, presided; the report of the Society was read by the Secretary, and addresses were delivered by the Rev. Geo. F. Kettell, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Vestry street, and Rev. Mr. Armitage, of the Baptist Church in Norfolk street. As this Association is a practical illustration of Christian Union, we take much pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to their anniversary. It is composed entirely of church members, and the report states that the members are attached to twenty-six different churches in this city. Their principal object is to relieve the sick, and provide for the families of those who may be taken away; being similar, in most of the details of their organization, to the Odd Fellows and Sons of Temperance, without presenting those objections which exist in many minds to secret societies. This association is organized and conducted entirely on Christian principles, and in addi-

To every Christian man who had been led into these secret associations we would therefore with all earnestness say: "Brother, you have made a mistake in 'carrying out the principles of Christ,' as you call them. His principles require us to 'do good to all men as we have opportunity, especially to them who are of the household of faith;' but you have allied yourself to a society which requires you to aid and assist all men in distress, and especially those who understand the *secret grip*. Christ never acted upon or inculcated such a principle as that. He enjoins upon his followers that while they do good to all men, they should especially feel compassion, not for those who can give a secret sign, but for those who love and follow Him. Beware, then, my brother, how you transfer your sympathies from your brethren in the church to a society which makes religion no test of membership, and bind yourself by rules which to you are contrary to the inspired word."

ART. III.—*A Commentary on the Book of Joshua.* By Charles Frederick Keil, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology, Professor of Exegesis and Oriental Languages in the Imperial University at Dorpat, and Member of the German Oriental Society. Erlangen: 1847. Svo. pp. 411.*

THE book of Joshua contains one of the most interesting and important portions of Israelitish history. Treating of the period of their establishment as a nation, it contains the grand denouement of which Genesis was prophetic and the rest of the Pentateuch immediately preparatory. The books of Moses without Joshua would resemble an unfinished building; the plan, the dimensions all visible, much of the work accomplished, enough to lead one to anticipate precisely what is to follow, yet never

tion to its leading object must do much to do away denominational prejudices, and draw closer the bonds of Christian love and sympathy which exist in every Christian heart, but which are so often chilled for want of light and sunshine, that they wither and die, and cease to be known as distinguishing traits of Christian character."

* Commentar über das Buch Josua. Von Karl Friedrich Keil u. s. w.

completed. It would be an imposing commencement with no corresponding conclusion. And as this book is the top stone of the Pentateuch, so it is the foundation of the books that follow. It presents us with the ripened fruit of seed sown ages before, itself containing the seeds of events for ages to come. A failure to have recorded the events of this period would therefore have left a gap in the sacred history, which nothing could supply. Without it what precedes would have been imperfect, what follows unexplained. The sacred writer was directed under the guidance of inspiration to fill this chasm; and in so doing there was given him as his theme the Conquest and the Division of Canaan. It is not the life of Joshua, which he undertakes to record; not Joshua's public acts or military exploits; not the history of Israel during Joshua's life: but simply the conquest and the division of Canaan. If this be kept distinctly in mind it will explain fully and satisfactorily the selection and arrangement of the materials: we can then understand why he records what he does; why he relates some events with extreme particularity and minuteness, merely glances at others, and then again passes over whole years in silence. It is not because nothing occurred then, nor because he did not know what occurred, but simply because he was writing with a definite plan before his mind, and related whatever fell into that plan: what did not he omitted. There can be no greater mistake than that which refers the chasms of the scripture history to chance, or to caprice, or to the writer's having lived at a time when all knowledge of what happened in the period of which he fails to give an account had been lost. The historians of the Bible were not mere journalists or chroniclers writing at random, or with the view of telling everything which they could recollect; they did not write for the sake of gratifying those who in future ages might be fond of historical research, nor for the sake of detailing interesting and memorable events to their contemporaries. They are theocratical historians; their object is to trace the development and progress of the kingdom of God, to mark its epochs, and to record events important to their own and to coming generations in a religious aspect. Thus in the book before us; take as the plan of it what we have stated it to be, and everything as to the choice or rejection of materials is clear. All that the book contains

ranges itself about that plan: what is omitted would have been plainly irrelevant. The book opens with the divine direction to Joshua, who had already been designated Moses' successor, to go over Jordan and take the land which God had sworn to their fathers to give to them, and divide it to the people for an inheritance, with the promise that if he faithfully observed the laws given by Moses, God would be with him as he had been with Moses, and not a man should be able to stand before him all the days of his life. These introductory verses furnish the key to the whole book. Joshua's execution of these commands in obedience to the divine direction, and God's gracious bestowal of his promised assistance, are the sum of what it contains. The first twelve chapters embrace the conquest; not a detailed account of all the marches of every campaign, but the prominent particulars only are seized upon to be minutely related, those which really mark the progress of events, those which bring most clearly to view God's miraculous help and how necessary the condition of obedience was to its being furnished. Other events belonging to the conquest, the battles, the capture of cities, and even long expeditions, which had nothing remarkable about them, are only mentioned summarily, in such a way as not to weary with a recital of what is unimportant, and yet at the same time so as to give a general view of the whole line of operations with their ultimate success. In chapters xiii—xxi we have the division of the land among the several tribes. In chapter xxii the two tribes and a half, who had assisted their brethren in the conquest, and stood by them in the division of Canaan, return in peace to their own respective possessions. Then we pass over an interval of several years, during which Israel was settled in the land, and which consequently fell not within the scope of the writer until we come to the closing scene of Joshua's life, when that great and good man gathered Israel once more around him by their representatives, to rehearse to them what God had done for them in giving them that goodly land, and to engage them to renewed pledges of obedience to him. And thus the book closes with this solemn recapitulation of what the Lord had done in faithfulness to the promise with which it had opened, and a public covenant engagement of the people to serve the Lord who had

driven out the Amorite and all those other nations from before them.

Joshua receives the divine command to possess the land. He immediately sends out two spies as preparatory to the execution. The book minutely records what befell them, not from the interest attaching to their hazardous adventure and lucky escape, but vividly to represent how in conformity with the divine promise the terror of Israel had fallen on the Canaanites. The anxious precautions of the king of Jericho, the pursuit of the spies, the language of Rahab to the spies and of the spies to Joshua on their return—all bear on this point. Then follows the passage of the Jordan, whose waters, though unusually high, were supernaturally dried up before them. What, it may be asked, was the design of this miracle? There are no trifling, frivolous miracles in the Bible. God does not suspend the established order of nature without just reason, not unless some important end is to be answered by it. Where, then, was the necessity of emptying the bed of the Jordan in order to get the people to the other side? The same thing could have been accomplished by natural means, without requiring the interference of omnipotence. Though the river was too high then to admit of its being forded, especially by women and children, boats might have been prepared or bridges constructed, by which they could have crossed the stream in the same manner as other armies have both before and since, with only the unimportant delay of a few days. The same inquiry may be made as to the necessity of dividing the Red Sea, bringing water from the rock, giving manna from heaven, &c. There was no need of their going through the Red Sea, penetrating so deeply into the desert, or crossing the Jordan at all in order to pass from Egypt into Canaan. There is a route vastly more expeditious, as well as practicable by natural means, which travellers are every day passing over. These questions are instantly answered, however, as soon as we gain a correct view of the design of these miracles. Their necessity, and indeed that of every other miracle recorded in the Bible, was not a physical, but a moral one. The object of them is the revelation of God's power and grace. The laws of nature, which God established in the beginning, are sufficient to accomplish every important physical end; it is only to meet our

moral necessities that they are interfered with. Israel could have been taken into Canaan without a miracle; but then there would have been no such striking displays to them of God's omnipotence, of his grace, of his nearness to them. The stupendous miracles wrought in Egypt, in the wilderness, and in the subjugation of Canaan, were to teach Israel and to teach all nations, that while the gods of the heathen were no Gods, and could neither do good nor do evil, Jehovah was the living and the Almighty God of the whole earth. They were to be made sensible of his power and grace and of their own dependence. Therefore they were brought into straits from which they could not extricate themselves, in order that they might see it to be God who delivered them. They were to be made to see that it was neither their own sword nor their own bow which saved them, but the Lord's right hand and his mighty arm had gotten them the victory; Canaan was not their conquest, but God's gift. But besides this general aim of all the miracles, of which this period, as one that specially needed them, was so full, and this general solution of their stupendous character as contrasted for instance with the milder type and the more contracted scale of our Saviour's miracles, there seems a special fitness in this particular miracle, in God's interfering visibly on their behalf at this particular time. God opens by it, as it were, the doors of the land, which he had promised to give them and conducts them in. He pledges by it the subjugation of the land, which followed. At the same time, as this was the first public act of Joshua, in his new capacity as leader of the people, it gave divine legitimacy to his office in their eyes, and was, in comparison with the precisely similar miracle under Moses, a striking attestation to the divine word: 'As I have been with Moses, so will I be with thee.'

The circumcising of the people and the celebration of the passover follows next; these belong to the history of the conquest, for the conquest was conditioned on the punctilious observance of all that Moses had commanded. But how came it to pass that the people were not circumcised? Their migratory condition, to which some have referred it, does not furnish an adequate explanation. Nor can we find the reason in the sinful neglect of the people. Bad as the character of the adult generation that left Egypt undoubtedly was, frequent as were

their murmurings and their rebellions against the Lord, repeatedly as they fell into even gross idolatry in the desert, we cannot charge them with so thorough and so continued a disregard of God's worship as it would have evinced for them thus to have given up entirely the very badge of the covenant during the whole of these forty successive years. Or if this might possibly have been the case with a part of the people, would not the rest, the less wicked portion, would not at any rate the pious among them have perpetuated it in their families? And why did Moses never rebuke the people for this great sin of neglecting the covenant seal? Why did not the new and more godly generation attend to it sooner themselves? Or why did not Joshua direct it in the plains of Moab without its being deferred until the people were passed over Jordan?

The true reason seems to be that the seal of the covenant shared the fate of the covenant itself. When Israel after repeated provocations at length consummated their rebellion by despising the promised land and refusing to enter it, God swore that none but two of that generation should be permitted to enter Canaan. All were condemned to fall in the wilderness; and their children should wander about bearing their father's iniquities until the whole of them had perished. While this sentence lasted, therefore, they were a rejected people and had no right to the seals of the covenant. They were not now God's people, and had no right to mark themselves as such. A gracious God, it is true, did not utterly withdraw from them every token of his favour. The manna, the pillar of cloud, the tabernacle, were still continued to them as so many tokens that the Lord had not finally abandoned them; that though he was angry with them for a season, his favour would again return; that though he had cast off the fathers he would deal mercifully with their children. Hence we see why this ordinance was not resumed until Israel had crossed the Jordan. Then first the period of the sentence was complete. The mighty miracle then wrought gave assurance that God was again with them, and again regarded them as his people. They were now, therefore, once more fit subjects for the covenant seal. And thus the reproach of Egypt was rolled away. During the years of Israel's rejection there seemed some ground for the Egyptians' reproaches, that the Lord had brought Israel out for mischief to

consume them, (Ex. xxxii. 12). But now all occasion for such reproaches was taken away by the Lord's returning to them again, restoring to them the lost seal of his gracious covenant, and recommencing his mighty wonders in the midst of them.

To the cavils that so great a multitude of people could not have been circumcised in so short a time, and that if circumcised on the 11th of the month, that is, the day after passing the river, they would not have recovered from it by the 14th when the passover was celebrated, and that circumcising the entire host at once would have left the camp for a period defenceless, it is very easy to reply. It would take no longer to circumcise all the people, than it would a single family: for the head of each family would attend to the circumcising of his house. And even if they were not perfectly healed by the fourteenth of the month, that would not hinder them from participating in the solemnities of the passover then observed. And as to its leaving the camp defenceless, even if it were not enough to say that the Lord would be their protector, there was no insignificant number of the people, who had been already circumcised. Keil presents us with a calculation, founded on the known laws of human life, from which it appears that among the million of males who entered Canaan, there must have been 338,000 of those who left Egypt under 20 years of age and were consequently circumcised; or even if there was as great mortality among them as among the generation condemned to perish in the wilderness, there would still be 270,000 of them living.

On the morrow after the passover they did eat of the corn (not 'the *old* corn', as it stands in our version) of the land, ch. v. 11. This also was agreeable to the law. Lev. xxiii. 5-14: on the morrow after the Sabbath or first day of the passover feast, the priest was required to wave a sheaf of the first fruits before the Lord: then Israel could partake of the harvest themselves, but not before. From this time forth the manna ceased. It is not to be supposed from this that the manna was the sole food of the Israelites from the time it began to fall up to this moment, and that now it suddenly gave place to the natural products of the earth. This miracle of giving bread from heaven was wrought for the supply of their need, and consequently was only wrought to the extent that need required, and during the period that it lasted. That the children of Israel had

other food in the desert at certain times at least, besides that miraculously furnished them, is apparent from the narrative. We read of their being encamped by palm trees; their riotous feasting about the golden calf implied something more than mere bread and water; when they passed the borders of Edom, they bought food of them: when they destroyed the cities and possessed the land of Sihon, Og and other kings, they no doubt found much provision among the spoils; a large portion of the thirty-eight years of their sentence in the wilderness seems to have been spent very much in one place, and they may during that period have raised much from the soil for their subsistence; when they came to the banks of Jordan three days were spent in providing victuals: they had, besides, large possessions of flocks and herds, whose flesh and milk they could use. It would be needless to have the manna fall about them merely to be wasted, when they could supply themselves from such sources as these. It was when natural supplies fell short or failed altogether, that this bread of heaven was sent them in sufficient quantities to make up their deficiency. When they needed more, more came. When they were where no other provision could be obtained, enough fell to feed the entire host. As their necessities were greater or less, just the quantity fell which they required. And now that they had arrived in Canaan and an abundant harvest lay before them, all need of the manna ceased and it consequently fell no longer.

Next follows the capture of Jericho, then that of Ai, then the submission of the men of Gibeon, then the two grand expeditions to the south and to the north, in which the land was finally subdued. And to conclude the first part of the book, chap. xii. contains a recapitulation of the entire conquest, as effected both by Moses and by Joshua.

Keil coincides with some other eminent scholars in giving an exposition of the passage, x. 12-15, different from that commonly entertained. Most interpreters have found there the literal stoppage of the sun in his course for an entire day. The volume before us presents quite another view of it, for which a sufficient array of reasons is given to entitle it at the least to a respectful consideration. Keil does not belong to that school of critics, who look upon miracles as difficulties in the narrative, and manifest a constant disposition to unburden it of

as many as possible. He never hesitates to admit a miracle, wherever we have the authority of the scriptures that one took place. But if it was not the design of the inspired writer to describe a literal miracle here, reverence for his authority does not require us to suppose that there was one. The ordinary objections to this miracle on the ground that it was too grand a display of power for so trifling a reason, or that it would have disturbed the harmony of the celestial bodies, or by the violence of its shock have displaced everything upon the surface of the earth, or that the nations of antiquity make no mention of the occurrence of such a phenomenon, he justly sets aside as perfectly futile. He rests the whole case upon the question as to the design of the inspired writer in this passage. Did he mean us to understand that the sun actually delayed his course in the heavens? Keil supposes not. In his view the account of the battle and the miraculous victory at Gibeon is interrupted at the end of the 11th verse, which speaks of the miraculous fall of hail stones, and that then vs. 12-15 contain not the account of another event, which took place that same day, viz. the standing still of the sun, which the writer both states in his own words and for confirmation of the fact appeals to the book of Jasher, citing from it a passage in which this was recorded, which is the common view; but these verses contain none of the writer's own words at all. They consist wholly of a verbatim extract from the book of Jasher, the source from which they are taken being indicated neither at the beginning, nor at the end, but in the middle of the citation; and they describe no new event, no literal standing still of the sun, but are a highly figurative and poetical description of the miraculous victory already described in the immediately preceding verses. The author of the sacred lyric from which this quotation is made, is celebrating the praises of God for having granted so glorious a victory to Israel and by such miraculous means. He conceives of Joshua as calling upon the Lord that the sun might wait upon Gibeon until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies; or in other words that the day might not be brought to a close until Israel had gained a complete victory. And in the liveliness of the figure he conceives of it as though the sun had actually delayed his course and waited in the midst of heaven, while the people should pursue their flying foes. If

this were the language of prose, if these were the words of the writer of the book himself, there would then be no question about their being literally understood. But they are a quotation from a triumphal song; and it is, according to the view which we are now presenting, to mistake altogether the nature of poetical language to understand this as though it were designed for literal description; as much as if, when Deborah says in her song, "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera," any one should understand her to mean that the stars actually exerted an influence in procuring his defeat: or when the Lord is said to rend the heavens and come down and the mountains to flow down at his presence, this should be taken for literal description instead of poetical imagery. It was all the same whether God lengthened one day into two, or enabled the people to accomplish the work of two days in one: and the truth of poetry is preserved if its language convey the former, though it was the latter which actually occurred.

That the verses 12–15 have been taken word for word as they stand from the book of Jasher, is argued from the intimate connexion between v. 16 and v. 11, showing that all between is parenthetic; from the note of time in v. 12, "when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel," which sounds more like the words of a different author, than a continuation of the previously begun account; and because the return of Joshua to the camp at Gilgal, spoken of in the 15th verse, did not take place until all the remaining events recorded in this chapter had occurred (see v. 43). The 15th verse belongs not to the narrative, therefore, but is part of the quotation. It states in the general, that after the great event there celebrated, Joshua and Israel returned to the camp without saying whether anything else occurred in the interval or not. Then in the 15th verse the narrative commences again, where it had been interrupted by this quotation, and goes on to detail what took place before this return, the flight and concealment of the five kings, their execution, and the capture of various cities.

It is regarded as confirmatory of this view that the moon is called upon to delay its course as well as the sun, which manifestly belongs only to the poetic parallelism; for if the sun continued to shine what need would they have of the moon? And yet further it is alleged that from the relative position of

Gibeon and the valley of Ajalon, Joshua's command to the sun and moon could not have been uttered when the day was declining, and apprehensions began to be excited that darkness would come on too soon, as has commonly been assumed by those who hold the prevalent view of a literal miracle in the case: that the only time of day, when the sun could have appeared over Gibeon, and the moon at the same time over Ajalon, was in the morning when the whole day was still before them, and the necessity could not yet have made itself felt of having the day protracted.

The book of Jasher spoken of here, is but once more referred to in the scriptures, 2 Sam. i. 18, where that beautiful lament of David over Saul and Jonathon is extracted from it. From this some have drawn the conclusion that the book of Jasher could not have existed before the time of David, since it contained a piece of his composition: and hence they have argued that the book of Joshua which contains a quotation from that of Jasher could not have been written until the reign of David. Those arguments, however, are not so easily set aside, by which, as we shall hereafter see, its composition by Joshua himself, or at least by a contemporary and a participant in the events which it records may be proved. And there is no difficulty in the way of assuming what agrees with the scanty notices we have of this book, that it was a compilation of sacred lyrics, increased from time to time as new ones were composed and added to it. In the days of Joshua, it could not of course contain a poem written by David. But it had in it the ode upon Israel's victory at Gibeon which is here cited. When David wrote his lament, that was added to the existing collection; how many others had been added before, or were added afterwards, or how large the collection may have been at any given time, whether that of Joshua or that of David, we have no means of knowing. The only conjecture, which we can form as to its contents is derived from the two citations made from it, and from its name, "the book of Jasher," which means the book of the upright, i. e. written to celebrate the deeds of the chosen or peculiar people.

After seven years had been thus occupied in conquering the land, Joshua proceeds, by divine direction, to execute the other part of his commission, the division of the land among the tribes.

Moses having already assigned to two and a half tribes their possessions beyond the Jordan, in addition to the tribe of Levi, who were to receive no inheritance, nine and a half remained to be provided for by Joshua. As in the summary of the conquest (chap. xi.) the places taken by Moses are given as well as those taken by Joshua; so in the account of the division, we have in pursuance of the same plan first the territories assigned by Moses to Reuben, Gad, and one half of Manasseh, then those assigned by Joshua to the remaining tribes. Their various possessions were determined by lot, not only in order to cut off all occasion for dissatisfaction and complaint, but that each tribe might thankfully receive their portion as the immediate gift of God to them. The lot, however, seems to have determined only the position of the tribes, not the extent of their territory: this was proportioned to the size of the tribe and was enlarged or diminished after the division as circumstances rendered necessary (ch. xvii. 4. xix. 9.)

It may create surprise that the division, instead of being completed at once for all the tribes, was interrupted upon Judah and Joseph receiving their inheritance; and the remaining seven tribes show so little desire to have it continued that Joshua has to reprove them for their slackness. It is a matter of some difficulty to assign a sufficient reason for this interruption. Some have assumed dissensions among the tribes, or a gradual division advancing as the land was wrested in successive portions from the hands of the Canaanites. Keil adopts the following view of the matter, in which are skilfully combined the various facts of the history. The land had at first, in order to its allotment, been separated into nine or ten parts without previously taking an accurate description of it but simply from the general knowledge gained in their various campaigns and marches. The allotment was begun upon these data, leaving the more precise determination of the extent of each one's territory to be afterwards settled according to the size of the tribe. The tribe upon whom the lot first fell entered at once into their inheritance and occupied themselves with taking possession of it and fixing accurately its boundaries. This necessarily occupied some time; then another lot was cast determining the position of a second tribe, and they pursued the same course. Thus after the lapse of a considerable period Judah, Ephraim, and

half Manassch had successively received their inheritance. Meanwhile the tabernacle was set up at Shiloh, in the territory of Ephraim, and the camp of Israel was removed thither from Gilgal. The remaining tribes manifested little anxiety to be settled. It was easier for them, accustomed to a nomadic life in the desert, to wander about among the Canaanites as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had done, seeking a subsistence for themselves and their cattle, especially as the inhabitants of the land were so far subdued that they had nothing to fear from them, than it would be to enter into a fixed inheritance and attempt their extermination. But Joshua, true to the task imposed upon him, urges the sluggish tribes to their duty, and enjoins it upon them to make preparation for completing the division. And as the tribe of Joseph had complained of the territory they received being inadequate, as that given to Judah proved too large, a commission was sent to take survey of the land which might furnish the basis of greater accuracy in its distribution. It was hereupon found that Judah and Joseph had taken more than their fair proportion: but as their position had been assigned them by the decision of God through the lot, they could not be disturbed in their inheritance. The only resource remaining was to leave them in their allotted places, and detach portions from the territory, which with that still unoccupied was distributed among the rest of the tribes.

There are, as it was natural to expect, many obscurities in the geographical portion of this book, and it is found extremely difficult, if not impossible to lay down with precision the boundaries of all the tribes. This arises in part, from the imperfect knowledge as yet possessed of the localities of Palestine; but even if that were more perfect, a great number of the places that are mentioned could not now be identified, for many of these names never appear again in subsequent history; they were places it may be, of little note, or destroyed perhaps and never rebuilt, or else called by other names. It is wonderful that at such a distance of time we are able to identify so many as we can.

The discrepancies in some minor details found between Joshua and Chronicles (e. g. Josh. xxi. 13-39, compared with 1 Chron. vi. 37-81) are readily explained, without the credibility of either book suffering, by supposing that the same place may

have had two names; or that in the lapse of a thousand years, which intervened between the composition of the two books, names may have been altered; or that old places may have fallen to decay and new ones sprung up; or that a city may have come into the possession of a different tribe from that to which it originally belonged; or finally, that an error may have occurred in the transcription, which in the case of such long lists of names is very possible.

The few instances where a sum is given which does not correspond with the previously enumerated particulars (e. g. xv. 21-32,) admit also of being variously explained. In this case, the cities that were subsequently taken from Judah to be given to Simeon may not have been reckoned; or the names of some villages may be given as well as those of cities, and yet only the cities counted; or here and there in the list two names may belong together as the designation of one place; or the list may originally have contained but twenty-nine names, and the writer may have afterwards inserted others of less note, without altering the amount which he had already placed at its close; or if no other explanation be deemed satisfactory, there is the last resort of assuming a corruption the number. They who deny the inspiration and even the credibility of this book, must themselves admit that any supposition is here preferable to that of an original error, unless they can believe that the author was not able to count.

That we find in different parts of the book the capture of the same place differently described, as to its time and circumstances, (e. g. compare ch. x. 36-39. xi. 21. xiv. 12-14,) does not arise, as has been sometimes alleged, from varying or contradictory accounts of the same event. They are different events: there is no difficulty in the supposition of successive captures of the same city. The places were taken once; and then, when Joshua and Israel were absent in another part of the land subduing it, the Canaanites returned, re-occupied and fenced them again: and Israel was compelled once more to drive them out.

When and by whom this book was written, we are nowhere explicitly told, either in the book itself or in any other part of scripture, and can only gather a conclusion from incidental notices in the book itself. In ch. xvi. 10 we read that the Canaanites were not driven out that dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaan-

ites dwelt among the Ephraimites unto this day. Now in the days of Solomon, as we learn from 1 Kings ix. 16, Pharaoh king of Egypt went up and took Gezer and burnt it with fire, and slew the Canaanites that dwelt in the city and gave it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife. It must have been before that, therefore, that this book was written. Again, in xv. 63, we read. As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day. Now we know that it was in the early part of the reign of David that Jerusalem was wrested out of the hands of the Jebusites and that it was thenceforth the seat of his kingdom. See also ch. xi. 8 and xix. 28, "great Zidon," whereas Tyre not Zidon was the principal city in David's time. In ix. 27 we are told that Joshua made the Gibeonites hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of the Lord unto this day, in the place which he should choose. From this passage we learn not only that at the time, when this book was written, the Lord had not yet chosen a place for the temple, which was done in the days of David, but that the Gibeonites still continued to perform service near the altar. Now Saul slew the Gibeonites in his reign (2 Sam. xxi. 1): consequently the composition of the book cannot be referred to a later date than this. There are other data, however, which carry us much further back. In ch. vi. 25 we read of Rahab the harlot, "she dwelleth in Israel even unto this day," and in ch. xiv. 14, "Hebron became the inheritance of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, unto this day:" from which it appears that Rahab and Caleb were still living, when this was written. From the expressions in v. 1, "the Lord dried up the waters of Jordan from before the children of Israel until *we* were passed over," and v. 6 "the land, which the Lord swore unto their fathers, that he would give *us*," we learn that its author was present at the original passage of the Jordan and the taking possession of the land.

The Jewish Talmud asserts and probably the most common belief is that Joshua himself was its author; which opinion has in its favour the analogy of Moses having written what it was thought proper to record of the events of his days, and in which he was a principal actor, so that it seems natural to expect that his successor would do the same. This conjecture receives

apparently some confirmation from ch. xxiv. 26 where we are told of the events related in that chapter, that Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God. That book of the law could not well be any other than that which contained the Pentateuch; and if Joshua wrote this closing chapter of the book bearing his name there, the presumption is that the previous chapters were written by him also. Then the closing verses, which record his death would be added by another after that event took place, just as an account of the death of Moses was appended to the Pentateuch. It may also be suggested as, though a small matter in itself, yet pointing to the same conclusion, that Joshua first receives the title 'the servant of the Lord' in these closing verses; while through the body of the work he is called simply Joshua or else Joshua, Moses' minister. The only thing which throws doubt upon Joshua's being its author is its relating events, which seem to be spoken of in the book of Judges as having occurred after Joshua was dead. Comp. ch. xv. 13-10. xv. 63. xvi. 10. xvii. 11, 12, with the parallel accounts in Judges ch. i., and ch. xix. 47 with Judges ch. xviii. Here all depends upon the manner in which the dates are to be reconciled. If we consider the first verse of Judges as establishing that everything related in the book took place after Joshua's death, then the book of Joshua could not have been written until after that event, and must consequently have been the work of some contemporary who survived him. If on the other hand, the date in Judges i. 1 strictly refers only to the event recorded Judges i. 1-8, and the following particulars to which no date is prefixed may really have happened sooner, the book of Joshua may still have been written before Joshua's death, and for aught we know by Joshua himself.

To one who is at all familiar with the history of theological opinion in Germany in recent times, it is not a matter of surprise to find the integrity and early date as well as the credibility of this book vehemently assailed; the two former indeed chiefly for the sake of bringing the last into discredit, for although the truth of its contents is not necessarily dependent upon the period of its composition, yet if Joshua or a contemporary was its author, the other marks of credibility are so manifest that the truth of its recitals cannot be denied. There are three things about this book, any one of which is sufficient

to procure its unqualified condemnation at the hands of a certain school of critics: its miracles, its predictions, and the testimony it renders to the truth and Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. Miracles can in their eyes never be more than fabulous legends; predictions must have been written after the event; and as the Pentateuch is necessarily condemned by the same laws, whatever testifies to its truth must fall with it. These principles are assumed by them as indisputably true, the book sentenced accordingly, and then searched with microscopic accuracy, if perchance anything may be discovered to support their foregone conclusions. To a believer in the existence or even possibility of a divine revelation, these first principles are inconclusive and worthless: to the critic and scholar their additional arguments are equally so. The alleged contradictions when examined in detail will be found no contradictions, and become positive arguments in favour of the truth of the book, when it is seen that beneath their seeming inconsistency there is a real argument. That the citation from the book of Jasher does not prove its composition later than the time of Joshua, we have already seen. The arguments from the occurrence of the name Jerusalem (ch. x. 1. xviii. 28), and from the distinction of the southern range of Canaan into the mountains of Judah and the mountains of Israel (ch. xi. 16, 21), have now been given up by their authors. The assumption that the name Jerusalem was first bestowed on the city after its capture by David is destitute of all historical proof: and the distinction into Judah and Israel did not first arise after the separation of the two kingdoms; that separation was rather induced by the distinction already existing. The germ of it may be found as far back as the patriarchal period (Gen. xlix. 1 Chron. v. 2); it was gradually augmented by the predominance which Judah acquired in the Mosaic period by its numbers and otherwise (Num. i. 27. x. 14). But apart from this, its occurrence here is sufficiently explained by the facts of our book itself. Judah had taken possession of the south of the land; all Israel lay encamped at Shiloh; what could be more natural than that the part of the range occupied by Judah should be called the mountain of Judah, and that where all the rest of Israel lay the mountain of Israel, or inasmuch as it lay within the territory of Ephraim, the mountain of Ephraim (ch. xx. 7).

The extraordinary hypothesis, which has found so much favour among the unbelieving critics of Germany, as to the fragmentary structure of this book, might be applied with equal success and equal reason to any other book that ever has been written. Ewald has discovered that no less than five different writers have had a hand in its composition. He tells us exactly when each of them lived, and the special bias under which he wrote, and singles out in every chapter with undoubted accuracy the verses which belong to each. The utter groundlessness of such a hypothesis is a sufficient refutation, even if the impossibility of bringing it into accordance with the phenomena which the book presents did not afford an ample contradiction. The evident and consistent plan of the book, as above developed, is wholly at variance with it. There could be neither order nor consistency in such a chaos of fragments as it supposes. The theory of two writers, one distinguished by the unvarying use of the divine name God, and the other by that of Lord, whose writings became somehow blended, breaks down here most signally; and it is confessed, even by those who adopt it, that the occurrence of one or the other of these names is not of itself sufficient to decide to which author the supposed fragment belongs. And every attempt to establish a criterion by other assumed characteristic words or phrases has proved equally unsuccessful. The alleged contradictions, even were they such in reality, would prove nothing in favour of this hypothesis, unless on the supposition of an unaccountable forgetfulness or stupidity on the part of him who strung these fragments together, to whom, however, they are compelled to attribute great skill and shrewdness. The occurrence of occasional repetitions, and of sections with a formal introduction and close, has been confidently brought forward as proof of a fragmentary character; but as Ewald himself has conclusively shown in one of his earlier productions, these are peculiarities of the oriental style generally, arising in fact out of the simplicity of their language and of their mode of narration.

The morality of scarcely any book in the Bible has been more assailed by the enemies of revelation than that of the book of Joshua. It has been represented as unworthy of God, as sanctioning what is abhorrent to all just ideas of his nature, and as diametrically opposed to the mild and benevolent prin-

ciples of Christianity. The Israelites have been represented as a horde of lawless wanderers, who, having broken loose from bondage in Egypt, fell upon the inoffensive Canaanites, forcibly wrested from them their just possessions, and wantonly and mercilessly butchered them without distinction of age or sex. And when this horrible picture of injustice and inhumanity has been drawn, we are asked, Can a holy and merciful Being, can the Christian's God, sanction such proceedings? Had we space, we should have been pleased here to discuss this point, with the view of vindicating the book against such aspersions, showing the right by which Israel took possession of Palestine, and the just reasons, why God directed the extermination of its former inhabitants, at the same time inquiring into the relation in which our holy and peaceful religion stands to war. We need as much to pray to be delivered from some of the professed friends of revelation here as from its more open and undisguised enemies: for there have been those, who by undertaking to defend this point on insufficient or ill-chosen grounds have seemed to cast the mantle of Christianity over the iniquities and barbarities of modern warfare, and to justify the wholesale murders with which the civilized and Christian nations of modern times are reeking, though they call him Master and Lord who said 'Love your enemies.' These topics we are unwilling wholly to pass over without consideration. But we shall be able to do no more than in the most hurried manner indicate the line of argument which we should wish to pursue. And we should defend the right of Israel to Canaan, not on the ground of the prior occupancy of it by the patriarchs, as though a claim had then been formed to the territory, which their descendants now reasserted; nor on the ground that Israel having no land of their own after leaving Egypt could not be bound to remain forever in the barren wilderness, and if the Canaanites would not give them peaceable possession among them, they were at liberty, from the natural right of all men to life and to the means of its support, to seize upon land wherever they could find it to live upon; nor should we, calling to our aid the maxim that might makes right, defend it on what is by a grievous misnomer called the *right* of conquest. They had no right to the land founded on any

natural claim to its possession, nor any derived from the conventional usages of men. But it was theirs by divine gift. God promised Abraham to give it to his seed; that promise was reiterated to his descendants and it was in fulfilment of it that they received the land. They entered Canaan and took possession of it by the immediate command of God. The perfect legitimacy of a right thus obtained none can question, who are not prepared to deny altogether the interference of God in human affairs. It is he who appoints to nations as to individuals the bounds of their habitations. This goodly land in the exercise of his righteousness he took from the Canaanites, who had forfeited it by their sins, and in his grace he gave it to Israel with the distinct understanding that they likewise were to be deprived of it, if they proved unfaithful and disobedient stewards.

But why were the Canaanites to be utterly destroyed? The reason is repeatedly given in connexion with the command. It is not to be explained from the usual bloody character of wars in that barbarous age. But it was because of the abominations and gross idolatries of the Canaanites for which the Lord would thus punish them. God would glorify his justice by the destruction of those who would not glorify him by a willing service. Refusing to comply with this, the end of their creation, they were forced to subserve it by their utter destruction. In the days of Abraham their iniquity was not yet full; and therefore the land though promised to him was not taken from them nor given to him in present possession. The Israelites were not acting under an impulse of their own when they made war upon Canaan. They were guided neither by ambition nor by lust of conquest. They were simply the executors of the divine vengeance; just as the flood, the pestilence, and the earthquake, are commissioned by heaven to cut off those, who provoke God's judgments. Why may He not at his pleasure employ men to do his bidding in this respect as well as he may the elements? He does thus employ men constantly in his providence as the unconscious executioners of his judgments. Babylon chastises the sins of Judea, Persia humbles the pride of Babylon, Greece is the rod in God's hand against Persia, and is in its turn scourged by Rome, which itself falls before the irruptions of barbarous invaders. Where now are the nations

of antiquity? Which of them has not been made at one time the executioner of divine judgments upon others, then itself in turn punished for its own guilty excesses? And if sinful nations thus unwittingly accomplish the righteous will of a holy God, why may not an elect and godly nation be employed as the conscious instruments of his just vengeance? There is no door left open here for fanaticism, the fancying a divine commission, and under its pretended sanction putting to death and plundering all of a different faith, or whomsoever their religious frenzy might lead them to encounter. Israel was evidently under divine guidance. Miraculous power attended them every foot of the way, and proved the commands which they received to be no fanatical ravings but the mandates of the God of the whole earth. He fed them from the skies, gave them drink from the rock, opened a passage through Jordan, threw down the walls of Jericho, saw their enemies with hail-stones. There could be no mistake that the living God was in the midst of them and directed all their proceedings. And there was a special reason too why Israel should be the executioner of the divine will in this instance, rather than that the land should be first depopulated by pestilence or by some other natural agent, and the people be brought into the land thus emptied for them. In that case they would not have felt so sensibly their own weakness and dependence on the power of God. They would have forgotten the agency of God in giving them the land, attributing all to the second causes, which he might have employed as his instruments; nor could in that case the Canaanites be, as the residue of them proved, a constant trial to Israel, whether or no they would be faithful to the service of the Lord.

But why, it has been asked, were the Canaanites thus singled out for punishment? Were they the only idolaters? Were they so much worse than others? And why punished by the Israelites, whom the enemies of religion delight in representing to be as bad if not worse than the nations they destroyed? The Canaanites were not, as is here supposed, singled out. The righteous providence of God extends over all nations, and each is punished when its cup of iniquity is full, not all to the same extent indeed, nor by the same means, but punished as he sees fit. Besides, the Canaanites were addicted to the vilest, and

most abominable practices, such as were regarded with detestation and horror by the heathen themselves. It is a slander upon Israel too to speak of the generation under Joshua otherwise than as a pious, godly race. That there were individuals among them, who were not truly pious, is of course to be supposed. But the whole tenor of the history in this book, shows them to have been scrupulously obedient to the divine will, and regardful of the divine honour. We find none of the murmurings which characterized the generation that left Egypt under Moses, none of those relapses into idolatry that fill their history in the period of the kings. They were a people in covenant with God, and mindful of that covenant, which they repeatedly and solemnly renewed. They looked upon themselves as only the organs of the divine will in this matter; they burned with the same zeal against the sin of Achan among themselves, and against the supposed transgression of certain tribes, as they did against the idolatrous Canaanites; and they were informed that the judgment, which they now by divine direction executed upon others, would be executed as terribly upon themselves, if they were unfaithful to the covenant of their God.

After what has been said, we need scarcely add that this furnishes no precedent, no justification whatever, in favour of modern wars of conquest. Where Israel's example is claimed, let the same evidences be shown of divine guidance, the same miraculous indications that such is the will of God.

Much has been written and said very loosely about the literal sense and the historical sense of the scriptures. That there is a spiritual sense to the whole bible, that is to say, that the whole bible was intended for our spiritual improvement, is obvious. It could not be what it is, in all its parts the word of God, it could not be even a religious book, unless this were the case. If there be any part of it that admits of no such use, that part is exclusively secular and has no place in the Bible. Setting out, however, with this obvious principle, some have run absolutely wild in their so-called spiritual interpretations. Some mystics have gone to the extent of affirming that there are seven distinct senses in every passage of Holy Writ, all of which they pretend to be able to discover. Some have adopted what is commonly known as the allegorical mode of interpreting scripture, and find some hidden, mostly typical meaning in every verse, too often

despising or giving up altogether its plain and natural signification. Others have gone to the opposite extreme of treating the narratives of the bible as they would mere uninspired productions, as though they stood simply upon a parallel with profane history, and were nothing more to us than a record of what had been transacted in ages long since past. A few simple principles seem to us to govern this whole matter, and to be sufficient to preserve us from the extremes on either hand. The danger on one side is that of arbitrary and fanciful exposition, which foists in meanings upon the scriptures, which the spirit of inspiration never intended, and which puts it completely within the power of the interpreter to make anything or nothing of any passage at his option, by assuming some mystical sense without reason or necessity, and perverting it to the obscuration of its just and direct meaning. Under such a system of interpretation it is not the scriptures but men's own vagaries, which form their rule of faith. There is no difficulty of any man's thus making scripture teach just what he pleases. The danger on the other side is, as we have already said, that of degrading a large portion of the scriptures from the word of God, and a book designed for our spiritual improvement, to a mere secular history, finding in it nothing about Christ or eternal salvation, no new illustrations of the character of God, no fresh motives for trust in his mercy, or strenuous obedience to his holy will. Both these extremes are to be deprecated. The middle path is the true one; and the direction in which that lies remains now to be pointed out. This we can perhaps best do under three particulars.

The special intervention of God in the history of ancient Israel is to be kept in view. God interferes in all history of every age and nation; and no history is read aright unless the agency of God is sought for in it, and how the various events which occur enter into his plan of governing the world and bringing about his wise and righteous ends. But this is true in a very peculiar sense of all that befell his ancient people. They were under the particular care and the immediate government of God, as no other nation ever was. And not only so but their history was written by the pen of inspiration with the view of unfolding this special relation, in which they stood to God, and the duties, the privileges, and the responsibilities,

which it brought with it. This history shows how God dealt with his people, and how they dealt with him. Now God is the same in every age; what he was to them, he is now. He who removed every obstacle out of the way of his faithful people, even to the opening of a passage through the Red Sea, the dividing of Jordan, or casting down the impregnable walls of Jericho, will not fail to make their path clear before them now. He who supplied all their necessities, giving them bread from heaven and water out of the flinty rock, will not suffer those to famish who hunger and thirst after righteousness, nor will he permit them who fear him to lack any good thing. He who heard them ever in their hour of need and caused all their enemies to flee before them, will grant his people deliverance now from all their inward and outward foes. He who punished Israel's sins, will ever visit the transgressions of his people with the rod; yet he who graciously returned to them when they again sought his face will show himself always merciful to his repentant though backsliding people.

"As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man." The men of one age live over again in those of every other. We may see ourselves portrayed in the character of Israel. We see there the workings of the natural and of the imperfectly sanctified heart under the means which God employs for its conversion and salvation. Their waywardness and disobedience, their murmurings, their hasty ill-timed zeal, their negligent remissness, all find their counterpart in us; and well is it, if the hearty penitence and the sincere obedience, which they manifested at other periods, find likewise in us their parallel. The instruction thus gained we shall for brevity's sake call the inferential use of history. This is in every case a legitimate deduction from the narrative, and the spiritual instruction thus gained is by the fairest construction a part of the meaning of the inspired record.

Next to this we shall mention what may be called the analogical use of scripture. This is done when we trace resemblances between natural and spiritual objects, and illustrate the latter through the medium of the former. There is no logical deduction here, as in the former case. We find in it not proof but illustration. Where the resemblance is striking, and especially where it extends to many particulars, it often enables the mind

easily and distinctly to apprehend what otherwise perhaps it could scarcely grasp, and even if it does not positively confirm the truth, it performs a valuable service in obviating objections. With many minds an apt analogy has all the force of a rigid proof, or is perhaps more effective because more intelligible and impressive than such a proof would be to them. It is to all as pleasing as well as an instructive way of conveying truth. We make use of analogies from the works of God in nature the better to set forth spiritual relations; and why may we not make a similar use of his word? especially as we can claim for it the example of inspired apostles, who not unfrequently drew such analogies from the Old Testament for the instruction of their hearers or readers. The propriety and the advantages of it are so obvious that it is constantly done by all Christians; and some of these analogies are so true and striking that they have stamped themselves upon our current devotional language and upon our most ordinary conception of things, to such an extent indeed, that in employing them we scarcely think that we are using figures. The wilderness world, the Jordan of death, the heavenly Canaan, are as familiar in our religious language as any literal expression we can employ. The only caution necessary in connexion with this use of scripture, is that we should remember analogies are not proofs, and even the best analogies are not perfect. They should therefore not be pressed too far; it does not follow that, because there is a resemblance however striking in some points, there must be a corresponding similarity in every other. Neither does one analogy exclude another; but the same thing may have a resemblance on different sides to various spiritual truths, and may be rightfully employed in illustration of them all. In order to learn what is the truth, we must go to those parts of scripture, where it is plainly and directly conveyed. But when the truth has first been discovered and proved from other sources, we may then resort to analogies to aid in its distinct conception and to impress it more vividly on the mind; while of course, the use of any passage by way of analogy is never to be understood as superseding or invalidating its proper historical sense.

A third use of these parts of scripture may be called their suggestive use, by which we mean the taking its language in detached portions and without any particular attention to its

connexion or to the precise sense which it must have in the place where it occurs, allowing it to suggest any profitable sense which the words may be capable of bearing, or awaken any train of devout thought which may casually connect itself with them. This of course is not interpreting scripture; the meanings or the thoughts thus suggested are never to be put forward as the true sense of the passage, with which they may be connected; and yet, we think that if indulged in sparingly, and by a person already well instructed and of sound judgment, it may not only be allowable but very profitable. It is well to have devout thoughts and important truths frequently in our minds, whatever may be the immediate occasion of their introduction. As we walk by the way or sit in the house, as we look abroad upon the works of God or upon the handiwork of man, it is of service to let every thing be an occasion of suggesting such thoughts, however remote or even fanciful the association that introduces them. Especially, then, it seems to us that when we are reading the word of God, about which every sacred association spontaneously clusters, we may at times, with profit, instead of anxiously confining ourselves to the strict and proper sense of the passage, allow our thoughts to have loose rein and yield ourselves up to any pious reflection that strikes us in connexion with it. The only danger here arises from its excessive use, tending to the neglect of that more solid study of the Bible, by which alone we can learn what it truly teaches; and from its injudicious use allowing thoughts to be suggested, which are themselves erroneous or of an improper kind. Of course these suggestions are not proved to be true from their having arisen in connexion with scripture; they form no part of the actual sense of the passage; and yet they are sometimes so easily connected with it, the language which the sacred writer employs upon his own immediate subject often admits of so ready and apt an application to some higher subject, that it would almost seem as if the language had been carefully framed to admit of both applications, and it is scarcely possible for a pious and reflecting mind to read the one without instantly recurring to the other. Thus when we read "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him," who can avoid thinking of the heavenly glory, though that is not the subject originally

contemplated by the sacred writer? When it is said of Samson, "the dead, which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life," how can we help connecting it in thought with Him, who triumphed, when he felt, over all the powers of darkness? Different minds are differently affected by suggestions of this sort: so that no one can prescribe an absolute rule for the government of another. Much depends upon the turn of mind and habit of thought. What seems to one a fanciful and incongruous association may afford rich and profitable meditation to another. We should not absolutely condemn all associations of this sort, therefore, in the gross, or even in all cases those, which may seem insipid and profitless to us; they may appear differently to others. Some eminently pious and judicious men have made frequent use of the Old Testament in this way, and with the limitations we have above prescribed to it, it does not seem as though it could do any harm. Indeed the apostles themselves, not so frequently as some have alleged, yet occasionally made a similar use of the Old Testament, accommodating its language to some new idea; not thus expounding scripture in a sense foreign to the intent of the original writer, but using its familiar words as an apt vehicle of their own thoughts.

In our remarks thus far we have had primarily in view the spiritual sense, that may be elicited from or connected with scripture in order to a practical application of it to our hearts and consciences. The historical types of the Old Testament, or those persons and events in the former dispensation, which are to be considered as typical, either specifically of Christ and his work, or more generally of persons and events in the present dispensation, may be explained in the same way. And though it would savour of presumption in us to assert positively that we have a perfectly satisfactory solution of a question so much debated and on which there has been and still is so great a diversity of views even among sound and learned divines, we may venture to express our opinion that the three uses of scripture above described, the inferential, the analogical, and the suggestive, will go very far in explaining this subject. There are types in all these senses more or less explicit; some of them stated to be types by the inspired writers: others which we argue to be types, proceeding upon the same principles, which they seem to have followed. Thus to illustrate our

meaning by the case of Joshua ; no one, we presume, would be disposed to doubt that he was a distinguished type of the Lord Jesus Christ. He is not expressly called so in the New Testament, it is true ; but from the instances of types that we do find there it is plain that he is to be so regarded. And he may be considered as a type in all three of the senses, which have been spoken of. As the divinely constituted, divinely qualified and successful leader of God's people, he is a type of which the inferential use may be made to point to Christ ; for the gracious God, who raised up the leader suited to that emergency of his people, attended him by his divine aid, by him subdued their foes and fulfilled his promises of good, thereby pledged himself to raise up at the fit time, one who should supply every other real need of his people, and who should be at once divinely appointed and qualified to bring in upon them every spiritual good which he promised and intended for them. Looking upon Joshua, therefore, they could strengthen their faith in the coming of the predicted Shiloh, and from what God had mercifully given them in the one, they could form some kind of expectation as to what he designed for them in the other. In this manner Joshua could have been regarded as a type of the coming Saviour before he actually appeared.

The suggestive use of the life and character of Joshua in its typical relation to Christ could on the other hand only be made after the great antitype had come. Now that we have learned all about Christ from actual manifestation, we can again turn back and take a fresh survey of the type, and new points of contact never observed before will be discovered between them. Thus that he should bear the name of Joshua, which is the Hebrew form of Jesus ; that he should be in Egypt in his infancy, and in his infancy be endangered by the murderous edict of a cruel tyrant ; that he should be forty years in the wilderness and Jesus forty days in the same ; accidental resemblances like these, if we call them such, may suggest reflections more or less profitable to us, and may connect more closely in our minds the life of Joshua with that of him whom he typified ; but it could never have reasonably occurred to the mind of any one to anticipate these coincidences before the Saviour had actually come.

The analogical use of this type might be made both before

Christ came and after; but only as his character and the nature of his work were known from other sources independent of the history wherein the type is found, as for instance, from the prophecies respecting Christ or his recorded life. Analogies between what one did in natural and the other in spiritual things are so obvious and abundant that we need not delay to point them out. Here again, let it be borne in mind, that it is the inferential only which strictly teaches; the analogical illustrates what is elsewhere learned; while the suggestive pleasingly and impressively carries our thoughts, though it be by trivial ways, to Him, whom we cannot too frequently contemplate.

We have thought it more conducive to the edification of the general reader to present our own views of this interesting subject than to give a more particular account of the work which has immediately suggested them, and the title of which is prefixed to this article. We desire, however, in conclusion, to invite attention to it, as a sample of an interesting and important class of German works, for which we are indebted to a wholesome reaction from the skeptical excesses of the modern school of criticism and interpretation. We desire to see the growing taste for German literature in this department directed not merely to innocuous but to salutary objects, and we therefore take pleasure in calling the attention of our biblical students to the works which have been called into existence within a few years by the example and authority of Hengstenberg. One of the earliest of these writers is the one before us, Keil of Dorpat, who has done good service to the cause of truth, not only in this work on Joshua, but in a later one on Kings and an earlier one on Chronicles. To the same general class, but with less direct dependence upon Hengstenberg, belong Kurtz, the author of several valuable works upon the Pentateuch and the Old Testament History, and Delitzsch, the author of a kindred work on the interpretation of prophecy. As co-workers, more or less directly and successfully, in the promotion of the same end, the names of Ranke, Hävernich, and Drechsler, are already familiar to our German-reading students of the Bible.

ART. IV.—*Thirtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church. 1849.*

IN some respects this is the most important document that comes forth from the various Boards of our Church. The matters it deals with are ultimately associated with the being and the perpetuity of that Church. The ministry is her standing army in the world, and whatever pertains to the recruiting and drilling and disciplining of that army must have a wide influence upon her own advancement. Those who are set over the recruiting service are bound to see that none under size, or defective in any way, are admitted to the ranks. If all are received who offer for the bounty and the pay, they may soon resemble the regiment of the fat Knight of Coventry. One able and furnished and God-sent minister is of incalculable benefit to the cause of truth. One weak and worthless one does even proportionable mischief. Your "good souls," of little native talent, hastily and poorly cultivated, will do more good any where else than in the ministry. A man might be a glory to the Christian name as a shoemaker, who would disgrace it as a minister. We do read, however, of a tinker who was not allowed to pursue the calling, but God smiled upon his birth and strewed wondrous gifts upon his cradle. The unconscious child of genius was detected by the royal gifts he bore, like Perdita among the shepherds.

These remarks are made to show, on the one hand, that great care and discrimination should be exercised in the selection of those who are invited into the ministry, by placing in their reach the means of that education which is requisite; and on the other, that no department of society is to be judged a priori incompetent to furnish good materials. Let those who are the organs of the Church for this business look into the cabin and the stately mansion, from the sunless valleys to the mountain tops, in city and country, and invite into her ranks, and arm for her conflicts, as many as the Lord our God shall call. Especially was it a happy thought, to call out those who could not otherwise attain the qualifications, who should come from those they are to return to, and operate upon. It is peculiarly fitting that they should be touched with a feeling of their in-

firmities, that like their Great Master they should possess the broadest sympathies with the great multitudes of the race, from their common lot, and common experiences, and common brotherhood. It becomes a question therefore of the very highest importance, whether those who are thus taken out of the various departments of society shall be so trained, as to be returned to them again, strong in all their religious sympathy and conscious brotherhood, or whether the culture or discipline shall be so ordered and managed as to break up that broad ground of sympathy, weaken those bonds which now tie them to those from whom they come, and unfit them, by that very education which is designed to give them power, for influencing those to whom they are sent. There are some evidences that this is the result under the present system of ministerial training, at least to some degree.

There is an increasing feeling in the mind of the Church in regard to the inefficiency of her ministry. It is not pretended that such a body of men, engaged as they are, as the Presbyterian ministry, exert no influence, or even a small influence; but the conviction is becoming more decided and clear, that in proportion to their learning and ability and zeal, they control and influence the popular mind much less than might fairly be expected. There is no question that this is true, whatever may be the causes assigned to account for it. Other denominations grow faster under the ministry of men, as a body, far inferior to them both in training and abilities, and not before them, in zeal and godliness; and men far inferior to them in every high quality of a minister of the gospel are followed by crowds, whilst they are called to preach to thin audiences and vacant seats. One of the ways in which this conviction manifests itself is in that rage for men of talents and distinction, which is seen in all our churches. From the large city congregation, which can afford to pay any price for talents that may be required to secure them, to the remote country church that worships in a rickety old log house; both too poor and too stingy to give enough support to a minister to keep soul and body together, to say nothing of a family to raise and educate; the demand comes up, Send us a great man, one of the first order of talents; we are a strong church, and need such a one to maintain its standing. Or, We are a weak church, and require

such a man to build us up. Now this may be all wrong and very foolish, but it proves this much at least, that the various churches in our connection regard the great body of our ministers as scarcely worth the having. This may be the wrong way, and doubtless is, to remedy the evil if it really exist, but it certainly goes far to establish the fact of a distrust felt by the Church in the general efficiency of her own ministry. Or it shows a degree of culture in the people in advance of the average qualifications of our preachers. This distrust is manifested also in the various ways taken for accounting for it. Some find the cause of it in our theological seminaries, and the scholastic training therein imparted, to the neglect of the old methods of pastoral instruction, or in the character of some of the professors in those institutions, who have never been actual pastors of churches, and who are supposed therefore to be so far unfit to have a share in the training of those who are to be pastors. Another very large class, and apparently the majority of our last General Assembly, find the cause of this want of efficiency in the practice of reading sermons. Others think they find a good reason for this want of power in the ministry, in what is called the secularizing of so many of its members. So many mingle the employments of teaching male and female schools and colleges, and other things less akin to their peculiar work, that their labours are less successful as preachers, and they tend to depreciate the character, and diminish the success of the whole body. All these things certainly prove this at least, that the church is sensible of the fact to a certain extent, that her ministry is not so efficient as she desires, or has a right to expect. Whether the above causes are the true ones, or whether they are sufficient to account for it if they are true and real is not now the question. We beg leave to quote here the words of the Edinburgh Witness in reference to the simultaneous agitation and discussion of the reading of sermons in the United Presbyterian Synod in Scotland, and the General Assembly in the United States. "When men have recourse to some potent medicine, we may as a rule take it for granted, not at all that they have selected the drug proper in their circumstances, but that there is really something the matter with them. We may safely hold that they feel themselves to be unwell, though their diagnosis of their own case may be a very erroneous one. Now on

a similar principle we infer that there is something the matter with the churches who are agitating this question; they feel themselves to be mysteriously unwell, and are trying to legislate themselves into health by putting down the practice of reading discourses, somewhat in the way that our ruder ancestors, when affected by some pining sickness, which they could not understand, attempted to set all right by cutting suspected old women across the forehead."

We agree with the Witness that all these things indicate that the church feels itself affected with some "complaint," and the causes assigned for it in all of them are so inadequate, as to furnish strong evidence that a correct diagnosis has not been reached, nor the proper remedies exhibited. We shall regard our labour as not entirely thrown away if it enables us to contribute anything towards the attainment of these ends.

The fault lies not in their mental power and natural ability. From a pretty extensive acquaintance with ministers, old and young, in the Presbyterian Church, we are clearly of the opinion that they will not suffer in comparison in these respects with any body of professional men in the country. And we believe this is generally conceded. If it were here that the difficulty lay however, the case would be hopeless, for there is no remedy yet found out for inherent stupidity. It is not because they are inferior in educational attainments to their brethren in other denominations, for their standard is as high as any, and higher than most, and no one can say that it is not adhered to with reasonable fidelity on the part of Presbyteries. Nor do we believe that it is found in the nature of the doctrine which they are called upon to advocate. This might be assigned as a reason by those who oppose or dislike the doctrines themselves, but to those who receive them as the very doctrines of God's word, it will be hard to show that this is the ground of the difficulty. Nor if it were shown to be so would there be any possible remedy, for it is not to be expected that God will change the character of his revelation because it is not agreeable to the mass of men. So far as this is true of the Christian religion, it is an evil which all true ministers of the gospel have to encounter, and arises out of the essential opposition of evil to good. It would avail us nothing more than to stop the inquiry therefore, should it be

agreed that this is the prime cause of the inefficiency of the ministry of our church.

We are not willing to concede, however, that the religion of Christ, when properly preached, is so distasteful to the human mind as to be a permanent hinderance to its success, or as it is frequently represented. This idea does it injustice. It was designed by its author to operate upon the soul of man, and was adapted to the purpose. It gathers up into its keeping all the minor interests of humanity, while it only hath the words of eternal life, and we are persuaded that there is enough of rationality and good feeling amongst the great body of men, to make the fair presentation of many of its doctrines and principles rather agreeable than otherwise. And it seems to possess some mysterious charm to draw many who make an effort to close their ears when they come, unless they are kept open by some wise charmer.

We are persuaded that one source of the defect is to be sought in the educational process through which the young man has to reach the ministry. It is to the consideration of this one source of the evil, however inferior it may be thought to others of a higher nature, we wish to direct our remarks. The business of the minister is with the human soul, and with the instrument by which it is affected, human speech. He has a system of truth given him by God to operate upon the soul. His first business is to learn that truth himself, to incorporate it with the very life and texture of his own soul. His next business is to communicate it to others, and the means of that communication is the speech which is understood, or rather which embodies the thought of the people to whom that communication is made. It is therefore as necessary to be perfectly acquainted with the language in which it is to be delivered to the people, as that in which it was communicated by God; and equally necessary to use that language, and none other, in communicating it. The English language is peculiar in its characteristics. The native vital stock is Germanic. It is the Anglo-Saxon stock, which furnishes and elaborates the vital sap. Upon this original stem however there have been engrafted, not only twigs and leaves, but whole boughs and branches. Many of them so remote in species as scarcely to be made inhere and grow, all of them marring its unity, and impairing its power.

'The classic fountains have supplied most of the additions and importations which have in the course of ages secured permanent lodgment in it. This was begun by the violence of conquests and political revolution, and carried on by those who turned to those sources for the truth they alone contained. But those who imported the truths made the same mistake that merchants sometimes do, lumbering their rooms with the wrappings and packings of the precious products they bring from distant climes, as though they were secured to the integrity and value of the wares themselves. And sometimes these wrappings contain the seeds of noxious weeds which soon overspread a continent, defying the labours and the vigilance of the husbandman, and blasting his tender crops with their rank worthlessness.

The process of elementary education consists in a great measure in imparting to the candidate for a polite education, a knowledge of the classic tongue, and by consequence of the etymology and idiomatic character of those portions of our language which have been borrowed from those sources. This is all well enough—all right and proper. But there is too much taken for granted, or else completely overlooked in the process. It is taken for granted that his knowledge of those parts of our language which he does not study in its original sources will keep pace with that of those he does thus study, or else the essential character of those parts is overlooked by those who conduct the course of the student. He thus comes to understand best the classic department of our language, and very naturally he learns to admire it more. He sees in it the remains of those dead tongues which held the embalmed thought of the two great educating nations of antiquity. He attaches to it somewhat of the reverence which he has been ever taught to feel for those great models that have come down through succeeding ages, the admiration and the despair of all who have truly learned their excellence. Every word he uses, coming from the language of Cicero, imparts to his thoughts something of the dignity of Cicero. The farther his mind is educated in this direction, and the more his style is fashioned in this way, the further he departs from the language of the common mind. And the result is the perfect ruin, nine times out of ten, of any power he might have as a speaker over those who know nothing

but their mother tongue. This process carried on through all the course of studies, through theological latin and exegetical Greek, until he reaches the ministry, lands the candidate so far away from the people he is to preach to, that he finds it hard to get back within hearing; and the great majority never think to look over their shoulder to see whether the people are keeping pace with them, but go on in blissful ignorance that the sheep are all going in another track far out of the reach of their voice, following a voice which they know. A more effectual scheme to unfit a man to instruct and move the masses by speaking to them could hardly be devised. It is a system by which a man is made to stand up and lecture others, time after time, first about intelligibly enough to convince them that he is talking to them, and yet to keep them in profound ignorance of what he is saying, and himself utterly unconscious all the while that he is talking unintelligibly to them. This is most likely to be the case with those who commence the study of the classics very young, before they have begun to think and reflect, and gain knowledge by listening to public addresses. He grows up with the notion that the words he is most familiar with, must be equally well known to others. And what is worse, he grows up in almost exclusive acquaintance with those words and forms of expression which most people know nothing about. He, who comes to the study of these languages in more mature age, after he has learned to think, and express his thoughts in native English, is not in so much danger. He finds very soon that there are whole departments of the language he has known nothing about hitherto, and he has now found the key to them. He now begins to find the reason of his inability to understand the many discourses of the learned he had listened to, and he is not likely to fall into the mistake of speaking to his old companions in a vocabulary, and idiom which he now perceives he did not comprehend when he was among them and of them.

Some who jump at inferences and conclusions may say we are attacking the study of the ancient classics. If they will carefully weigh our words however, they will find nothing we have said which can be fairly construed into any such shape; so far from it, that the essential importance and necessity of that study are involved in at least two important views presented, the necessity of understanding those tongues to get at the system of

God's truth they contain, and also for the understanding those parts of our tongue borrowed therefrom. We do not object to, but urge and insist upon the thorough study of those languages, and instead of diminishing we would increase greatly the amount bestowed upon them. It is the small amount, and ill-directed character of the study they now receive, which is really a great source of the evil we complain of in the result. He who is thoroughly acquainted with the rich homogeneous picture language of the Greeks, and the more vague and indefinite but majestic tongue of the Romans, will be more likely to understand the powers and defects of our own. Our church has helped to maintain too hard a conflict against radicalism and mammonism in behalf of ancient learning for us to think of abandoning it now, and our pages from time to time have shown frequent evidences of our fidelity to the cause. It is that "little learning," which is the "dangerous thing" we complain of. And it is in the hope that our beloved church may take such a step in advance as will make the learning of her ministers still more available for those high purposes for which she requires it of them, that we pen these pages. We hope always to see her far forward in the vanguard of the hosts of Christian civilization, freeing and enlightening and elevating the human race by the power of the pure gospel preached in simplicity and power, by men learned in more than all the wisdom of the Egyptians. And it is in the hope of doing something to put a sharper sickle into the hands of the reapers she sends in her master's name to reap down the over-ripening harvests of the earth, that we call her attention to this matter.

Just here we beg leave to suggest one of the most serious evils in the practical workings of the system managed by the Board of Education. They know we do it in all kindness to them. They know that we desire to point out an evil which they are far more ready to remedy to the extent of their power, than we are to tell them of it. The young man who is taken up and placed upon their funds feels anxious to make the most of his time, as much with the desire of relieving them of the burden of his support as quickly as possible, as with the view of acquiring a fitting education. His eye is therefore singly fixed on reaching the diploma of his college in the shortest space possible. He cannot bear to be spending money not his own, and

with that feeling so honourable to his young and generous nature, he presses up through class after class, not in all cases by mastering the intermediate studies, but on the promise his industry and fidelity give, and through the mistaken indulgence of his professors. They know his circumstances, they appreciate his feelings, and they cannot deny him what they can with any sort of conscience grant. The result is that he takes degrees and is ready for the seminary one, two or three years sooner than by the regular course. And instead of being the scholar he might have been made in the full time, with his application and talents, he comes out with the smallest modicum of Greek, Latin, etc., that will entitle him by special grace to a diploma, and sent off to the seminary to finish his course after the same pattern of the foundation. His position and circumstances have kept books out of his hands in a great measure before entering college. His exclusive devotion to what is essential to get his degree leaves him no time for reading while there. And he comes out knowing as little as possible of the classics, and less of any thing else. And he enters God's great harvest with many a smooth space, and many a woful gap in his sickle.

This is not greatly his fault, for he has not the wisdom to guide himself in the right way, and to fix the right standard of attainment. It is not the fault emirely of the college professors, for they cannot entirely control him, and their kind feelings incline them to yield to his wishes as far as they possibly can; nor is the Board entirely responsible in the premises. It is more the fault of the church in doling out such a pitiful pittance to support its glorious and most important operations, and requiring such large and immediate apparent results at so small a cost. And it is greatly the fault of the ministry, in not raising and maintaining a higher standard of ministerial attainments, and enlightening the minds of the membership more fully and regularly in regard to these great matters, and their solemn duties.

We have arrived then at the conclusion, not that our m'nis'ters have nothing to say to the people, not that they have not the knowledge which they are to communicate to them, but that they are attempting to convey that instruction in something else than their vernacular, that they are speaking to them more or less in an unknown tongue. The ideas they communicate

come dim and hazy to their minds, making no definite impression, and awakening no abiding emotion. Our ministers are trained to speak over rather than to the people. We have instructive truth, warm with spirituality, which we could not help wishing had been translated, that some one had been by, according to Paul's direction, to interpret. The great body of hearers would get almost as much benefit from God's truth, from having read to them a chapter in the Greek Testament. It is obvious, when we think of it, that the influence of the gospel is not after the manner of a charm, like the popish liturgy, but that it needs to be conveyed to the mind and really apprehended to produce its effect. If a man were to get up and read to a people, who know not a word of Greek, a chapter of some of Paul's epistles in the original, they might be greatly edified by his learning, and comforted by its mellifluous sounds, but their stock of religious knowledge would not be greatly increased, nor would the result be greatly different if he were to read a version in which all or most of the important words of the original were retained, for the sake, as he might say, of their greater accuracy and expressiveness. Nor would it help the matter much, if instead of retaining the original Greek words he were to put Latin or French in the place of most of them. Every one could see the folly of such a course at a glance. And yet many of our most gifted ministers are every Sunday doing something very like to this. They are speaking sentence after sentence, and period upon period, containing more or less important words, essential to the meaning, which are in a language really foreign to most of their hearers. And they wonder and mourn, that truth, stated with such logical exactness and coherence, and at such cost of thought, and enforced with such ardent earnestness, should produce so little effect. If any one will take the pains to observe living examples of the best and worst ministers, of the most successful and most unsuccessful ministers in our church, he will find the difference to be mainly in this very thing. They will be found, the one class to draw their vocabulary and idiom from such sources as King James's Bible, Bunyan and Shakspeare, and the other from Johnson and his school, and their Latin and Greek lexicons. When the latter read their sermons, that is the cause of the evil with some. When the others read, as they often do, the secret

of their admitted power is deemed inscrutable. When both speak without notes, a like difference is felt, and the cause is sought in the different talents.

Now it is a fact, that though the classic borrowings have been in the English language for centuries, they still make no part worth mentioning at the real English tongue as it is spoken and understood by the vast body of those who are acquainted with no other. Most, it is true, have a sort of speaking acquaintance with these forms of speech, but they are not found around their firesides. The learned have been for three hundred years trying to get them to learn their uses and meanings, that they might instruct them in the truths which they know not how to convey without them. They have rung them in their ears, and written them before their eyes, so often, that they seem to conclude that now they must know them, and the people are ashamed to say they do not, but nod and look wise. They have been fostering and cherishing the grafted branch of the tree, and trying to force into it all the sap and growth of the whole, and trying to persuade the people that the large fair apples it bears are far sweeter, and better suited to their taste, than the dwarf and homely crabs that grow on the native stock. But nature "will after her kind," and though they praise and admire the one, they still eat and love the other.

This may be all well enough for grave historians, who may agree with Hume, that this "composes the greatest and best part of our language," and for high topped moralists, who may agree with Johnson, that it is the only part that it ought to contain, yet it is obvious and certain that God's ministers must quit it. It is a system which is carried on at the cost of human souls. They at least must turn round, and instead of asking the people to study their language, must study and use the people's. If it is unpolished and inelegant, they must mend it as they may, but still they must use it. They are set to address and instruct and win to the ways of purity and love the multitudes. They must be educated to speak not only intelligibly, but with the highest power to those multitudes. They must learn God's messages in the languages which the Holy Ghost used in its communication, and they must learn and use the language of those to whom they are set to teach those living oracles. We say, if the alternative were between a polished and elegant

diction, with few to be influenced by it, and a rude and simple dialect with multitudes dependant on it for the light of life, the minister of God could make but one choice. If he must take the style of Plato, with an academy of philosophers, or the dialect of the childlike John, with the world filling multitudes of poor to whom the gospel must be preached, he must catch up the strains of the beloved disciple. Happily in this case there is no such alternative presented, but true taste and excellence, in style and vocabulary, are combined with the highest success and widest power. Shakspeare and Bunyan will forever stand up as monuments to the beauty and grace, as well as the power of the native English tongue. And a careful analysis of the whole language will show us that it is but lumbered and depraved by the fossil remains of extinct *genera dicendi*. For all the purposes of the part of the orator these are worse than useless. The native Anglo Saxon has furnished our language with more than five-eighths of all the words it contains, whilst nearly the whole of what English Grammar is made up of is of the same origin. All its peculiarities of structure and idiom, all its inflections, and nearly all the parts of speech which occur most frequently, and which are in their individual character of the most essential importance, are Saxon. To it we are indebted for the names of nearly all the objects of sense, and which by consequence recall the most vivid conceptions, and furnish so large a share of the language of poetry. Whatever in external nature we have seen and felt most strongly and loved most, gets its name from this source. Those words which we hear first and earliest, which express the dearest relations, and tenderest affections, which waken the most complicated and all-enthraling associations, those which pertain to common life and pursuits and daily business, those which make up the language of humour, of satire, of invective and scorn, and nearly all terms which are most specific and vivid, come from the same origin. The English language then, stripped of its borrowed stores, would not be a poor but a wonderfully rich one, and exquisitely adapted to the thought of the race.

What we have more to say may be summed up in a few words. Our ministers must be so trained, that they shall have the pure native English perfectly at their command, as an in-

strument of thought and of its expression. They must study it therefore in its sources, as all languages need to be. It must be studied not to the exclusion of the classics, but along with them, and with its sister the German. What we believe to be necessary to secure this, is for the Church to take measures to place the study of the Anglo Saxon on the same footing with that of Latin and Greek. It could not be done at once, because we have not the men nor the facilities, but both can be had in time. If this step is taken, it will not be long before every respectable college in the country would have it in its catalogue of indispensable studies. Those who are to be educated for lawyers and politicians would not be slow to see and appreciate its advantages, and thus by our Church taking this step in advancing the qualifications of her ministry, a most important impulse would be given to professional education and attainments throughout the country. While everything else has been advancing in the country, and while other denominations, after ridiculing and abusing an educated ministry, are gaining fast upon us in this respect, our standard remains the same that it did fifty years ago or more. If the education of the ministry were to be kept as much in advance of the general state of intelligence, and at the cost of as much labour and expense in proportion to the means, as in the days of the fathers, when the Log College sent out its students, and the foundations of Princeton and Jefferson were laid in the prayers and most self-denying contributions of those men of God, not only this, but far more would be done. We have no plan to suggest upon this matter. We rest, with presenting the desirableness and the necessity of some such measure. We have in our pages previously called attention to the increasing importance of the study of the Anglo Saxon, and pointed out some of the sources available to American students for its acquisition. We desire now to bring it more specifically before the friends of education, and the whole church, with the view of having it adopted at an early day among the essential attainments of every candidate for the ministry, before he be admitted to a Bachelor's degree. We have tried to show how the ministry needs it, and how it would multiply its power and efficiency in communicating the gospel to the multitudes of Saxon minds spread already over

this vast country, and soon to spread beyond it. Additional reasons might be drawn from the manifest relation of this great race to the cause and kingdom of Christ, and the conversion of the world, but the length to which these remarks have already run, admonishes us to hold our hand.

ART. V.—*History of England from the Accession of James II.*

By Thomas Babington Macaulay. 2 vols. Harper, Brothers. 1849.

This is one of those rare works, which at once take rank among the classics of the language: and while they stand in no need of the heralding of reviews, every reviewer of note is nevertheless expected to make them the subject of his criticism. Mr. Macaulay, already widely known as an essayist, a poet, an orator, and a statesman, at a single bound has reached a position among the great historians of England. Reviewers of the most opposite political opinions, Tory, Whig and Radical, (with a solitary exception,) have joined in a hearty and harmonious tribute of praise, re-echoing with unexampled zeal the shouts of applause with which the general public have hailed the appearance of these volumes. For years it had been rumoured that such a work was in preparation, and meanwhile the author was earning for himself a distinguished reputation as a man of letters, by a succession of brilliant essays, which, from their subjects being connected with the political and literary history of England, indicated the nature of his studies, and naturally awakened the greatest expectation. The manifold editions and the immense circulation which the work has reached within the short time that has elapsed since its first appearance, and the praise bestowed upon it, with such unusual unanimity by critics of all parties, afford decisive proof that the hopes of the public have been in a good degree realized.

These volumes will not only bear a second perusal, but, if we may judge others by ourselves, we may even affirm, that no one who omits to read them twice can really form a calm and candid estimate of their worth as a history. Mr. Macaulay is a per-

fect master in all the arts of rhetoric; the splendour of his style is so dazzling, his narrative flows on so delightfully—"puroque simillimus ammi,"—his episodes are introduced with such consummate skill, his pictures of persons and of social life are so dramatic, and, in pronouncing judgment on the character of statesmen and the policy of parties, there is such an air of rigid historic justice, the faults of Whigs and the virtues of Tories are brought out with so much apparent candour, that we found ourselves on a first perusal quite unable to exercise "the right of private judgment," and were not surprised at the enthusiasm of some friends who expressed the wish that all the books of human literature were written by a Macaulay.

Even a second reading scarcely diminishes the interest awakened by the charming page. But we are more masters of ourselves; and we then detect blemishes which at first attracted little notice. Some of them we regard as of very grave importance, and seriously detracting from the value of the work as a history of the eventful times which the author has undertaken to describe.

Our first objection respects the point at which Mr. Macaulay fairly begins his narrative, viz., the accession of James II. His first four chapters are therefore only introductory, and, with the exception of the third, containing a picture of the social condition of England in the times of the Stuarts, (on some accounts the most interesting chapter in the book) they are designed to give a rapid view of the process of amalgamation of Briton, Dane, Saxon, Norman, the result of which was the English race, and of the process of development which brought out the distinctive principles of the English constitution. We must express our regret that he did not adopt a different method, and select an earlier starting point. The first two chapters would have answered admirably for a review, but as an introduction to a work like the present they are too long, as a history too cursory. James's accession to the throne was in no sense the commencement of a remarkable epoch; his reign is connected historically and politically with that of his brother Charles; there was a change of persons but not of policy. He might as well have chosen for his point of departure the middle, as the beginning of the reign of James. And in fact, the narrative flows on so uninterruptedly, broken only by the pictorial episode

respecting the physical and social state of England, to which we have referred, that the reader is quite unaware (unless he has read the title page) of his having reached the real opening of the story. No one acquainted with Mr. Macaulay's writings can doubt that he has long and deeply studied the annals of the Stuart race. All his essays indicate an uncommon acquaintance with those times. We deeply regret, therefore, that he did not take as his starting point, the accession of the Stuarts to the throne of England. That event marked the opening of a period pregnant with issues of the highest magnitude, a period the most eventful, beyond comparison, in the annals of Britain. Long before the extinction of the Tudors, the first faint notes were indeed heard of that strife of principles, which ultimately swelled into the mightiest battle ever fought upon the English soil; still the dynastic change just mentioned may be properly regarded as the outset of this notable era. Henry and Elizabeth were no less fond of power, and exercised the prerogative even more absolutely, than James or Charles: but they fought no battle for it; haughty and self-willed as they were, they had sense enough to know when to yield and how to do it gracefully; though they wielded an iron sceptre, they nevertheless contrived to retain a firm hold of the national heart. With the new family which inherited the throne, a different kind of manager appeared upon the stage; a succession of monarchs as destitute of common sense as of moral principles, under whose administration a small, and politically speaking insignificant party, speedily acquired vast numbers, wide-spread influence, in a word, an organization and an energy before which the proud and self-willed Stuart quailed. The history of the eighty-five years of the Stuart dynasty forms a complete chapter, and the historian who would do full justice to the great events included in it, must begin at the beginning. During this period, the old contest between royal prerogative and popular rights, and the more recently originated strife between conscience and human authority, were terminated, after a struggle fierce and bloody, the marks of which still exist; terminated triumphantly for the cause of liberty and religion. But for the accession of the Stuart family, it is quite possible that the indecisive skirmishing of earlier days might have been kept up till our own times. This period was, in other respects, remarkable. Our English tongue

one of the fruits of the fusion of the Saxon and Norman races, during this era, put on, in the main, its permanent form and features; our literature made an immense advance; it was the age of Shakspeare, Jonson, Bacon, Milton, Dryden, Locke, not to mention the giants in theological learning. The manners of the people were greatly improved; no previous century had witnessed an equal progress in the refinements and comforts of social life. It was in fact a wonderful age—a fit theme for a noble epic—having a beginning, a middle, and an end; and we must again express our surprise that Mr. Macaulay, instead of commencing his narrative at a point unattended by any of those circumstances which mark an epoch, and expending his strength on a reign which had already engaged the pens of Fox and Macintosh, did not undertake to give us the full story of the Stuart race.

But there are far graver objections, to which, in our judgment, his work is open. In many parts of it there are clear indications that he wants, what we deem an essential qualification in a historian of those eventful times, deep and earnest religious convictions.

As we have before intimated, that which renders the Stuart period so profoundly interesting is the conflict of principles and parties. Under the Plantagenets and Tudors there were struggles between the King and his barons; many bloody battles were fought by opposing factions; during the wars of the Roses not a few noble and gentle families disappeared forever. These earlier contests were usually occasioned by some special grievance; or the appeal was made to arms to settle the question of succession to the throne. To the mass of the nation it was a matter of little moment who gained the prize. Whether the White or Red rose triumphed their condition was in no degree affected by the event, except as it might be influenced by the personal virtues or vices of the victor. But the conflicts during the Stuart dynasty involved principles of infinite value both in religion and politics; principles entering into the very life of the church and the state. The points raised by the nation in that grand debate, were—whether as Christians they should be free to follow the dictates of conscience, or be bound to worship God in a form prescribed by human authority—whether as citizens

they should be governed by law, or the arbitrary will of the prince.

Now it should never be forgotten, that while civil rights were at stake, they did not originate the contest. Religion was the occasion of it: and hence the necessity for that qualification in its historian, which, as we shall presently show, Mr. Macaulay lacks. It was the struggle to gain exemption from prescribed forms of divine worship, which aroused and quickened inquiry respecting political rights. The Puritans were the men who first unfurled the banner of freedom, and they never deserted it. Arbitrary power they always detested: the supremacy of law they always asserted. There were certain rights of the subject, and certain prerogatives of Parliament, which the English people never would suffer to be invaded: yet we venture to affirm, that if the religious differences which began under Elizabeth had been satisfactorily adjusted, if the rulers of the church had been wise enough to treat tender consciences with kindness, tolerating circumstantial diversity, when they had substantial unity among her members, the political condition of England would have been widely different from what it is. Cromwell might then have lived and died a farmer: Edgehill and Naseby had been names unknown to history. Each political grievance, as it rose, would have been dealt with as in the days of the Plantagenets—endured until it became unendurable, and then thrown off by a sudden outburst of the national energy. These spasmodic displays of the spirit of liberty excepted, the stream of popular life might have flowed on in its old accustomed channel. But grievances of conscience are widely different from grievances affecting the mere citizen. No one can be really sensible of the former, without a considerable share of religious knowledge and an earnest conviction of its importance. The men whom Elizabeth and the Stuarts fancied they could bend and mould at will, were divinely instructed in the true nature and sublime objects of religion. In their view it was a thing of infinite moment, involving transactions between their own souls and the eternal God, of awful solemnity. They felt that they had souls to be lost or saved, the fear of Him who held their everlasting destinies in his hands excluded all other fear, so that like the early heralds of the cross they could give the calm but bold challenge to the haughtiest of monarchs—

"Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." But it is needless to dwell upon the character of these glorious men, who amid tears and blood planted that tree beneath whose goodly shade we sit, and every day eat of its pleasant fruits. Their portrait has been often drawn, and by no one in more glowing colours than by Mr. Macaulay himself.

We have adverted to the character of the men and the times, simply to show that no man is completely fitted to tell their story, who is a stranger to the power of godliness. He may be, as Mr. Macaulay unquestionably is, intimately acquainted with its literature, he may have all the archives of all the cabinets of Europe at his disposal, he may have all the mental endowments necessary to the historian, but if destitute of deep religious convictions he wants an essential requisite. His love of liberty, as the word is now understood, may induce him to denounce acts of oppression, to sympathize with Leighton denuded of his ears, and inveigh against the ruthless bigotry of Laud; but after all, he can have no cordial affection for the principles which Leighton loved and Laud hated; there are many transactions which he cannot comprehend, many struggles which to him can have no interest whatever. And this we conceive to be Mr. Macaulay's grand defect. He is a Christian, in the loose sense in which the term is applied to multitudes who believe that the Bible is a divine book, while at the same time they regard the manifold forms of Christianity as about equal in value. He conceives it to be highly problematical whether Popery or Protestantism has done most for Britain. We might quote numerous passages which betray a spirit of indifference to positive Christianity; passages which prove him to be culpably ignorant of the relative merits of the Calvinistic and Arminian systems, on which he nevertheless ventures to make passing criticisms with the tone of one who had studied and digested them. On several occasions it comes in his way to advert to the doctrine of a particular Providence, and he treats it as if it were a dogma too absurd to be gravely refuted, which no man can adopt unless on the bias of early education, or a latent tendency to superstition. For instance, in describing the character of William of Orange, he says—"He had ruminated on the *great enigmas* which had been discussed in the Synod of Dort, and had found in the

austere and inflexible logic of the Genevan school something which suited his intellect and temper. The tenet of Predestination was the keystone of his religion. He *even* declared that if he were to abandon that tenet he must abandon all belief in a superintending Providence." The logic of Geneva is indeed "austere and inflexible," (it would be worthless if it were not) as the enemies of the system of divine truth which Calvin taught have repeatedly found, though it is obvious from the tone of the passage that these predicates are used by Mr. Macaulay merely to give grace and roundness to the period. If his account of William's creed be correct, the prince proved himself to be a sounder logician than the historian.

Again, in illustrating the dreadful sufferings inflicted upon the Scottish people during the bloody era between the Restoration and the Revolution, some examples of which he gives from Wodrow, he says: "Some rigid Calvinists, from the doctrine of reprobation had drawn the consequence that to pray for any person who had been predestined to perdition was an act of mutiny against the eternal decrees of the Supreme Being." Then follows an account of the murder in cold blood of three labouring men, "deeply imbued with this unamiable divinity," for refusing to pray for James II. Mr. Macaulay has been highly lauded for the exactness with which he quotes his authorities, and the praise is no doubt merited where they refer to political and literary topics; but in this instance he certainly has drawn largely on his own fancy. There is not one word in Wodrow (his only authority) that warrants him in charging "some rigid Calvinists" with holding "this unamiable divinity." Wodrow simply states that the men, when asked if they would pray for the king replied, "they would pray for all within the election of grace." Major Balfour said, "Do you question the king's election": they answered, "sometimes they questioned their own." "He swore dreadfully and ordered them to be executed on the spot." Such is the story as told by Wodrow; but as thus told, it is quite too plain for our historian; he must therefore first deck it from the stores of his exuberant rhetoric, and then in the exercise of his own peculiar logic infer from it the unamiable divinity of "some rigid Calvinists." Were it necessary, we might bring other proofs of Mr. Macaulay's ignorance of the doctrines which the Puritans zealously maintained,

not as "great enigmas," but all-important verities adapted to exert a controlling influence on the life of man, and which left so deep an impress on their own character.

As a consequence of this want of sympathy with the religious principles of the Puritans, Mr. Macaulay does them great injustice, in the first place, by not bringing out clearly and distinctly *who they were*. Surely a body of men like the Puritans, whose doings belong to the history, as their writings do to the literature of England, merited if not a separate chapter, at least so careful and exact a description of them, that the reader could be in no doubt as to the persons to whom that honoured name really belongs. They figure so largely in the scenes which he describes, that he is forced to speak of them very often; he professes to give some of their peculiarities, and in occasional passages intimates that under a common name, various parties were included. Yet the tone of his narrative is such as to leave the impression on the reader's mind that the Puritans (i. e. the great mass of the party) were bitter enemies of all the elegant arts of life, denounced all popular pastimes, and during the heyday of their power were guilty of as gross and wanton tyranny as their opposers. Now, admitting that "Puritan stone masons attempted to make Nymphs and Graces, the work of Ionian chisels decent."—and that there were "lank haired" Puritans who "discussed election and reprobation through their noses," in the coffee houses where they were wont to assemble, is it true that the great body of the Puritans were distinguished by these and similar peculiarities which moved the derision of Prelatists and libertines? We venture to affirm that no one will answer this question affirmatively, who has thoroughly studied the history of the Puritans, and know who they were.

The term Puritan—the Anglican form of a Greek word in use in the Church as a party name so early as the fifth century—properly denotes, as the most recent historian of British Puritanism observes, "a body of men who were Church of England men, and not Dissenters, advocates for the establishment of Christianity and of their own views of Christianity by law."* Even in the time of Edward VI., but particularly under Elizabeth, the term was applied to all those members of the

* Prof. Stowell. History of the Puritans.

Church of England who had a warm and hearty love for the Reformation, who wished to remove from her forms of worship and discipline those relics of the ancient superstition, which so many of her sons in later times have regarded as her most glorious distinction; and who would have succeeded in their designs, if their efforts had not been thwarted by the haughty and semi-popish Defenders of the Faith. That such views were entertained by Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, Cox, Jewell, and many other of their contemporaries, is put beyond all reasonable doubt, by documents published by Burnet, and more recently by the Zurich Letters. These men were Puritans. If they had been able to carry out their wishes, they would have removed from the constitution and forms of the English Church those features, which others less zealous for her purity than themselves insisted upon retaining, partly to please the Queen, and partly with the hope of gaining the Papists, who were still very numerous in certain portions of the kingdom. Hence the name applies to many who never separated, and never meant to separate from the established church, to the large number forced out of her pale by civil and ecclesiastical authority for persisting in their scruples about the use of certain rites and vestments, and finally, at a later period, to those who objected to the form of her constitution, and were in the proper sense of the term dissenters. In the days of Elizabeth and James, the Puritans were not a party distinct from and hostile to the Church; they remained in her communion; the party included all who loved the pure gospel, had a heart hatred of Popery, and wished to cultivate closer fellowship with the reformed churches on the continent. On minor matters they were not all of one mind: some would have used the pruning knife more vigorously than others, and hence the seeds of the unfortunate divisions which took place among them during the days of Charles and Cromwell.

At the breaking out of the contest between Charles and his Parliament, England was divided into two great parties, viz. the Puritan or Presbyterian, and the Prelatic.* The fact to which

* Neal. We say Presbyterians, because at this time most of the Puritans were Presbyterians. Men like Usher, Reynolds, &c., who were at heart Puritans though professing a modified Episcopacy, went, some with one party, some with the other.

we have already adverted, that the point at which reformation should stop had never been determined by the Puritans as a body, prepared the way for their subsequent divisions. The reins of ecclesiastical government were necessarily held with a slack hand during the civil troubles; and it was natural that the freedom to think and act, so suddenly gained, combined as it was with an intense religious feeling, should produce strange developments. Soon the Independents showed themselves agreeing with the Presbyterians on all subjects except church government, yet forming a distinct party. Then there were those who maintained that every Christian had the right—which they themselves exercised—of holding forth when and where he pleased; a class of enthusiasts (for we cannot consent to apply the term fanatic to men who knew how to unite the saint and the soldier to a degree never before, and never since witnessed) in the army. As for the Muggletonians, Quakers and Fifth-monarchy men, it were a dishonour to the Puritan name, to include them under that designation, as Mr. Macaulay in some places seems to do. These minor sects, and even those whom we prefer to call enthusiasts, whose peculiarities were the standing theme of ridicule to the licentious wits of the Restoration, bore an insignificant proportion, not only to the nation as a whole, but even to the great body of the Puritans. We have no doubt that the oddities of this extreme section of the Puritans have been greatly exaggerated, for a reason mentioned by Mr. Macaulay in his well known description of them, viz. that “for many years after the Restoration they were the theme of unmeasured invective and derision, were exposed to the utmost licentiousness of the press and the stage, at a time when the press and the stage were most licentious.” Is it right, we ask, for any historian to rely on such authorities, when painting the character of any class of men? Yet these are the very writers to whom he refers when he represents the Puritans as distinguished by ostentatious simplicity of dress, sour aspect, nasal twang, contempt of human learning, and detestation of polite amusements. But even if the bitter enemies of the Puritans, though heaping unmeasured abuse upon them, were really faithful painters, we still affirm that they drew the picture of only a small party, and that there were thousands entitled to

and actually bearing the name of Puritans on whose countenances no such dismal features could be traced.*

Another cause of Mr. Macaulay's failure to do justice to the Puritans is his *excessive effort to be candid*; he is so far elevated above the prejudices of sect and party, that he has just as much and just as little sympathy with the Papist as the Protestant, with the Prelatist as the Puritan. Such is the impression which he seems desirous to make upon the reader's mind: as religious parties he feels no more interest in the one than the other. Is this an essential element of candour? Must the historian, who would be candid, regard all the varied forms of Christianity as equally good? Not only do we deny this, we hold that any one imbued with this sentiment, who attempts to give the history of a period like that of the Stuarts, must do injustice to the cause of truth. Such a man will be slow to recognise the connexion between true religion and social progress; there are many events whose real causes he will wholly fail to discern. As little is he to be deemed a candid historian who in dealing with this period, contents himself with simply stating the naked fact that all parties were chargeable with the same crimes and errors, leaving his reader to infer, or perhaps affirming in so many words, that in point of blameworthiness there is not much if any difference between them. The Prelatists, for example, were bitter persecutors, but so were the Puritans; the Prelatists denounced conventicles; but then the Puritans forbade the use of the prayer-book; the Royalists were to the last degree loose in their morals; but then the Puritans put on a solemn face, shut up the theatres, and passed severe laws against the "lighter vices" of adultery and profaneness.

This is Mr. Macaulay's method of exhibiting impartiality. In these volumes, and in his other writings, he invariably represents the Puritans as chargeable to a large extent with producing the unexampled licentiousness which reigned after the Restoration; the excessive morality of Cromwell's days naturally led to the excessive wickedness of Charles's. He accuses them of exhibiting a bigotry as exclusive, a tyranny as wanton, in the day of their power, as ever their enemies had exercised upon themselves; and hence he declares that the infamous

• See Stowell, p. 19.

treatment they received at the hands of the restored Cavaliers was natural and even excusable. Now we unhesitatingly assert that such a representation of the conduct of the Puritans in power, is the opposite of fair and candid.

In saying this we do not mean to deny that they committed great errors. We acknowledge that they did so, and if Mr. Macaulay instead of giving such prominence to their foibles, had clearly and distinctly exhibited their errors, he would have discharged, much more worthily than he has, the office of the historian. Our readers, we trust, will pardon us for enlarging a little on this point. The errors, into which the Puritans fell, were the result, partly of their peculiar circumstances, and partly of the principles which in that age belonged to the common faith of Christendom. All parties allowed the civil magistrate a voice in spiritual things which we in this land and age have been taught to refuse him as alike injurious to the cause of religion and the welfare of the state. The idea of a national church, with which all the Reformers were imbued, and on which the whole Protestant world had acted, was as familiar to the mind of the Puritan as the Prelatist. The former wished to remodel and reform the Church of England, but it was still to be the Church of England; all they wanted, was a purer and simpler form of government and discipline in the established church, and if the Presbyterians had not been led astray by the ignis fatuus of uniformity, this grand achievement might have been effected. Their intolerant and persecuting spirit, of which we shall presently speak, was the natural fruit of this idea.

The grand error of the Puritans was the split between the two leading sections of the party, the Presbyterians and Independents. At the breaking out of the troubles, or prior to the meeting of the Westminster Assembly, the Presbyterians were predominant in Parliament and in the country. With the exception of those who held Prelacy to be essential to the being of a church, they had no antagonists worthy of the name. The cruelties of which Prelacy had been guilty, while enforcing uniformity in rites and ceremonies, combined with its obvious affinity for absolute monarchy, had awakened the disgust of thousands who cared little for forms of worship in themselves; and the undisguised tendency of Laudism to Popery had exci-

ted alarm among the sincere friends of Protestantism; so that the conviction that the church needed to be remodelled was almost universal. Every thing indeed seemed favourable for accomplishing the good work of eliminating from the constitution of the Anglican church the noxious elements which had been incorporated with it, and thus of completing the half reformation of Edward and Elizabeth. It was one of these occasions for doing a great work, which occur only at rare intervals in the life of nations. The fair prospect was soon overclouded by the unwise rigidity of the Presbyterians, by their attempting to extirpate at once every trace of Prelacy, and to introduce in its stead a system claiming the same absolute *jus divinum*, and breathing apparently the same intolerant and persecuting spirit. No wonder that Milton, at first the zealous friend, soon became the determined opposer of the Presbyterians, saying that Presbyter was nothing more than "old Priest writ large." To set up Presbytery seemed to be a mere exchange of yokes.

Nor is it surprising that the Independents so rapidly grew in numbers and influence. As a party, they were not, in principle, more liberal than the Presbyterians; but as they were in a position to need toleration, they naturally became its recognised advocates. They wished to enjoy the privilege of forming churches according to their own notions of the New Testament model; they sought toleration for themselves; but liberty of worship as we understand it, was a doctrine which neither party admitted. Both were for maintaining the union of church and state; and if the scheme of compromise, or rather of comprehension, which the Independents proposed, had been consented to by the Presbyterians, the former would probably have exhibited as little fondness for sectaries as the latter. It is an instructive fact, that every sect under persecution has got a glimpse of the rights of conscience, and that every sect in power has to a greater or less extent violated them.

This, we repeat, was the first great error of the leading section of the Puritan party: by grasping at too much, by unwise efforts after absolute uniformity, the seeds of division and alienation were sown. Two parties, with the strongest possible affinities for each other in regard to doctrine, discipline, and worship, that could exist short of complete identity, parties which united might have held undisputed sway in the kingdom

and might have given stability and permanence to the incipient reformation, presented the spectacle and met the usual fate of a house divided against itself. The Independents were forced into the unnatural position of antagonism to the Presbyterians and the Parliament; and then, when the power had passed into the hands of Cromwell and the army, the Presbyterians fell into another grave error, by maintaining a sullen mood towards the greatest prince that Britain ever saw or is likely to see again. One of the finest things in these volumes is Mr. Macaulay's portrait of Cromwell. It is a particular favourite of our historian, who, however, does no more than justice to the glorious man, in whose presence the Plantagenets and Tudors shrink into pigmies. His memory has been loaded with obloquy by those who should have known better; but the world is beginning to appreciate the real character of Cromwell; a man forced to adopt many measures by circumstances over which he had no control; a man not without ambition, but it was ambition of a noble kind; who, as he won the sceptre of Britain by matchless valour in the field, proved that he was worthy to wield it by unsurpassed wisdom in the cabinet. By principle as well as from policy, Cromwell was the advocate of toleration. He was not a leader; he was not a revolutionist; he did not overthrow the Presbyterian establishment when it existed, though he could have done it by a word. An Independent in principle, he was not the enemy of Presbyterians; and if they had rallied round him as they should have done, he might have relieved himself of that extraordinary army, which was at once the main stay of his power, and the main obstacle in the way of his doing for his country all that was in his heart.

Another grievous error of the Presbyterians—the natural consequence of those just adverted to—was the share they took in the Restoration of the exiled Stuarts. If they had been wholly ignorant of the character of Charles II., their attachment to that embodiment of wickedness, would have been unwise indeed, yet excusable. But he had been in Scotland, they knew what solemn professions he had made, what solemn oaths he had taken, and how shamelessly he had cast them aside the moment he found himself safe again on the continent; they had abundant proof that he had no more conscience than a statue; they knew that he was a debased sensualist, with not one re-

deeming trait except that sort of good nature which would not inflict pain out of mere wantonness, yet which cares not how much blood is shed, or how much misery is caused, if necessary to gain an end. To restore such a man to the throne, unbound by any public and formal pledge to maintain the liberties of church or state, the Presbyterians united with a party with which they could have no real sympathy, and by which they were absolutely abhorred. Charles, who would promise any thing if he could thereby regain the throne, had indeed entered into private engagements with the Presbyterian leaders, who otherwise would not for an instant have entertained the proposal to restore him; but they were of such a nature that he could, as he did, throw the responsibility of breaking them on Parliament.

Mr. Macaulay says that "some zealous friends of freedom have without reason condemned the Restoration," and particularly the admission of Charles II., free of all conditions other than those agreed upon in private. He maintains that this course, all things considered, was the wisest that could have been chosen, and enters into a long argument in support of his opinion; but his reasoning strikes us as very unsatisfactory. We are not at all convinced by it, that the consequences, which he pronounces inevitable, would have followed, if the power had remained in the hands of the army. It was, as he himself repeatedly declares, an army the like of which had never before been seen. "Fifty thousand men, accustomed to the profession of arms, were at once thrown upon the world; experience seemed to warrant the belief that this change would produce great misery. No such result followed. Royalists themselves confessed that in every department of honest industry, the discarded warriors prospered beyond other men." I. 142. We firmly believe that an army composed of such materials never would have permitted the establishment of a military tyranny, or any other form of absolute government. They might and probably would have introduced great political changes; they might have prevented the re-erection of the throne; they might have greatly diminished the power of the aristocracy; but so far as respected the perpetration of outrage upon the individual citizen, the restriction of personal liberty, and the invasion of personal property, we are persuaded that England had far less reason to fear such consequences from the rule of the army, than from the restora-

tion of the Stuarts. Be this as it may, the position assumed by the Presbyterians, and the consequent division of that great body which comprised the real friends of freedom and reform, was an error of which they soon had ample reason to repent.

That the Puritans are open to the charge of having persecuted, and that their laws against what our historian calls "the lighter vices" were in some respects unwise, we readily admit. This was another of their mistakes. At the same time we maintain that Mr. Macaulay gives a distorted view of their conduct in this particular, and subjects them to unmerited odium, when he says, that they were guilty of persecution as cruel as any that they themselves had endured. Now let us look for a moment at the treatment of the Prelatists, who would naturally suffer most severely at their hands. How were they dealt with? They were excluded from office in church and college; they were forbidden to use the liturgy; they were heavily fined. Keeping in view the principles respecting the relation of church and state common to all parties, we say that the Prelatists had no more right to complain of this exclusion from office, than the Papists under Elizabeth. The state had chosen to remodel the church, and to connect new conditions with the enjoyment of ecclesiastical dignities; and if they could not comply with the condition, they must forego the emolument. None could doubt the competence of the state to change the tenure of such offices, for the power had been repeatedly exercised since the days of Henry VIII. Besides, in the existing condition of the kingdom, amid the struggles of a revolution, it was impossible for Parliament to adopt any other course, and secure the object for which they had embarked in the contest with the king. To leave their deadly enemies in possession of their benefices in the church and the universities had been the height of absurdity. Such the Prelatists notoriously were. They were devoted to the king, heart and soul, they raised large sums on their estates, they melted down their plate to replenish the royal coffers; they wanted to restore him to the throne in the full possession of his prerogatives. Even after his overthrow, they were perpetually plotting against the government, and in order to gain their end, not scrupling to think about admitting an assassin as their co-adjutor. While the Parliament was in power, and afterwards under Cromwell, it was impossible to keep them down unless

by a strong hand. Politics and religion thus became so interlaced, that it is difficult to separate the one from the other, or accurately determine the proportions of suffering for religious dissent, and punishment for political delinquencies. Every rectory containing a Prelatic parson was a centre of sedition. The liturgy was as much the badge of a political party, as the symbol of religious faith; and whenever its admirers assembled, whether in conventicle or private house, it was perfectly well known that they met for other purposes than simply to worship God.

This makes an immense difference between Puritan and Prelatic persecution. The sufferings, of which the latter complained so loudly, were inflicted upon them, not merely, or even chiefly, because they could not pray without a book, nor own a church without a bishop, but on political grounds. On the other hand, the Puritans were persecuted by the Prelatists when the latter had undisputed possession of the whole power of the kingdom, in a time of profound peace, and on religious grounds exclusively. "Who can answer"—says a candid Episcopalian treating of this very period—"for the violence and injustice of a civil war? Those sufferings of the Prelatists were in a time of general calamity; these of the Puritans in a time of peace. The former were plundered, not because they were conformists, but cavaliers of the king's party."

We do not make these remarks with the view of justifying in all respects the conduct of the Puritans towards the Prelatic party. That they did persecute is not to be denied. With the rights of conscience they were imperfectly acquainted. They allowed the civil magistrate a power *circa sacra* which, if fully exercised, would produce persecution, leading him to deal with heresy as a crime against the state as well as a sin against God. They shared in the sentiment of their age. Struggling so long to gain toleration for themselves, no wonder that they were so slow to grant to others what had cost them so much toil and blood. But it deserves to be considered, that the persecuting principles adopted by the Puritans were not the native fruit of what we may call the Puritan system of Christianity; on the contrary, there is no affinity whatever between them. It is a system which makes every thing of the individual conscience, which insists upon universal Christian education, and the uni-

versal circulation of the Bible. Hence we say, that the persecuting principles of the Puritans were a mere accident of their faith, a remnant of the spirit of their own age, an element not combining with their system, but kept in contact with it by a sort of mechanical pressure; an element at war with the fundamental principles of their faith respecting God's claims and man's duty. In quiet times it must soon have worked itself out. For these two reasons, we affirm that the Puritan, whether regarded as a persecutor in fact, or in principle, is not to be put in the same category with the prelatists and the royalists; and if Mr. Macaulay had taken the pains to compare the two, and point out the distinctions which facts and reason alike demand, instead of indulging in finely worded but empty declamation, he would have better deserved the name of a fair and candid historian.

"He who approaches this subject," said Mr. Macaulay in one of his earliest reviews, "should carefully guard himself against the influence of that potent ridicule, which has already misled so many excellent writers. Those who roused the people to resistance, who formed out of the most unpromising materials the finest army that Europe had ever seen—who in the short intervals of domestic sedition made the name of England terrible to every nation on the face of the earth, were no vulgar fanatics." This is as true as it is well said, and we deeply regret that the writer, in these volumes, has so often forgotten his own rule. Had he kept it in mind, instead of dwelling so much on the surface of Puritan character, he would have gone beneath it; and while exhibiting fully and fairly their errors, with their causes and palliations, could also have shown how much Britain and the world owe them. With all their faults, their internal divisions, their ignorance of the rights of conscience, their religious intolerance, we can say of them what cannot be said of any other party in England, that from first to last they remained true to the great principles of civil liberty. Their political creed may be summed up in two words—the title of a well-known book by Samuel Rutherford, which had the honour of being burned by the hangman, by order of Charles II. the moment he took his seat on the throne of his fathers—*Lex Rex*—the Law, the King. From this creed they never swerved. They

asserted the absolute supremacy of law—that the national will expressed by freely chosen representatives of the people ought to be more potent than the arbitrary will of any monarch, and after fifty years struggling for these vital truths, “there came out,—says Carlyle, in his quaint way,—what we call the *glorious* Revolution. Habeas corpus act, True Parliaments, and much also!” “Alas—he adds—how many earnest, rugged Cromwells. Knoxes, poor peasant Covenanters, wrestling, battling for very life, in rough, miry places, have to struggle and suffer and fall greatly censured, *benired*—before a beautiful Revolution of Eighty-eight can step over them in official pumps and silk stockings with universal three times three.”* Honour then to whom honour is due. Great as were the failings and errors of the Puritans, they are not to be named in comparison with the magnitude of their services in the cause of freedom and religion. We hold it to be foul injustice to their memory to say, as Mr. Macaulay does, that in the day of their power they proved themselves as intolerant and as meddling as Laud; and that because Puritan stone-masons attempted “to make Nymphs and Graces, the work of Ionian chisels decent,” and Puritan legislators passed sharp laws against betting, adultery, masques, boxing-matches, and bear-baiting, the savage and faithless cruelties inflicted on them by the restored Cavaliers were not only “natural but excusable.” He will not even allow the Puritan the credit of having been actuated by good motives when he enacted laws against “the lighter vices;” he was induced to make adultery a misdemeanor, not so much by his love of virtue as his hatred of pleasure; he denounced bear-baiting not out of compassion for the sufferings of dumb animals, but simply to deprive the spectators of their sport; he shut up the theatre not because it was demoralizing, but only on account of its being a place of amusement. And in confirmation of these statements he quotes a passage from the *Diurnal*, in which it is mentioned that Col. Pride, once coming into a town where a bear-bait was in progress, dispersed the crowd and ordered the bears to be killed. Now this, we are constrained to say, is worse than trifling. Mr. Macaulay not only assumes the delicate office of a judge of human motives, but he pro-

* *Hero-worship*, p. 131.

nounces a sentence the very opposite of that which the religious character of the Puritans, and the manifest aim of these laws would dictate. Whether they were wise or unwise, well-fitted, or ill-fitted to attain their end, is a question admitting of debate: but no reasonable and candid man can hesitate to own that these laws were enacted with the view of introducing a higher and purer social morality; of putting an end to popular amusements whose exclusive tendency and inevitable effect is to degrade human beings to the level of brutes. Precisely similar laws have been passed by our own legislatures, within the last twenty years, and are at this moment in force.

In thus stating our objections to the work before us, we have dwelt particularly on those portions of it which relate to the Puritans, because we regard them as the most defective and unsatisfactory. It would be quite superfluous for us to say, that we venerate the memory of the Puritans, for their sufferings and services in the cause of God and humanity. No intelligent and candid man can doubt that they were the early heralds of those principles of religious and civil freedom, which are now incorporated with the constitutions of Britain and the United States; that they planted the tree of liberty beneath whose goodly shade we sit; and when we heard that Mr. Macaulay was engaged on a history of England, we expected that tardy but ample justice would be done them; we expected that in his volumes, his readers would find a clear and faithful account of the origin of the party, of their divisions, of their errors and mistakes, and the nature and extent of the debt which Britain owes them. For such a narrative we look in vain. While this is in our judgment the most serious defect, it is not, however, the only point in regard to which the historian is open to censure. With all his rare gifts and attainments (and there is hardly a branch of literature or science with which he does not betray some acquaintance), Mr. Macaulay is not, in the highest sense of the terms, either a philosopher or a reasoner. Soon after he entered on his literary career, Sir James Macintosh appended a note to his *History of Ethical Philosophy* (in which he quotes and comments on one of Mr. M.'s reviews), which seems to have been added to his work for no other reason than just to give him an opportunity of delicately cautioning his

friend to restrain his fondness for saying things in a striking way, and to guard against a disposition to substitute glittering rhetoric for plain and solid logic. The venerable man expresses, at the same time, the confident hope that "the admirable writer who at an early age has mastered every species of composition, will doubtless hold fast to simplicity." If the limits of this article permitted, we could adduce not a few passages from Mr. Macaulay's *Miscellanies* and his *History*, to prove that this complimentary expectation has not been realized to so large an extent as could be desired. When we closely examine his brilliant antithesis and rounded periods, we discover, in not a few cases, that what seems to be profound philosophy or elegant reasoning is really nothing but a bold truism or sheer sophistry. The popularity of a history, and we have no doubt that these volumes will long be popular, is a very uncertain test of its intrinsic value. Rapin has written a far more truthful history of England, than Hume: yet the latter, with all his notorious unfairness and offensive toryism, has gone through edition after edition, and even at this present time is in great demand, while honest Rapin sleeps upon the dusty shelf. The basis of Hume's popularity is rhetorical art, rather than historical research; he tells his story with so much grace, that we read it with delight, even when we have good reason to be suspicious of its truth and fairness. Of course we do not mean to put Hume and Macaulay in precisely the same category; the latter has unquestionably the highest claims to popularity. Equal if not superior to Hume as a mere writer, he has what Hume had not, a mind saturated with political and literary knowledge; he has ransacked repositories of information all covered with the dust of time; he has trodden the most retired lanes as well as the common roads in the domain of letters. In a word, he has adorned his story of the past with those refined charms which mark the highest forms of modern literature, and has told it with all that dramatic power which might be expected only in one who, having mingled in the scenes, narrates to us what he had himself seen and done.

ART. VI.—*Cheap Presbyterian Newspaper.**

THE subject of a cheap weekly paper, to be issued under the authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, had occasionally been the subject of conversation in private circles, but had not till lately occupied much of the attention of our ecclesiastical judicatories. It is now, however, likely to receive some consideration; having been brought before the Assembly at its late meeting in Pittsburg, by the Presbytery of Huntingdon in the following

MEMORIAL.

“To the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, to meet in Pittsburg:

“Extract from the minutes of the Presbytery of Huntingdon, at their sessions in Williamsburg, April 11, 1849.

“Whereas, the power of the Periodical Press is immense, and should be employed fully and judiciously in advancing the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; and especially should a good Presbyterian paper weekly visit every family connected with our church:

“And whereas, our ablest religious weeklies are held at a rate which multitudes of our people deem beyond their means. Therefore,

“*Resolved*, 'That a committee be appointed to memorialize the next General Assembly on this subject.'”

“DEAR BRETHREN—In accordance with the above recited action of our Presbytery we address to you a few remarks on the very important subject to which allusion is here made.

“The importance of a religious paper is unspeakably great. Its influence is beyond calculation. It visits, or should visit every family. It forms, guides, or modifies religious sentiment wherever it goes. It incites, directs, or suppresses religious feeling. It

* Respect for a large number of brethren, who desire some record of their opinions on this subject, leads us to give insertion to the following article; our judgment remaining unchanged. as to the several points on which we have declared ourselves. See our volume for 1849, page 451. A large part of the excellent matter contained in the argument here published is worthy of all attention; but it is common to those who hold both opinions as to a cheap paper.

affects human conduct. It is intimately connected with the happiness of this life, and with the bliss of immortality. Its influence upon our pastors and elders is immense; upon parents and other adults it is perhaps still greater; and upon children and youth it is beyond estimation. It is hence an engine which the church should employ: and which she must employ, or she will perish: and employing which aright, she will spread and triumph. It should be an object of the deepest interest to put a weekly religious paper of the very best kind into every family. And to accomplish this end, religious communities in their organized capacities must exert an encouraging and directing influence. We would just as wisely leave Christian education, and theological learning, and missionary enterprise to individual efforts and to unassociated feelings, as to leave the periodical press destitute of our congregated influence.

"We can anticipate many difficulties in the way of the General Assembly's efficient action, but we hope that the Assembly's wisdom and zeal will triumph over all obstacles. When a subject of such importance is presented for consideration, difficulties in the way of its attainment should but incite to more determined action.

"Our desire is that a good weekly religious paper shall be furnished on such terms of cheapness, as will place it within the means of every family. It is a very general complaint that our religious papers are put at too high a price. For this reason many are unable to obtain them. And many more, though able, are not willing to give the amount asked.

"We would not diminish the cost of the paper by making it less readable. We would have the quality of the material used, and the fairness of the mechanical execution, equal to the best. Nor would we reduce the price by diminishing the intrinsic value of the matter. Let the editorial department embrace the very first talent in the church; and talent concentrated with undivided attention to the one business.

"The cheapness of some of the miscellaneous weeklies, and of some of the organs of our societies, may not be considered as proper criteria by which to fix the price of our paper. We then refer to the *American Spectator* as an approximating example. That paper is intended to sustain itself. Its material and execution are of the best character. And it is mailed to ordinary

subscribers at one dollar and fifty cents, and to clergymen at a dollar. Now, if such a paper, independent of church communion, **can** be sustained at these rates, it seems to us that the General Assembly could elicit sufficient enterprise and talent, when stimulated by the patronage of the Presbyterian church, to establish and carry on just such a paper as is needed, and on terms which would be acceptable.

“Brethren, we would be importunate, for we plead the necessities and the spiritual interests of thousands, and tens of thousands. We urge the obligation which rests upon the church rightly to use this weapon of strength, and duly to furnish the needful aliment to myriads of inquiring minds. Surely every family should have a newspaper. And very many families think they must have one. But while they can have a large paper, in good style, with much and varied reading, for one dollar, they are not likely to give two and a half dollars. The papers being equally large, and their appearance equally good, the price decides the choice. Thus such papers issue their thirty thousand, or their fifty thousand, while our religious papers may not attain their three or their five thousand. Shall we not hence learn wisdom? And shall not our sympathies be awaked? And shall we not endeavour to fill an enlarging sphere of usefulness? The times impel us onward. To meet the necessities of our people and to spread the influence of the gospel, we must have a good paper at a low rate. This we must furnish, or our church fails in its duty, and will suffer exceedingly.

“And such a paper we must still think could be so furnished. The fact that large miscellaneous journals, and having but few advertisements, are supplied to clubs at seventy-five cents, is worthy of notice. Surely paper can be bought, and types set, and press work done for religious matter as readily and as cheaply as for any other. But suppose that for those journals the whole of the type were borrowed already set, as probably much of it is, still the publication proves that the materials, press-work, folding, house-rent, management, &c., must cost less, than one and a half cents for each paper, and thus leads to the idea that, with a very large subscription and prompt payment, the compositor and the editor could be fairly compensated, and the paper be published at two cents a number, or one dollar a

year. The case of the *American Spectator* before alluded to, strengthens the idea. And the case of the leading journal of the Methodist church, published at one and a fourth dollars, and issuing many thousand copies, still increases our confidence that the thing is practicable. And the necessity of such a paper, so furnished, is so imperative that we cannot but hope the Assembly will give it their serious consideration.

"The arrangement might possibly be made with the *Presbyterian* for a commencement; or with the *Treasury*; or with both. Their combined subscription would give an excellent beginning. Or some other of our Presbyterian papers might form the nucleus. If the price were put at \$1.25 or even \$1.50, we would have made a very important improvement. But we need a dollar paper, respectable in its appearance and ably edited, and hence a paper easily paid for, and of intrinsic value. And if such a paper could not possibly be so afforded by a subscription list, there should then be a fund raised for the permanent sustenance of an editor or of an editorial corps. Such would be one of the noblest charities which could receive the benefactions of the liberal; and such a paper containing, as it surely would, a judicious summary of Missionary intelligence, and breathing the spirit of piety, visiting weekly fifty thousand families, and instructing two hundred thousand readers, would do more for our Boards, and for all the interests of religion, than can now be estimated.

"With this brief and imperfect expression of our views, we submit the subject to the wisdom of the Assembly, and commend it to the divine favour.

"On behalf of Presbytery,

DAVID M'KINNEY, G. W. THOMPSON, J. B. RIDDLE.	}	Committee."
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The memorial found the Assembly unprepared for immediate and definite action. The importance of the subject was acknowledged, but it was new to many. To have pressed it then would have been hasty, and might have endangered the enterprise. Its friends hence yielded to the suggestion that it be laid over for one year. This would allow time for investigation, and for a comparison of opinions; and the next Assembly, convening with the subject in view, would be prepared to express more

certainly the wishes of the church, and more wisely to adopt measures for carrying her will into execution. To this end the whole subject was entrusted to a committee to report thereon next year. This commitment however does not impose silence on the friends of the measure. It rather invites them to speak. They, as well as its opponents, have a right to be heard. Reasons and plans should be suggested and discussed. Thus only shall the attention of the church be duly awakened, and her wants and desires become properly known. Immense interests are involved in the proposition, and hence much and serious consideration is required. On such a question we can readily conceive that Christian men may, at least for a time, take different sides. It is so with regard to every new movement in the things of religion. It was so on the suggestion of a Theological Seminary. And also at the organization of some of our Boards. But these all, as the result of investigation, received favour sufficient to bring them into existence; and now, as the result of experience, they receive merited and almost universal approbation. Possibly such may be the result with the proposed application of the power of the periodical press. A serious and candid examination of the subject is certainly demanded. The expression of opinion is free and full, and especially on the part of its friends. These should speak, even in advance of others. They should communicate the results of their inquiries, and the foundations of their convictions. Hitherto they have been almost silent. Even their memorial has not been, till now, published. Thus far the existing religious press has generally spoken unfavourably toward the enterprise; and may have forestalled public opinion. It is hoped however, that the church has still a willing ear for what her friends may tender as connected with her best interests and urgent duties. She will examine with candour and decide in the light of truth. So far as we have yet ascertained the leadings of public sentiment, we have found that our brethren who occupy country charges are the most ardent friends of the undertaking. They see and feel the necessity of such a periodical, and the blissful influence it might exert. They hence urge its practicability, and would make a serious effort to effect its accomplishment. Other brethren may see and feel as they do, when they shall have become properly acquainted with their facts and reasonings.

The importance of a religious periodical of the very first character, paying its weekly visits to forty thousand, or fifty thousand families, and giving the very instruction which is needed, to two hundred or three hundred thousand human beings, all on their way to immortality—some just sitting out on their journey, others already bearing the responsibilities of life's duties while they travel, and others just finishing their preparation for entering their eternal state—the importance of such a paper is not over-estimated in the memorial. The Presbytery might have dwelt much more largely on this part of their subject. The influence to be exerted by such a messenger is incalculable. So far as our own church and our own country are concerned, no one of our Theological Seminaries, and no one of our Ecclesiastical Boards is likely to go before it in efficiency. They who shall succeed in getting it up and in making it *what it should be*, will have accomplished a work at which myriads shall rejoice—shall rejoice as men, as parents, and as Christians—shall rejoice on earth, and rejoice in heaven. Its constant access, its punctual visits, its friendly address, the confidence it would inspire: its vivacity, its pious anecdote, its faithful admonitions, its solemn warnings, its kind calls, its sweet persuasion, its varied instruction, its heavenly spirit, its affectionate importunity—its whole adaptation to the wants of human souls, would give it an influence for good which would be inexpressible.

But the very power of the paper is a thought which startles many a sober-minded Christian. We may well startle at it; but we must not therefore reject its use. It is the very instrument which Providence tends us, to be by us used in our own Master's service. It is the very weapon needed in the times in which we live, and in the field of action which we occupy. Men of the world do not decline an instrument because of its great power. For that reason they the rather seize it. It will the more effectually subserve their purpose. The power of steam, and of electricity, and of the daily press, and of the floods of cheap literature, is immense. But men do not decline these things. These are all applied to human purposes: and they are sometimes used against religion. And if the church would maintain her position and advance her destiny, she must use weapons of strength. Let her not shrink

from her responsibilities. Let her use the instrumentalities of power. She needs them. Her work is worthy of them. But let her use them with wisdom, and skill, and prudence. Let her sanctify them by the word of God and prayer, and they will be as safe as they are powerful.

The period in which we live is an age of progress. A decade now comprises the advancements of a century in former times. In such a period the church must not stand still. Nor yet go on crutches. She must not lag behind the times. It is not her prerogative in every thing to lead, it is at least her privilege to follow closely in the line of improvements, and to embrace and use every new thing which can subserve the end of her institution. She did so in the days of her reviving. She was among the first to use the art of printing. It was a power, immense, overwhelming, resistless. Christians did not war against it. The church did not reject its aid. She adopted it. She sanctified it. She promptly applied it to the word of God—to the multiplying and cheapening of Bibles. She was wise in this. Rejecting it she must have perished. Adopting and using it she lived and flourished. When afterwards infidel ingenuity and zeal discovered a new mode of applying the power of the press, and sent forth by thousands their poisonous missiles in the form of Tracts; Christian wakefulness and fidelity caught the idea, and issued their myriads of similar messengers, but freighted with priceless treasures. In these instances the church acted with wisdom and promptitude. So let her always act. She must so act if she would love and feel her mission to human kind. She must seize upon every improvement and sanctify it, and use it. Whatever can increase her influence is hers by the testament and benediction of her Lord. Whatever can edify her children, or attach her friends, or attract the perishing multitudes, or in any way promote her interests or extend her efficiency she may justly appropriate. Her increase and triumph is the manifestation of her master's glory; and he has given her as her right, every instrumentality which can be used to convey knowledge to the human mind, or to affect the heart and direct the conduct of men.

Cheap literature is one of those instrumentalities. It has been discovered by the worldly. It is used by the enemies of religion. It is applied by them with an influence overwhelm-

ingly destructive. In the forms of the book, the pamphlet, and the tract it was pernicious. In these forms we have met it with an antidote. Tract Societies, the Sunday School Union, and the Board of Publication issue and circulate a literature which is at once attractive, cheap, and wholesome, and which is so diffused as to be easily accessible. But, of late years, cheap literature has assumed the form of weeklies; and in this form has become tenfold more powerful for evil. Myriads of these sheets are circulated. They are put at a price extremely low; and yet the extent of their circulation and the promptitude of payments which they command, give their proprietors a sustenance. Yea they are sources of gain. They are large, of good material, tastefully got up, embellished, embracing a great variety of matter, lively, fascinating, containing some things very good, carrying news which every family should possess—but not pure, not healthful, injurious in their tendency; tainted with moral poison. Their tales, jests, and sneers, pollute the reader's mind.

Now this kind of cheap literature must be met. It must be supplanted, or an antidote must be provided. If the world has made the discovery, we must appropriate it to purposes of good. If the world has forged a weapon of power, we must wrest it from the hands of wickedness and sanctify it to the use of our Lord. Such is our duty. We then must have a weekly; equally large, cheap, excellent. Yea, it should be superior, in quality of material, in taste, in vivacity, and in supplying the ordinary wants of a family; and with the addition of purity and excellence.

Such a paper is thought to be practicable; but it is yet a desideratum. True, we have weekly religious papers, numerous and good, but none precisely adapted to the general wants of our church. They are all entirely too expensive. Hence they are not extensively patronized. The cost excludes them effectually from many families. We may agree that the cost should not exclude them—they are really worth the money; better deprive yourself of a meal a day than of your religious reading—we may pile reason upon reason. But the fact will still remain; the cost does exclude them. Some cannot pay because they are poor; and others will not pay because they are opposed to giving more for a thing than the proper cost of production. They think the high price an imposition. Hence the fact

is that the high price does, very extensively, exclude the paper. It is folly to war against this fact. It will be a fact still after all our arguments. Let us then at once adapt ourselves to its existence.

Those pernicious papers must be removed from our families. But how remove them? Not by authority, nor by declamation, not yet by reasoning. We must supplant them. And how can we supplant them? Only by offering a good paper in their stead—a paper having *prima facie* attractions, equally cheap and at the same time possessing real excellencies. With such a paper our pastors, elders, and colporteurs could speedily supplant thousands of bad papers; and when they could not supplant, they might furnish the antidote.

Shall then the church adopt this form of cheap literature? She promptly adopted the art of printing on its discovery, and applied it to the circulation of the Bible. She took up the plan of issuing Tracts, and spread them by millions. She met the floods of cheap books by the action of her Societies and Boards. Shall the novelist, and the writer of tales, and the witling, and the jester, and the actor pay their weekly visits to our families while the messages of wisdom, and love, and mercy are excluded? And shall the assessment of a few extra dollars upon our religious papers be the influence which bars the door against their entrance? It must not be so. The enemies of religion, and the men of the world must not retain the sole use of the cheap weekly. The church surely has quickness of perception sufficient to see that it is to her an indispensable; and she has an energy to seize it, and skill to conduct it. She is awaking from her slumbers, and she has yet faithful sons. Her Board of Publication has taught her that she can buy paper, and print it, and do all other work as elegantly and as cheaply as the same can be done by any other agency.

It was said by one who possessed much knowledge of human nature, "Let me make all the ballads for a nation, and I care not who make the laws." At that time ballads were the popular literature—the cheap literature of a nation. But the day of ballads has given place to the day of newspapers. Now every family must have its paper. Children, servants, labourers must read, as well as politicians and men of science. Hence they derive the subjects of their conversation—the very elements of

their thought. They find here their amusement. They consult for their interests. The newspaper is their daily reading, their evening joy, and their Sabbath occupation. One might now well say, let me furnish all the papers, and I care not who occupy our legislative and our judgment halls. These must all bow to popular sentiment—must subserve public feeling. I care not who shall issue the ponderous tomes. They must be adapted to the common appetite, or they will occupy a dusty shelf. I care not who shall fill our pulpits. They must minister to the public taste, or they will preach to empty seats. Even the little Tract must conform to the sentiment instilled by the periodicals, or it will, for the most part, be a silent messenger; unread, neglected, its precious truths unexamined and unappreciated.

Our periodicals are now the media of influence. They form and mould the community. Who then shall control this plastic power? Shall it be the infidel? or the worldling? or the Christian? Happily the press is free to all. Whosoever will may use it. Energy, and enterprise, and zeal will here distinguish their possessors. Shall then the church decline this means of power? Or, while other branches of the church use it, shall Presbyterians decline it? We would thereby prove recreant to the trust committed to us. We would neglect one of the most important means of usefulness with which our hands are furnished. We must use it, or we shall become feeble and perish. We must use it, or we fail to propagate the religion which we profess. We must use it in its most effective forms, or we come short of the full measure of our duty.

But, it is said, we do use the press: we publish many and good papers: our ministers edit them and our church courts recommend them. All true. But who read them? This is the point. Are they in a single family beyond those of our steady members? Are they in one third of the families belonging to our church? Do we then furnish the *ballads* even for our own people? Is public sentiment formed by the Presbyterian press? Or do we contribute our share to the forming of public sentiment? The thing must be impossible, while we fail to reach the fountain head—the family circle, the fire side, the mass of the community. To exert our proper influence we must so use the press as effectually to reach the common mind. We must not, by an impracticable price fixed upon our journals,

bar the door of access against the myriads who would naturally look to us for the light of knowledge; and receive at our hands the elements of their character. The day was when evangelical Christians had the lead, not only in religion and in moral sentiment, but also in schools and colleges, and in most literary enterprises. And Presbyterians then stood pre-eminent among their fellow labourers. But now, evangelism has lost immensely in all those departments; and Presbyterians are rapidly declining from the station they then occupied. True, we have been growing, but our growth has been too slow. We have not grown with our country's growth. Others have advanced more rapidly. Thus we occupy a lower grade than we once did, in the scale of influence. If the advancing influences around us were all evangelical, we might still console ourselves with the reflection that the gospel was gaining. But, as intimated, while other Christians are outstripping us, there are influences not Christian, but inimical to Christianity, gaining upon them. And why should Christians be outdone? They should be immeasurably in the advance when the human mind is to be influenced. And why should Presbyterians yield to any in the paths of usefulness? If others travel with rail-road speed, must we still cling to the stage-coach? If they speak by electricity, must we await the tardy progress of the mail? Have we not the Lord's truth in charge, and shall we fail to spread it? And have we not human souls in charge, and shall we fail to reach them? Is not the truth mighty? Why then, possessing this weapon, and having the whole land before us, are we declining in the scale of influence? It must certainly be because we fail duly to use the means of progress. We do not cause our light to shine with sufficient brilliancy, nor to a sufficient extent. It should penetrate every cabin. It should reach every mind. It should illumine every dark spot throughout the land. We have yet schools, colleges, seminaries, Boards, presses, and periodicals. Why then do we not grow—grow as rapidly as others—grow by natural increase, and by accretion? It must be because we fail duly to reach the common mind. Our churches have but few accessions from the world, and we do not retain all our own. Some of our members every year go off to other churches, and many of them return to the world. And then our children—born in the church—nurtured in our families—where are they?

Not found, one and all, in the church's bosom, her youthful members and devoted labourers! But gone and going, thousands of them, to other communions, or apostatizing to the world! Alas! there is fault somewhere. There is evidently a remissness on our part. Divine truth is not duly brought in contact with the mind: for truth is mighty, and God's promise is good. If the desired result is not attained it must be because either the means are not duly used, or there are countervailing influences. We must then arouse. This is no time for lethargic quietude.

"In former times the Bible was mainly the reading book in schools and families. Associated with it in schools, were the catechism and a few books of moral sentiments: and in families a few books of sermons and practical religion. Our weekly sheets were then but few, and they were newspapers. What we now call literary papers—that is, tales, novels, fancy sketches, &c., in the form of newspapers, were then scarcely known in common life. Our people then were generally shut up to the necessity of reading something which was really good. But now how different! The land is flooded with light reading. The Bible is mostly a neglected book, both in schools and in families. Sermons and thoughtful treatises on religion occupy the shelf. The newspaper is now the resort; and here, in immense sheets, embellished and made attractive, the mind is amused with things imaginative, frivolous, fascinating, with things extravagant, mixed, drugged, tainted with licentiousness. When such periodicals furnish the aliment for the common mind, society must become polluted, and children must grow up corrupted. It is hard for the tract, the Sabbath school, and the pulpit when all combined, to resist such influences. But few of those who grow in such circumstances, will embrace evangelical religion: and very few of them will become Presbyterians. The purity of Christianity is repulsive to hearts so tainted. The system of truth which we teach requires too much of thought, of industry, self-denial, cultivation of intellect, and government of feelings, to be embraced by minds so trained. Those corrupting influences must then be removed. And to remove them we must go to the fountain head. The family reading must be changed. This is indispensable. But how shall this be done? We are attempting it by books, cheap, ex-

cellent, attractive. This is all well. But it is not enough. We have tried it. It is good, but it has not cured the evil; and cannot cure it. Families will have a newspaper. And they will read it, and many of them have leisure to read not much else. They should have a paper, and it should be of the right kind. Our readers will not here suppose that we urge a cheap paper, though of the very best kind, as the panacea for all the ills to which we have alluded. We speak of it as one of the remedies. It will not be a substitute for preaching, nor for books, nor for parental government. But to all these it will be a powerful auxiliary. And it is a power within our reach. Our Church can have it if she will.

The question then is, shall we furnish the needed paper? At least shall we furnish it so far as those are concerned who look to us for moral and religious aliment? We say, yes, without hesitation. And we trust that the church also will respond with energy. Necessity is laid upon her. She would as wisely blot out her Board of Education, and trust to private enterprise for her supply of ministers, as refuse to establish the paper of which we speak; still trusting to individual efforts to furnish the weekly reading for all her members. We must then supplant the present teeming weeklies by one immensely better; or we must place a better by their side. And this throughout our wide domain. We strive to educate for the ministry every young man of piety and talents who will give himself to our Master's work. Wherever there is a highway in our extended empire, we endeavour to have it trodden by the domestic missionary. In these things we do well. But there is a door of usefulness still open, and inviting our entrance. Let us then resolve to furnish a journal of such a character and at such a rate, that wherever there is a mail transported, it shall carry a weekly message of precious, formative, nourishing, and perpetuating truth to every Presbyterian family.

THE RIGHT KIND OF PAPER.

The better paper which we shall offer must be one possessing not only superior intrinsic excellence, but, as has been noticed, it must be attractive. It must have an excellence which shall be visible. The casket must prepare the way and gain access for the jewel. Those who know the jewel's worth would

search for it, though it were in the mire. But even they do not choose to keep it there. They will enshrine it, and show it with becoming decorations. But those who are ignorant of its worth will neither wade nor dig for it. Its encasements must allure them to its acquaintance and possession. Hence, as stated, we must have regard to the size of our paper, quality of material, embellishments, style of execution, &c. These excellencies are manifest on first inspection: and thus, with cheapness, will give it access. And when it has access, it must be found to be a real treasure. Its intrinsic worth must then make it a favourite. Thus it will keep its place, and accomplish the good for which it was intended.

Many things in reference to our journal must of necessity be left to the editor's own judgment and taste. He, agreeing with the Assembly in general sentiment, would conduct it in his own way, throwing into it his whole soul. Interest awakens interest. Feeling begets feeling. The editor must be a freeman; and a freeman of right sentiment and of full capability. The paper should possess the common form and features of our weekly sheets. It must be truly a religious paper; and really a newspaper. It should embrace a lively sketch of secular news, foreign and domestic; sufficient to keep its readers acquainted with their country's and the world's passing history. Without this it would not supply family wants, and could not have an extensive circulation: and especially it could not find its place in the thousands of families we wish to reach. It should also have something of incident and anecdote; of science, art, and agriculture. The third and fourth pages of the *Presbyterian* present something of an example of what a page or two might be; and the *Treasury* and the *American Messenger* might be referred to as specimens of another large portion of its contents. Missionary intelligence and the doings of our Boards would appropriately occupy one or two columns. And three or four columns of advertisements of general interest would aid in sustaining it, and would not render it unacceptable. The type also should be large and fair. There should be no effort to crowd into it a very large amount of reading matter; because often the more you present in a paper, the less of it is read.

The paper should contain just the information and instruction which is adapted to the wants, feelings, and interests of

families in common life; because it must be to common minds almost the main vehicle of knowledge and influence. Very many families take but one paper. Let this then be the very paper which they need. Many other families take their county paper for local news, and a weekly of more pretensions for general reading. Let this be the paper which will supply their wants. When the paper shall be thus adapted to families in common life, containing just what every one should know; it will then be adapted to all the youth and all the labourers in the land; and to females in every station; and to the ordinary necessities of men in every sphere. Politicians, theologians, and men of science will then find it to contain things of which they should not be ignorant; and they can add from other sources whatever they may desire. Our paper then would furnish the wholesome aliment which all need, served up with attractive variety and with sufficient taste. Men of wealth, and leisure and learning would increase the supply according to their wants and appetites.

While then our paper will be adapted to Christians, and to all who are to be made Christians, the adaptation must be such as to give it access and favour. It must have variety, sprightliness and vivacity. It must make itself a welcome visiter, and become a denizen. Such it cannot be made by ecclesiastical and ministerial recommendations. These will be an introduction. They will afford a favourable commencement to an acquaintance, but its own character must domiciliate it. What this character shall be, we must ascertain, not by abstract reasoning on what man should be, but by examining into the fact and ascertaining what man is. Then may we make our approaches so as to reach his mind, elicit interest, gain confidence, secure affection, and influence him to his good.

THE PRICE.

The charge for our paper should by no means exceed a dollar. This is the money unit. It will defray the expense of a paper in every way respectable. What we need is enterprise. The principal paper of the Methodist Church is published at \$1.25, but here there is a considerable margin left for delays and losses. Some of the large and elegant weeklies are furnished to clubs at a dollar, with a gratuity to the agent; and some at a price still less. We would go to the same market for both ma-

materials and labour, to which others go: and we will be furnished as cheaply: and men will rejoice in the opportunity to supply us. Prompt payment will make us welcome in the market. And prompt payment must be our undeviating rule. And to enable us to observe this rule we must keep ourselves in funds. Hence pre-payment to us must be a *sine qua non*. It must be entirely a cash transaction. We make no allowances for delays; nor for bad debts: for there must be no debts contracted. It is a fraud upon honest and prompt men to make them pay two prices for a thing, because others are dilatory or dishonest. Pre-payment puts men on an equality, and enables a publisher to supply his subscribers at the cost of production.

An estimate for a seven column paper (the size of the *Episcopal Recorder*, but of superior material) would be as follows, for an issue of forty thousand copies.

	Weekly.	Yearly.
Paper, 88 reams, at \$4 50,	\$399 00	\$20 502 00
Composition, 100,000 ems, at 37½,	37 50	1,950 00
Press-work, 320 tokens, at 45,	144 00	7,488 00
	\$577 50	\$30,030 00
Editor,		1,800 00
Envelopes and mailing,		900 00
Office rent,		300 00
Postages, (These should be paid),		200 00
Discount, (There should be none),		300 00
Fuel, light, stationery, &c.,		500 00
Editorial aid,		500 00
Book-keeper,		500 00
		\$35,030 00

The composition would vary with the size of the type, notices retained, &c. The incidentals would vary with the economy of the management. If but 10,000 copies were issued, the cost would be about \$1.32. If 20,000, it would be \$1.03. If 30,000, it would be 93 cents. If 40,000, as above, it would be 88 cents. If paper worth \$5 a ream were used, and an additional \$500 appropriated for editorial aid, the paper would still be within the dollar, and it would rank among the most excellent. If it

were thought expedient to have an eight column paper (such as the Presbyterian) and if the increased space were appropriated to advertisements; these would reduce the expense. And so of any increase of size. And if the Boards would drop their periodicals, and each occupy its column or two, once a month, they would find it vastly to their benefit. They would address then the whole church; and their addresses would be read. The people would be much better informed, and hence their contribution would be larger. And the expense of the present periodicals of the Boards would be saved; and, if needful, might be appropriated as aid in sustaining the weekly which we now advocate. Those who conduct the Boards would however be the proper judges of all this. But the item of editorial aid we would commend to favourable notice. No one man, with all his time and talents, and devotedness of soul could supply such messages weekly, as should occupy so much of the attention of the myriads whom the paper would visit, and in whom it would be so much the formative and guiding influence. All such matters, however, as before intimated, we would leave with the editor, under a few general directions, and responsible to the Assembly. On this part of our subject the main ideas are, a superior paper and a limited price; and, to accomplish these, a large subscription and pre-payment.

The ability of the Church to conduct the enterprise cannot be doubted. Her wealth, her talent, her numbers, her organization are such that whatever she wills, in this line, she can execute. The paper, as we have shown, can be published at a price greatly reduced from what is customary, and yet sustain itself. Or if we should think it desirable to have a periodical whose size, materials, and style of execution would exceed the price suggested, the excess of cost might be provided against by general collections, or by the establishment of a fund. Only convince the Church that the enterprise is one of real value and she will furnish the means to carry it into operation. Individuals might see it to be their duty and their privilege to be as liberal toward the paper as they have been toward the other schemes of the Church. It is highly probable that we have benevolent and wealthy members, who would at once supply a fund adequate to the sustenance of the ablest editorial corps; provided only that they had full confidence in the zeal and

energy of all our ministers and church sessions. Let but this confidence be inspired, that all our officers in their parochial capacity will duly attend to the multiplying of subscriptions, and the collecting and forwarding the money with promptitude, and the enterprise will advance. The paper will speedily start into being, and it will flourish. What we need to inspire this confidence is a new zeal—a zeal, pure, unquenchable, sustained by principle, fanned by love, and directed by wisdom. Let our parochial officers, one and all, become fully possessed of the idea that the great business for which they live and breathe, is to save men and serve their Lord, and things will at once assume a new aspect. There will be mutual confidence; harmonious action in great measures; and co-operation where associated energy is needed. Means then will flow in from myriads of rills, and gush forth from numerous overflowing fountains. No overpowering instrumentality of human salvation will then be withheld from the Master's use. As for our present enterprise, its practicability will then be at once apparent, and the execution will not be tardy.

PLAN.

Let the Assembly vote the establishment of the paper, and elect an editor of approved capabilities. Let his salary be liberal, that his whole time and energies may be devoted to the duties of his office. Let the instructions be general, and give him the aid which may be needful.

Let the Assembly appoint the pastor and session of each particular church in our connexion, an agency for the paper; with instructions to obtain subscribers, and forward the money with the names, always, and promptly in advance; assured that for every dollar sent, a paper shall be regularly mailed to the name and office as requested. There are twenty-five hundred churches in our connexion. These at the low average of twenty subscribers each, would raise a list of fifty thousand. This average, by an effort adequate to the importance of the object, would be readily attained. Surely we may depend upon our pastors, and elders, and deacons for a ready service in this labour of love. It is zeal, union, and promptitude which are to accomplish our work. A cheap paper is to be had in the same way in which a wise community have cheap preaching. They

will have none but the best; and they will well sustain the labourer. And to effect this they will congregate in sufficient numbers to prevent the burden from being oppressive. A hundred or a thousand can hear the same message with equal ease and equal profit. And a burden which would crush one man is easily borne by ten. They know also that every new helper they obtain, will himself receive the greatest benefit from his contribution.

As a beginning, and to make up for a deficiency of subscribers during the first year, and for any other contingency, let the Assembly direct that a special collection shall be made in all the churches for this object. Some would probably decline or neglect, but enough would act. This collection might be repeated the second year if needful.

If the Assembly should think that the dollar is not likely to furnish and sustain so good a paper as we need, let measures be instituted to raise a permanent fund.

The treasurer of the Trustees of the Assembly might be the depository of all moneys raised. Or there might be a Committee, or a Board. Or the paper might be connected with one of the existing Boards, as to its fiscal concerns. We do not present our plan as faultless. All plans and calculations in this incipient stage of our investigation must almost necessarily be imperfect. Our intention has been, in these things, to show that the enterprise is practicable. We make a commencement of suggestions and figures upon which our friends may improve.

OBJECTIONS.

The leading objection to the journal we would establish is its immense power—a “fourth estate” in the empire. This we have already noticed in part. The immense power resident in the press, when uttering cheap literature, is the very reason why we should use it, and why the church should enjoy its benefits. We wish to accomplish good; and the very greatest good; and to the utmost extent. Our Theological Seminaries wield an immense power; and our Boards of Missions, and of Publication, and of Education. But we do not wish hence to ostracize any of them. We need them all. We could not do without them. And we do not find them uncontrollable. They are not *alien* powers. They are of the church—a part of ourselves;

and we would increase their influence. So the paper will be of ourselves—an arm—and if it should prove to be a *right-arm* so much the better. We need such a member. The times demand it; and all the existing members will rejoice with it. The paper will be just what the church shall make it. It will be more immediately under her control than any Seminary, Board, or Agency which she has instituted. The editor will hold his station under the Assembly. Pastors and sessions will be the paper's agents. All its sayings, its character, its whole soul will be weekly exhibited to the church. Our Seminaries, Boards, quarterlies, and local weeklies (for such would still be needed in some localities, and wherever they are needed they would spring up;) all these would be on their watch towers. There would be no concealment, no duplicity, no stealing of hearts. It would be a severe reflection upon the intelligence and discrimination, the fidelity and piety of our officers and members, to intimate that in the interval of the Assembly's meetings, any editor could so gain upon them as to secure his continuance in the trust while he was in the abuse of its power. Such an idea is not to be entertained. Presbyterians are too familiar with the Bible, and have too much independence of thought and feeling for any man, however great, to undermine their principles or steal their heart from their Master's truth. The editor would be installed in his seat of influence only to abide the church's will, and the first indication of corrupt intentions would cause his displacement.

Another objection, urged with some degree of feeling, is that the contemplated paper would operate injuriously to existing interests. We have publishers who have laboured long and been highly useful, and who have property invested in their papers. We honour such brethren, and would gladly transfer them to a more extensive field of usefulness, and to higher rewards. But we cannot consent that our gratitude to them shall retard the church's progress. They, with others, helped her onward in the day of her need; but that is no reason why they should hold her back now in the day of her increasing need. They are her servants. They live for her. Their sustenance at the hands of our common employer, has been equal to that of other labourers. And they suffer no strange thing. It is a law of providence, that in all improvements, old things must go

into disuse and their proprietor must endure the loss. The individual suffers, but the public is a gainer. The use of railroads has almost ruined turnpike stock. Cotton-mills have almost annihilated spinning-wheels and hand-loom. The printing of the Bible, destroyed the business of the transcribers. Our Board of Publication took profitable trade out of the hands of many a bookseller. And if, under the enterprise we now advocate, some of our publishers should be obliged to change their employments, they would but come under the operations of a common law. As they have laboured for Zion's welfare, they will rejoice to see her extending glory, even though times and circumstances require her to modify or change the instrumentalities of her advancement. A change is now demanded, and we must urge it, though it may, in a few cases, affect individual interests. We urge it, because we believe it to be intimately connected with human salvation, and indispensable to the full measure of our church's glory. And if it should operate to the requiring of additional labours from any; or to the diminution of their means, let them remember that the church is entitled to sacrifices from all her sons.

The failure of some papers which have attempted a reduction of price, is urged as a reason why we should not attempt a cheap paper. We might however, assign reasons for failure, independent of cheapness. High priced papers also have failed. To sustain a paper it must have patronage. To this end it must have merit; and there must be payments. We hope to secure all these things on the plan we suggest. Individual enterprise could not secure them to the extent needed. We would as soon think of an individual getting up a Theological Seminary or a Missionary Board. And no individual nor combination of individuals should be permitted to control such a paper. Then truly it would be an instrument of power to be dreaded. We might well tremble at the thought of an irresponsible association reaching our families weekly, moulding their religious sentiment, and furnishing to them the very aliment of thought. But, while private enterprise could supply it; and while no irresponsible association should be entrusted with the power it would give, that power belongs to the church as her prerogative, and she should use it to her Master's glory. If our General Assembly then, will take hold of the matter in earnest; and if

our ministers, elders, and brethren will give it their hearts and their hands, we need entertain no apprehensions of failure.

It is urged by some that the church should not establish a paper. They would leave this matter entirely to individuals. The force of this objection we have not been able to appreciate. It seems like saying the church should not publish the gospel; for truly, as we hope, our paper would proclaim the glad tidings, proclaim them as purely as we hold Bible truth, and as extensively as our utmost limits, and in a manner most efficient. The church establishes schools, colleges, theological seminaries; she educates her sons, licenses them, and ordains them ministers of the word: she sends out missionaries: she publishes books; and why she should be restricted from preaching by a weekly press, it is not easy to conjecture. •

We might notice other objections, and try to remove other difficulties: but it is time to close our remarks. The piety and wisdom, with the enterprise and liberality of our church, can remove every obstacle. Our people need only to have their attention duly directed. The importance of the object, its necessity, its capability of putting forth such an immense influence for good, must awaken feeling and lead to unity of counsel and promptitude in action. Then may the commencement of another year record it as a blissful fact, that the Presbyterian church is sending the glad tidings of salvation in weekly messages of love to tens of myriads who look to her for the knowledge of a Redeemer, and for guidance in the way of life.

ART. VII.—*Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome. Being Notes of Conversations held with certain Jesuits, on the subject of Religion in the city of Rome.* By the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour, M. A. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff street. 1849. 12mo. pp. 237.

THIS small but entertaining volume is a record, as its title imports, of a series of conversations or discussions on the prominent articles of faith and practice in the Church of Rome. The time when they were held is studiously concealed, but in the

absence of all dates, we may approximate it with sufficient precision, from a comparison of several intimations scattered through the volume. We gather that they occurred during the pontificate of Gregory XVI. (by a most absurd typographical error printed "Gregory XII.," who died in 1417 :) subsequent to the cholera in Rome, the publication of Tract No. 90, and Mr. Ward's *Ideal of a Church*, before the apostasy of Ward and Newman, and the Novena for the conversion of England; and at the commencement of the Ronge Schism. We are, therefore, authorized to determine the period in question as the latter part of the year 1844.

Mr. Seymour appears to have been a match for the Jesuits. In fact they were the most frank, unreserved and communicative of the two parties, while the astuteness and tactics were principally on the side of the Englishman. Not that we would accuse him of Jesuitry, but certainly, if his own notes may be depended on, he fairly outwitted his antagonists. In some quarters he has been accused of duplicity, but, we think, without reason. We must bear in mind the objects he had in view, the hazard he ran, and the unnatural and involuntary ambiguity of his position.

Mr. Seymour was a clergyman of the Anglican church, and naturally of an inquisitive and polemical turn. Having exhausted all the resources to which he had access at home upon the Romish question, he determined to repair to the fountain-head itself for more complete information. There are some of us who might deem this a very superfluous labour, as there is a judge of controversies always near at hand; but due allowances must be made for the prejudices of education and the influence of a hierarchical system, even among the evangelical party in the Church of England. Mr. Seymour was in easy circumstances, and had held preferment in the establishment. He spent some time in the city of Rome, diligently attending all the churches, and *assisting*, as the French have it, at every ordination, funeral, novitiate, festival and ceremony of consequence, to which he could gain access, and for which unusual facilities were afforded him by his Roman Catholic friends. The result of his observations he has published in a work entitled "*A Pilgrimage to Rome.*"

The extraordinary assiduity in this occupation, with the

Pontifical in hand, attracted the attention of the ecclesiastics; and, after being sounded on the subject, he was visited at various times by distinguished individuals of the Order of Jesus, some of whom were deputed for the special purpose by no less a personage than the General of the Order. They easily fell into the error of supposing him to belong to that increasing party under the banners of Pusey and Newman, who were hankering after the vanities of Rome, and were already far advanced upon the Appian way, the *Via Media*, but who, for appearance sake, would not yield without some show of argument. To his disclaimers they evidently attached no more importance than to the complimentary courtesies of a tournament. Mr. Seymour was thus placed under a necessity of discussion, at the same time that he felt fully aware of the danger which might ensue from the free expression of his sentiments at the Papal Court. One of his visitors was a dignitary of great power and influence, a word from whom could procure his passports to be sent him with an order from the police to quit Rome. The Anglican Ames might have found in him another Amariah, priest of Bethel, to counsel him, "O thou seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there: but prophesy not again any more at Bethel; for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court." The fate of poor Dr. Achilli sufficiently evinces that the meridian of the Eternal City is not the safest for the promulgation of the truth.

Such are the circumstances under which these conversations are introduced to our notice: and we can easily understand the necessity which compelled Mr. Seymour to adopt a systematic wariness and caution, that furnish no unapt illustration of the wisdom of the serpent combined with the gentleness of the dove. We must do him the justice to say, that so far from practising any unworthy concealment, he made at the very opening the most distinct and unequivocal avowal of his cordial attachment to his own communion, and repelled the idea of his desiring a change.

"I dealt with all frankness with these several gentlemen, as to the object of their visit. . . . I was very careful to deceive them, stating that I should be most happy to confer with them on the differences between the two churches, but that I could not do so under a false colour; that I was devotedly

attached in judgment and in feeling to the Church of England : that I looked on her as the Church of God in England, and the most pure, most apostolic, most scriptural of all the churches of Christendom ; that, without unchurching other churches, she was still the church of my judgment and of my affections ; and that I had never for a moment harboured the thought of abandoning her for any other church, and especially for the Church of Rome." P. 7.

"I said at once that there must be some mistake ; that some one must have misinformed him ; for that I was an attached member of the Church of England ; that I had, as one of her clergy, held preferment in her, but had resigned my appointment ; that I was perfectly independent in my circumstances and my feelings ; that I had always been warmly opposed to the Church of Rome, as well as sincerely attached to the Church of England ; and that I had now visited Rome with a desire to see and judge all things for myself, to change, modify, or confirm my former opinions, after a free and fair examination of everything to which I might be so fortunate as to obtain access." P. 15.

These declarations must be regarded as sufficiently explicit, to defend the author from the charge of deception and duplicity. The nearest approach to any thing like it is to be found on P. 113. "I could not expect that anything that I could offer, especially under the peculiar circumstances and manner in which I was obliged to state my views, could have any lasting effect on his mind, especially as I could so seldom give expression to my argument as if it were my own deep feeling, but only as a suggestion as to what might possibly be the impression on the minds of others." But let it be remembered that the individual with whom he was thus obliged to be on his guard, was the dignitary, a word from whom would suffice at a moment's notice to send him from Rome with his cherished purposes unaccomplished. P. 97. For it would appear that besides his design of obtaining information on the general question of the Papacy without committing himself, he was desirous to decide on the propriety of his receiving the communion from the hands of the Romish priests, (p. 65) and to discover the mode of reasoning by which they contrived to work on the minds of the English. P. 78.

He appears to have been remarkably skillful in conducting an argument: his mind is strictly logical, and his style so clear and limpid that it is impossible to misunderstand his meaning. His reading was extensive. He was not only acquainted with the common routine of controversial writers, but was intimate with the early fathers, and ready to cite passage for passage. Whether the matter in dispute was the decrees of councils, or the inscriptions in the catacombs, he showed himself equally at home. His antagonists were men of eminence and ability; sometimes picked men: learned, courteous and agreeable. If there were any individuals whose opinions might be deemed weighty and authoritative, these seem to have been the persons. We may therefore feel that we have presented to us the very best face which can be put upon that side of the question. We may also repose reasonable confidence in the accuracy of the report, as Mr. Seymour states that he was in the habit of taking notes during the conversations, and of committing the whole to writing the moment his visitors had withdrawn.

There are two things that have struck us very forcibly upon perusing this work. One is the rooted hold which superstition has taken on all minds, even the most enlightened, that are subject to the deathly grasp of the Papacy.

“Lethale vomebat
Suffuso virus cælo, Stygiaque per urbes
Religione sacer, sævum retinebat honorem.”

It is indeed a curious psychological phenomenon that we are invited to witness—the extent to which credulity and superstition are compatible with learning and intellectual ability (of a certain sort at least). Here we see men expert in science, philosophy, belles lettres, and the classics, whose minds are quite contracted on theological topics, and reduced within the narrowest limits of bigotry. Habitually courteous and affable, we find them unhesitatingly affirming the conviction, “that every one must be damned in the flames of hell who did not believe in the supremacy and infallibility of the pope.” P. 132. As Mr. Seymour remarks, this averment derives considerable importance from the position of the person who uttered it. The speaker was the chief teacher of theology in the order of the Jesuits, and in the Collegio Romano.

These learned men did not blush to avow their belief in

miraculous pictures, even to the length of assenting to the preference which the Virgin Mary would give to one picture of her over another, if they were placed side by side: hearing the prayers addressed to the miraculous pictures, and refusing to hear those addressed to the picture that had not the reputation of being miraculous. Well might the author say, "I must frankly confess that I was wholly unprepared for this. In all my former experience of controversy in Ireland and England, I had been told that all these were the mere abuses of the superstitious, and not sanctioned by the learned. if, indeed, such things were believed or practised anywhere. I had often heard them denounced as mere fabrications, pure inventions to injure the character of the Church of Rome, and I felt much surprise to find them not only believed and practised, but defended. I felt that it was opening out to me a new state of things, a new phase of mind, and a totally new system of faith or credulity which I had never anticipated. A mind must be in a peculiar state to believe in the miraculous powers of a picture or image."

P. 40. "This was a degree of credulity, not to say superstition, for which I was wholly unprepared: and I felt that there must be something in the atmosphere of Italy, or something in the training of the mind of Italy, that could lead an intelligent, a travelled, and educated man to such a state of credulity." P. 41.

A ludicrous story was gravely narrated by one of the Collegio Romano, of a whole tribe of American Indians marched down to a river by a Roman Catholic missionary; there, without any preaching, instruction, or profession of faith, sprinkled with water and decorated with little crosses: and claimed as worthy converts. At the expiration of two years, the missionary returned, in the course of which time the Indians had had no instruction whatever. When he summoned them to confession, he was overjoyed to find that not one of them had any sins to confess! So far from imagining the possibility of this unconsciousness of sin arising from their deplorable ignorance of the nature of sin, he seriously insisted on the explanation "that there was no matter for the Sacrament of penance, as during these two years the Indians lived such converted lives, such holy and Christian lives, that there was not one among them who had committed a single sin, and therefore had no sins to confess, and the missionary priest was unable to confer absolu-

tion, inasmuch as there was no matter for the sacrament!" P. 152. But this is nothing to the story of a devout Indian, immediately subjoined, who was too far from the missionary to admit of the host being conveyed to him: whereupon the host flew out of his fingers over to the poor Indian, and into his mouth! "Oh," he added, in a tone of the most reverential devotion, "the blessed Lord Jesus so loved that poor savage, that he longed to enter into his heart, and thus miraculously flew into his mouth! How anxious he was to get into him!" P. 153. The fervour and earnestness of this priest forbade all doubt of his entire sincerity in crediting the miracle. He had a wide esophagus!

The growth of Manolary is painfully brought to view in these pauses. The subject is of sufficient importance to quote the passage at length:

"My clerical friend, after a pause, which I was unwilling to break, lest I should express myself as strongly as I felt, resumed the conversation, and said, that the worship of the Virgin Mary was a growing worship in Rome; that it was increasing in depth and immensity of devotion: and that there were now many of their divines, and he spoke of himself as agreeing with them in sentiment, who were teaching that as a woman brought in death, so a woman was to bring in life; that as a woman brought in sin, so a woman was to bring in holiness: that as Eve brought in damnation, so Mary was to bring in salvation: and that the effect of this opinion was largely to increase the reverence and worship given to the Virgin Mary." P. 44. "The whole devotional system of the Church of Rome, the prayers unceasingly offered to the Virgin, the innumerable pictures of the Virgin, the countless images of the Virgin, the many churches dedicated to the Virgin, the universal devotion rendered to the Virgin, the manner in which all the services and prayers of the Church and people are impregnated with thoughts of the Virgin, the extent to which, in conversation, all classes went in speaking of the Virgin, all had impressed me with the feeling that the religion of Italy ought to be called the religion of the Virgin Mary, and not the religion of Jesus Christ." P. 106.

This is perfectly in keeping with the notorious facts that in 1799, the Tuscans appointed the Virgin Mary their Generalis-

simo; and in 1836, the king of Spain made her the Commander-in-chief of his forces, their banner being a consecrated petticoat embroidered by his royal hands. In 1816, an association was formed with the pope's sanction, called the Children of Mary, and May was the month especially set apart for her worship. To these follies, and the graver blasphemy of "Our Lady's Psalter," we may add the infatuation of the present pope, Pius IX.; whose whole soul seems to be much more taken up with having the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin formally established as the doctrine of the Church, than with the personal administration of his dominions. Surely it would hardly be a misnomer to call the Romish communion a Marian, rather than a Christian church.

Among the reasons adduced in favour of the worship of Mary, we find one which at least has the merit of novelty. "Their" (the Jesuits') "devotion to the blessed Virgin is known through the whole world; and as for their holiness, they have been accused of ambition, of intrigue, of politics, with opposing sovereigns and disturbing the peace of kingdoms, but no one has ever charged them with impurity or immorality." p. 121.

But the grand and crowning reason to which they perpetually recur, with never-wearied and grateful unction, is the superior tenderness of Mary.

We cannot enlarge further on this point, but for additional particulars, particularly the vindication of the recital of "Hail Mary!" and nothing else, in the ears of a dying man; and the droll mistake of the priest who took the cry of a little child in danger, "O mamma! mamma mia!" as an invocation to the Virgin, instead of its mother; we must refer the reader to the book itself. We feel strongly inclined to the opinion, that for this prevailing preference of Mary to Christ, the Fine Arts are in a great degree responsible. "*Picturæ ecclesiarum sunt quasi libri laicorum*," said Comester, in the twelfth century. Among the paintings which adorn the walls of Roman Catholic churches, there is no subject which is a greater favourite than the Madonna and Child. The greatest masters of all countries have tried their skill upon it. The mother of course occupies the most prominent and patronizing position. There are even pictures of the Virgin and Child in Heaven, although it was in the maturity of manhood Jesus entered into heaven, and of course

the child in her arms can be employed merely as a convenient mode of designating the Virgin Mother. But the most revolting length to which the practice has been carried, is the representation of Mary administering chastisement to her child, by way of illustrating his subjection to his parents. How is it possible for people whose only books are such pictures as these, to take up any other idea than that of the permanent inferiority of Jesus?

Another thing which we had forcibly impressed upon us by the perusal of Mr. Seymour's work, is the imbecility of reasoning exhibited by the learned men of Rome. His antagonists were not obscure individuals encountered by accident, but personages, (in one case selected by the Padre Generale), whose station qualified them to be considered as authoritative exponents of the doctrines of their church: the professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Collegio Romano, or University of Rome; the professor of Canon Law; the professor of Archaeology; the Librarian; a tutor in the College of Nobles; a dignitary of no small note and influence whose title is not given, besides other priests and Jesuits. Yet highly educated and shrewd as these men were, they were sometimes exceedingly at a loss for a reply, when, too, a reply naturally suggested itself to our own minds, heretics as we were.

We are not unaware of the fable of the lion and the painter. We know the partiality of men to their own offspring, and how easy it is for a reporter to colour here, and embellish there, and suppress in another place, so as to make the published account more favourable to himself or his party than the real argument was. Cicero's oration in defence of Milo is an example in point. Another is furnished by Mr. Kennedy in his life of Mr. Wirt. In the great steamboat case of Gibbons against Ogden, Mr. Emmett was counsel for the defendant in opposition to Mr. Wirt, and in allusion to New York enterprise, quotes from the *Aeneid* an exclamation of the hero, "*Quæ regio in terris, nostri non plena laboris!*" and applies it in a triumphant strain. Mr. Wirt, who was a thorough Virgilian, very happily took up the quotation, and completed it, and showed from the context that so far from being the language of triumph, it was that of lamentation. This turn of thought he pursued in glowing descant on the horrors of disunion which

were threatened by the then aspect and position of the State of New York. In the published report of Mr. Emmett's speech, as revised, these words are interpolated, "She may turn the mournful exclamation of Aeneas into an expression of triumph." &c., thus anticipating the eloquent passage in Mr. Wirt's felicitous reply, and taking away all its point and bearing.

But, making all due allowance for self-partiality in the case, still, if any thing like a faithful report is given, we are able to draw our own conclusions. There is the argument itself, its naked bones and sinews, in the plainest, most unpretending, but clearest, of styles. Of this pellucid style the admirable expositions of justification, sanctification, and the merit of good works, pp. 198, 200, may be referred to as specimens. Mr. Seymour represents himself as a man of prayer, a devout and conscientious man: and such is the logical structure of his mind, that we can hardly conceive the discussions to have borne any altering or tampering of consequence. In short, we feel that the account before us is altogether trustworthy.

In almost every encounter the Jesuits made a failure. Mr. Seymour professes himself amazed beyond expression at the weak and inconclusive arguments and hasty retreats of men whom he had been led to regard as most subtle, practised, and formidable controversialists. Whether the leaden pressure of authority, the early submission to that mockery of reason, transubstantiation, or the habit of dwelling on peculiarities of dress and ceremony had emasculated their intellects, the facts stand forth prominent, and the defeat is not to be concealed. We are disposed to ascribe the perversion and prostration of their faculties on points of theology, to the wretched system under which they had been trained. They had been bred implicitly to venerate the canons of the church and its dogmas as of equal authority with the scriptures: and it never entered into their heads to doubt. Their reason had been permitted to fall into entire disuse as far as the investigation of religious truth is concerned. It was a case of complete *non-user*, and entailed the natural consequences of neglect. The Yogee who extends his arm for a series of years, at last loses its muscular power, and is disabled from retracting it. Of the sincerity of his Jesuit friends Mr. Seymour became perfectly satisfied. He once had been of the common opinion that the Romish priesthood were all infidels:

but this opinion, further acquaintance induced him to abandon. "I am satisfied that multitudes among them believe, with the fullest and most implicit faith, the dogmas of their church: and therefore, instead of regarding them as hypocrites and monsters of deception and wickedness which such a supposition implies. I regard them as melancholy evidences of the fall of the human nature, and sad monuments of the shipwreck of the human judgment, evidencing to the world that no reach of human intellect, and no grasp of mental genius, and no range of this world's learning, can bring the true and saving knowledge of God to the mind or heart of man." *ib. l. c.* He gives a melancholy example of a man of talents, an English proselyte, who offered up blindly the sacrifice of his intellect to the ecclesiastical Moloch. P. 82.

The reader will find about a dozen occasions on which Mr. Seymour got the better of his opponents, either severely graveling them, or reducing them to silence. He will notice the adroitness with which he met the reproach of the Purvian divisions in England, with the counter-movements of the Rongues in Germany; the dilemma in which he placed the defender of judicial absolution; the confounding of Latria, Dulia, and Hyperdulia, which he proved in the prayer of Jesus, Joseph, and Mary in one breath; the total withdrawal of the argument for an infallible tribunal, to which he drove one adversary; the similar hesitation which he caused in another, when defending the omniscience of the Virgin Mary; the vexation of a third, when he turned against himself his seven essentials of Bulls *ex cathedra*; the inability of a fourth to reconcile the contradiction of the *flesh and blood* in the sacrament being styled "an *unbloody sacrifice*;" the lowering of the tone of the gentlemen of Collegio Romano, when they found that they could not impose upon his superior knowledge in regard to the inscriptions found in the catacombs; the ridiculous figure which he made them cut upon the subject of the scriptures in Rome; and the scarcely less ridiculous figure which the two Jesuits presented when unable to verify the claims of the Roman Church to infallibility. The last two are such rich scenes, that we shall obtain ready pardon for transcribing them at length.

The professor of Dogmatic Theology and the professor of Canon Law conveyed to Mr. Seymour a formal challenge; and the conversation was opened with the subject of the opposition

of the Church of Rome to the circulation of the sacred volume.

"The professor of Dogmatic Theology replied by saying that although it was very true that the people were wholly unacquainted with the nature of the holy scriptures, yet it was very incorrect to suppose that the Catholic Church was opposed to their reading them; that the Church set a great value on the sacred volume, and venerated it too highly to let it be used commonly or indiscriminately; that, so far from forbidding its circulation and perusal, the church permitted it to all whom she thought likely to profit by it, and forbade it only to those who, being ignorant, would be likely to pervert and misapply it; but that it was a great mistake, and indeed a calumny against the Catholic Church, to say that she was opposed to the full and unrestricted use and circulation of the Scriptures.

"The answer that I made to this was, that, having resided many years among a Roman Catholic population in Ireland, I had always found that the sacred volume was forbidden to them; and that, since I came to Italy, and especially to Rome, I observed the most complete ignorance of the Holy Scriptures, and that it was ascribed by themselves to a prohibition on the part of the Church.

"He at once stated that there must be some mistake, as the book was permitted to all who could understand it, and was in fact, in very general circulation in Rome.

"I said that I had heard the contrary, and that it was impossible to procure a copy of the Holy Scriptures in the Italian tongue, in the city of Rome; that I had so heard from an English gentleman who had resided there for ten years; that I looked upon the statement as scarcely credible; that I wished much to ascertain the matter for my own information; that I had one day resolved to test this by visiting every bookselling establishment in the city of Rome; that I had gone to the book-shop belonging to the Propaganda Fide—to that patronized by his holiness the Pope—to that which was connected with the Collegio Romano, and was patronized by the order of the Jesuits—to that which was established for the supply of English and other foreigners—to those which sold old and second-hand books, and that in every establishment, without exception, I found that the Holy Scriptures were not for sale. I could not procure a single copy in the Roman language and of a portable size in the whole

city of Rome; and that, when I asked each bookseller the reason of his not having so important a volume, I was answered in every instance, *é prohibito* or *non é permesso*, that the whole volume was prohibited, or that it was not permitted to be sold. I added that Martini's edition was offered to me in two places, but it was in twenty-four volumes and at a cost of one hundred and five francs, (that is, four pounds sterling,) and that under such circumstances, I could not but regard the Holy Scriptures as a prohibited book, at least in the city of Rome.

"He replied by acknowledging that it was very probable that I could not find the volume in Rome, especially as the population was very poor, and not able to purchase the sacred volume; and that the real reason the scriptures were not at the booksellers, and also were not in circulation, was not that they were forbidden or prohibited by the Church, but that the people of Rome were too poor to buy them.

"I replied that they probably were too poor, whether in Rome or in England, to give one hundred and five francs for the book, but that the clergy of Rome, so numerous and wealthy, should do as in England, namely, form an association for cheapening the copies of the scriptures.

"He said, in reply, that the priests were too poor to cheapen the volume, and that the people were too poor to purchase it.

"I then stated that if this was really the case—that if there was no prohibition against the sacred volume—that if they would be willing to circulate it, and that really and sincerely, there was no other objection than the difficulties arising from the price of the book, that difficulty should at once be obviated. I would myself undertake to obtain from England, through the Bible Society, any number of Bibles that could be circulated, and they should be sold at the lowest possible price, or given freely and gratuitously to the inhabitants of Rome. I stated that the people of England loved the scriptures beyond all else in the world, and that it would be to them a source of delight and thanksgiving to give for gratuitous circulation any number of copies of the sacred volume that the inhabitants of Rome could require.

"He immediately answered that he thanked me for the generous offer, but that there would be no use in accepting it, as the people of Rome were very ignorant; were in a state of brutal

ignorance: were unable to read any thing, and therefore could not profit by reading the scriptures, even if we supplied them gratuitously.

"I could not conceal from myself that he was prevaricating with me: that his former excuse of poverty, and his latter excuse of ignorance, were mere evasions: so I asked him whose fault it was that the people remained in such universal and unaccountable ignorance. There were above five thousand priests, monks, and nuns, besides cardinals and prelates, in the city of Rome: that the whole population was only thirty thousand families; that thus there was a priest, or a monk, or a nun for every six families in Rome; that thus there was ample means for the education of the people: and I asked therefore, whether the Church was not to blame for this ignorance of the people.

"He immediately turned from the subject, saying that the Church held the infallibility of the Pope, to whom it therefore belonged to give the only infallible interpretation of the scriptures.

"This led the conversation in another direction." Pp 125-129.

The only other instance we shall quote at length, showing the Jesuits at fault for a reply, is that relating to the claim of infallibility of the Church of Rome. The ground taken by Mr. Seymour is novel and ingenious, and sets in fine relief his scholarship and perspicacity. The professor, above alluded to, continued the discussion by proposing to argue the question of salvability in the Church of England, involving the question whether the Church of England was the Church of Christ. They agreed to urge nothing without producing for it a written canon or article.

The professor laid down the syllogism: "The Church is infallible; the Church of England confesses herself fallible; therefore the Church of England is not the Church of Christ." On Mr. Seymour's pointing out the fallacy, and showing that the Church of England did not pretend to be *the Church*, but only a part of it, he altered the syllogism as follows: "The Church of Christ, in all her parts, is infallible; the Protestant Church of England confesses herself fallible; therefore the Church of England is not a part of the Church of Christ." Mr. Seymour denied the minor.

He laughed at me good-humouredly, and with a look of triumph, and said that the Church of England had confessed it, and he could produce the article. He referred me to the Article XIX. I produced the article and read the words, 'As the churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.' I said that this Article of the Church of England asserted that other churches, and that the Church of Rome in particular, had erred, and were fallible, but that she had said nothing of herself; and certainly had not, as his argument supposed and required, confessed herself fallible. He frankly acknowledged this to be a sufficient answer, and that his argument had failed, but said he would arrange his syllogism in another form, so as to obviate this. He seemed, however, slightly—very slightly annoyed at finding himself so easily rebuffed in his first two attempts. He proceeded with great quickness to arrange his argument again. 'The Church of Christ, in all her parts, claims to be infallible: the Protestant Church of England does not claim to be infallible: therefore, the Church of England is not the Church of Christ.'

Instead of taking the ordinary mode of denying the major, and opening up the question of the infallibility of the whole church, Mr. Seymour thought the time had come to turn the tables, and carry the war into the enemy's camp. His reading had suggested to him an argument which struck him forcibly, but which he had never responded to a living soul. Like David with Saul's armour, he had never tried it. He resolved to take this opportunity of making the first experiment, and "fleshing his maiden sword." The syllogism having been reduced to writing, he drew the pen over the word "England," and substituted the word "Rome." It then read thus: "The Church of Christ, in all her parts, claims to be infallible: the Church of Rome does not claim to be infallible: therefore the Church of Rome is not part of the Church of Christ." The two Jesuits laughed heartily, and anticipated an easy triumph. They insisted that the Church of Rome had always asserted her infallibility. He demanded coolly the authoritative document, according to the preliminaries agreed on.

"After some moments' pause, he said he could produce several instances, and named the Council of Constance, the Council of

Basle, the Council of Florence, and several other lesser authorities. I knew each of the decrees to which he referred; and therefore, when he said that one asserted the supremacy of the Church of Rome as the mother and mistress of all churches; and that another held that every soul was subject to the Roman pontiff at the peril of his salvation; and that others still asserted that every man must be obedient, and owed obedience to the successor of St. Peter; and others, again, that it belonged to the Church of Rome to interpret Holy Scripture—when he said all this, I reminded him that all this was beside the real question—was nothing to the real point before us; that my assertion was that no received decree, or bull, or other authoritative document of the Church of Rome claimed infallibility, and that he answered me only by producing some which claimed supremacy and authority. He said that supremacy and authority implied infallibility. I answered by an emphatic No! My opponent here did not deny the principle I had thus laid down; but he seemed puzzled and perplexed at finding that all his documents failed in the precise point of asserting infallibility. He referred to several others which he had not already named, but in a moment after he gave them up as inadequate; all, when examined, were disposed of by my preceding answer.

“I shall never forget, while I live, the spectacle of these two Jesuits, able, learned, and subtle as they were, and long habituated to controversy, yet so completely perplexed at this turn of the argument as to be looking at one another, and consulting and endeavouring to find an answer sufficiently plausible. My opponent, the reverend professor of Theology, seemed a little cast down at first, but soon rallied, and laughed at the perplexity and singularity of his position. He laughed good-naturedly, no longer at me, but at himself, and honestly said he had never seen the difficulty before; that he had thought the point clearly settled, but that it certainly was not so; and that he could not see how to answer me.

“His companion, however, the reverend professor of Canon Law, was not so good-humoured on the occasion. He was excited and annoyed at the failure, and asked confidently and warmly why it was that Protestants were always charging the Church of Rome with arrogance, and presumption, and blasphemy for claiming infallibility, if, as would now appear

from the argument, she has never claimed it.

"I was unwilling to reply to this in the warm spirit in which it was spoken, and I merely said that I had never objected to the Church of Rome that she had been arrogant, or presumptuous, or blasphemous in claiming infallibility, or even that she ever claimed it or pretended to it at all. I believed that, as a Church, she never, on any occasion whatever, had advanced such a claim: I knew, indeed, that her advocates usually claimed it for her, and that her controversialists generally asserted it for her, and that the multitudes imagined she both claimed and possessed that divine prerogative; but I also knew that they were not the Church: that a few learned advocates were not the Church: that a few subtle controversialists were not the Church: that the multitude of an ignorant people were not the Church, and I knew, also, that the Church herself had never claimed or asserted it. If I was wrong in this broad statement, I was in presence of those who could easily correct me. They could tell me when and where the Church had claimed or asserted it. They could name the council and point to the decree. They could designate the pope and point to the bull. There never was an assertion more easily confuted if indeed it was capable of being confuted at all.

"They still asserted that the Church was infallible, and claimed to be infallible, though they seemed in a quiet way to acknowledge that they could not further prove their position." Pp. 134-143.

We here take leave of Mr. Seymour and his book, recommending it as likely to prove highly interesting to any one who is fond of intellectual gladiators, or who, like the author, is curious to ascertain the state of things at head-quarters.

SHORT NOTICES; AND QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Life, Health and Disease. By Edward Johnson, M. D. New York: John Wiley, 161 Broadway, and 13 Paternoster Row, London. 1850.

This is one, and not the least remarkable, of the countless efforts to

popularize science, so characteristic of this age. There seems to be no department of knowledge held sacred against this democratic and equalizing tendency. The most occult mysteries of life, health and disease must be revealed and explained to the curious eyes of every tolerably educated person. Even boarding school girls, are not considered educated, without a familiar acquaintance with scientific discoveries, of which Hippocrates or Galen never dreamed.

The work before us is no superficial catch-penny affair; and still less is it a piece of professional clap-net. The author is a thoroughly educated and clear-headed physiologist and physician. For the benefit of an invalid lay brother, who was tormented with a desire to know the real nature of his protean malady, he undertakes to translate into exact yet popular language, the mystic phraseology, with which his brother's medical attendant had supposed himself to be satisfying the patient's curiosity, about "impaired digestion," "depressed secretions," "depression of the vis vite—the tone, the energy, the "nisus formativus of the organism," and other such like classical names for human ignorance, in which physicians are wont to indulge.

From some of his psychological doctrines as well as his extravagance and blunders in moral and theological reasonings, we utterly dissent: but his expositions of the structure and functions of the animal system, and the nature and causes of life, and health, disease and death, although they may not in all cases command absolute acceptance, are always the result of a penetrating and rational analysis, and are set forth in terms as lucid as sun light. The peculiar value of the work, as distinguished from the clear and able productions on the kindred topics of popular anatomy and physiology, which we have previously noticed in our pages, lies in its clear philosophic exposure of the causes and conditions, protective of health or disease, in the human economy. For this, we know of nothing comparable to this little treatise, for the purposes of non professional readers. The style is one of its most remarkable characteristics. It is never dull or dry, even in the descriptive details. It is always sprightly and graphic, and often highly amusing, as well as entertaining and instructive. The aptness and beauty of illustration hold the reader fascinated from page to page, and sometimes the style rises to a level bordering the regions of poetry. If we had space we should be tempted to quote a passage or two, to show how genius can invest the description of details or the narration of facts, so commonly dry and even unsightly or repulsive, with a radiance of beauty. After a passage as remarkable for its truth as its power, descriptive of the office of the pyloric valve, and the fatal criminality of destroying, by artificial stimulants, the wonderful eclectic sensibility, which endows it for its office, he gives us one of those repeated non descript combinations where serious and appalling reality unites with a playful imagination, and the offspring of the union is such pictures as this: "When I contemplate this state of things, I think I see a whole army of diseases, marching in file out of the stomach, through the pyloric gateway into the citadel of the bowels. I see pale-faced and bloated Dropsy with his swollen legs—livid Asthma struggling for breath—grotesque

and tottering Palsy—yellow-visaged Jaundice—red-eyed Delirium—Fever, with his baked lips and parched tongue, looking piteously around and crying ‘water, water!’—limping Gout, grinning with pain—musing Melancholy—hideous insanity! But let us drop the curtain over a picture so horrible. My mind’s eye aches with looking at it. Above all things, my dear John, take care of your pyloric valve.”

We must not conclude, then, that with all that is elegant, and beautiful, and good, and true, there is a vein of extravagance, running through the favourite ideas of the author: which is especially exceptionable, in his reasonings on the influence of the comforts of civilized life, upon health and longevity. He is certainly far well informed not to know, that the average of human life, as ascertained by the most accurate computations, has been steadily increasing with the advance of civilization for the last two hundred years: and notwithstanding the extravagance and exaggerated tone, in which he sets hard labour and exposure, (which he considers the natural and therefore the healthiest state of man,) above the comfort of intellectual culture and the comforts and shelter of modern professional life, he ought to know that the average longevity of literary men, is materially greater than that of hard-working, out-door labourers. This at least is true, whether he knows it or not, and overthrows a large part of the reasoning and inferences of two or three of the letters. Hard work and exposure do unquestionably blunt the sensibilities which torment the non-working classes with multi-form nervous disturbances, real and imaginary: but it is proverbial, that “nervous people never die,” while the acute and destructive maladies which cut short the life of the exposed and exhausted labourer, reveal to us, against the ingenious reasoning of the author, where the real wear and tear lies.

There are also some of the minor physiological hypotheses, which we think could easily be shown to be untenable: as, for example, that which refers the diminished sensibility, (which by the way is set in antagonism, in the relation of cause and effect, with the contractibility of the tissues,) to the pressure made upon the nerves, by means of a vigorous circulation filling up and distending the circumjacent capillary vessels. A much more satisfactory, and we think obvious, solution, might have been suggested by the author’s own clear and admirable exposition of the origin of the vital forces, in the transformation of the organized matter of the tissues, which is constantly going on in the animal body. The forces thus developed are thrown upon the nervous system, like the electricity collected by the receiver of a machine; and if allowed to accumulate unduly, instead of being worked off in the form of muscular contraction, the result inevitably is, a morbid increase of nervous responsiveness or irritability, and if carried still further, the sensibility becomes painful, and so produces the disease, now so familiar to us by the name of neuralgia.

But we must not allow ourselves to be drawn into a discussion of any of the points handled by the author. We heartily recommend the book to those of our readers who wish to know, definitely, something about the

wonderful processes going on within them; and the conditions respectively favourable to health and disease.

Poems and Prose Writings. By Richard Henry Dana. New York: Baker & Scribner. 1850. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 440.

The respected and now venerable author presents to us in these two goodly volumes, a collection of such portions as he thinks most worthy of preservation, of the products of a long life, devoted chiefly to literature. The collection comprises all his poems before published—the imaginative tales, and two or three imaginative articles, originally given to the world in a serial work, under the title of *The Idle Man*,—and about a dozen Essays and Reviews first printed in various quarterly or other Literary Journals.

As a poet, Mr. Dana has long been known and esteemed for the purity and delicacy of his taste, for his genuine love of nature, and for his profound penetration into the depths of poetic truth, revealed in her beautiful forms. The tales found in these volumes are remarkable for their exemption from every vestige of mawkish sentimentalism, and for the deep spirit of humanity which breathes through them.

The Reviews contained in this reprint are chiefly of Literary works, some of them taking the form of distinct disquisitions on the philosophy of poetry and other topics in literature; and others are critical discussions of the merits of the works reviewed. In regard to the former Mr. Dana displays great philosophical acumen, combined with pure and fruitful poetic power. Of the reviews properly so called, we know not how better to express our appreciation, than by saying that we do not remember to have read an author, in whose critical judgments we so generally and so fully accord. We do not remember a single case, in which we felt disposed to dissent materially, and still less to protest. The article on Haslitt's Lectures, is perhaps a little too spicy: but the body of it, which is composed of a rapid critical examination of the most prominent English poets, is in our judgment, fully equal in beauty, vivacity, and power of style, to any of the well known articles on the same subject, from the old Nestor of the Critical world: and for just discrimination—by which we mean a true appreciation of general poetic merit, both absolute and comparative, and a delicate and discriminating analysis of the reasons of his judgments.—Mr. Dana's article, in our opinion, taken as a whole, is the very best we have ever read.

These remarks would be wholly incomplete, as well as unjust to the author, if we should omit to say that the religious spirit which breathes through his writings, and clothes itself in distinct theological form, in several of the reviews, especially those on Pollak's *Course of Time*, and Taylor's *Natural History of Eucharism*, is the true Evangelical spirit of the New England Church, at that critical period, when she was called to determine her views, and contend for them earnestly, against insidious Socinian heresy, in the form of a rational and almost deistical philosophy.

Aids to English Composition, Prepared for Students of all grades: embracing Specimens and Examples of School and College Exercises, and most of the higher branches of English Composition, both in Prose and Verse: By Richard Green Parker, A. M. Fifth Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1849.

Although this is the fifth edition of a stereotyped book, yet as some of our readers may not have seen it, and may desire a work on the subject, it may be worth while to say that it is really a useful book: although not one adapted to exalt our appreciation of the powers of its author, except perhaps the power of patient, persevering and accumulative research. In the multiplicity of its instructions, we find many things of which we can scarcely conceive it possible that any one, desiring, to compose at all, could be ignorant. The author sets out by undertaking to teach his reader how to obtain clear, — and ~~correct~~ — for the fashion of the old rhetorical writers, except that this portion of the work evidently contemplates the capabilities of the merest child. It would be more applicable in teaching the art of talking, than that of composing. Although our own experience has sometimes revealed to us an astounding degree of ignorance, on the part of young men far advanced in what is commonly called an education, yet we cannot think this an adequate justification for putting into a work on English Composition, (including specimens of the highest order, both in prose and poetry), the properties of glass, or the parts of which a pen is composed; or for filling an entire page with diagrams, showing how a letter should be folded. Something, surely, should be taken for granted: and although it might happen that some students would be ignorant of such elementary and every-day knowledge, yet the author might surely comfort himself with the thought, that it would be too late for them to learn.* The rhetoric of the volume is conformable to the arrangement of Blair, and partakes of all his defects.

But still it is a very useful book. It contains a vast amount of information on all manner of subjects connected with Composition, in all its kinds and varieties, and also with the printing and publishing of Composition, not even excepting the names and sizes of types, and the art and mysteries of proof-reading. Scarcely any one—we had almost said not even the author—can go to the volume without finding in it something that he did not know before.

A Universal Pronouncing Gazetteer; containing Statistical and other Information, of all the more important places in the known world, from the most recent and authentic sources. By Thomas Baldwin, assisted by several other gentlemen. To which is added an appendix, containing more than ten

* We once carried a letter to the post, from a friend who was just completing his professional training, addressed to a young lady; on the back of which the superfluous appendage was fully spelled out, *Younited States!*

thousand additional names, chiefly of the small towns and villages, &c., of the United States and of Mexico. Eighth edition. With a Supplement, giving the pronunciation of near two thousand names, besides those pronounced in the original work: forming in itself a complete vocabulary of geographical pronunciation. Published by E. H. Butler & Co. 1849.

This is the same work which we had occasion to notice four years ago, in terms of very high praise, now enlarged and improved, as the voluminous title page above quoted states, in the most important and substantial way. Every one, except those who are too ignorant to care about such matters, knows how embarrassing it is to be called upon to read or tell the startling news which fills the columns of our daily newspapers, in regard to places of which he knows neither the locality, nor the name, although the latter may be spelled out before his eyes. Almost every one has felt the mortification of being compelled to pronounce combinations of letters, with the inward certainty that he was pronouncing them wrong; and that, too, while knowing that few blunders are more ludicrous to those who know better; and we might add, more damaging to the literary reputation of those who blunder. We have seen the most respectable people in the streets of London, completely bewildered, by a stranger inquiring the way to Pall Mall; and we doubt not whether an Englishman could be found, who would understand at first, what was intended by the pronunciation which any stranger would certainly give to such names as Youghall, or Cirencester. We take for granted, therefore, that every body wants a pronouncing Gazetteer: and we are happy to be able to assure our readers, that the one before us is worthy of their fullest confidence. The author or authors have in all cases gone to the best living authorities; and as these authorities are for the most part given in the preface, we can judge for ourselves of their trust-worthiness. Wherever they could not ascertain the true pronunciation of a name, they have wisely left it unpronounced, instead of resorting to conjecture, or relying on insufficient authority. Besides the authoritative pronunciation of so many names, we have learned and scholarlike dissertations, in the several prefaces and introductions, in regard to the general principles of pronunciation, as applied to all the more important of the modern, and especially the European, languages. These alone would be worth the price of the entire volume, to any ordinary reader who values accuracy.

We cannot refrain from saying in this connexion, that an extension of this work, or the execution of another on the same plan, so as to embrace the proper names in history and literature, would, we think, prove a most acceptable addition to our literary apparatus. This, indeed, is a want which ordinary scholars and more especially students, feel quite as keenly in its measure, as that which our authors have so well begun to supply. The names of persons are just as arbitrary and unpronounceable, without instruction, as those of places. We have noticed this want expressing itself of late, in numerous queries in the newspapers, about the proper pronuncia-

ward of the world's History and Philosophy, who have been battling for human freedom. Many of the leading French, Italian and Spanish names, in modern history, as well as in Literature and Science, are involved in great uncertainty, and not a few of our most highly respectable scholars err egregiously in their pronunciation. Nor is the difficulty entirely wanting in the case of English names, of which ignorance is felt to be more embarrassing and scandalous. This is especially true, in regard to the names and titles of the old English Norman aristocracy. Who would ever think of pronouncing Cholmondely, Chumley. Nor is it only in extreme cases like this, that the difficulty is felt. We once knew a well educated and prominent gentleman, in a public lecture, resort to a long and cumbrous circumlocution, because he was not certain in which of three or four ways to pronounce the name Iago, in Shakespear's Othello.

Uncertainty, and still more error, on such matters, is a great evil; and our countrymen are entitled to a closer relationship more seriously and often unjustly. The evil can be cured only by some such means, as Mr. Baldwin has shown us how to use. And we know of no one else, capable of doing the work we have pointed out, so readily, so accurately, and so authoritatively. The same authorities with which he is already in communication, could settle the pronunciation of the names of persons, as well as places; and he is so familiar with the general principles on which it must be done, that he could accomplish the task, and give it to the public, with far less labour and perplexity, than a new hand at the business. We think we may venture to assure him, if he will undertake it, of a hearty welcome and a grateful and we hope substantial acknowledgment, from those whose favour he has won by the admirable work before us.

We find that we have been carried away by the peculiar feature of the *Pronouncing Gazetteer*, from saying, in the proper place, that the author not only gives the pronunciation of the places cited, but has compacted into his small volume, a vast amount of topographical, statistical and other information, about the places mentioned, taken from the best geographical authorities.

Analecta Anglo-Saxonica. Selections in prose and verse, from the Anglo-Saxon Literature: with an Introductory Ethnological Essay, and notes, critical and explanatory. Two Volumes; 12mo. pp. 430, 444. 1849.

Tha Hailgan Godspel on Englisc. Anglo-Saxon version of the Holy Gospels; edited by Benjamin Thorpe, F. S. A., from the original MSS. Reprinted by Dr. Klipstein. Second Edition. 1848. pp. 240.

Natale Sancti Gregori Papae. Aelfric's Anglo-Saxon Homily on the Birth-day of St. Gregory, &c., with a full rendering into English, Notes, &c. 1849. 12mo. pp. 96.

A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language. Revised and en-

larged edition. 1849. 12mo. pp. 276. All by Louis F. Klipstein, A.A. L.L.M. & P.H. D. of the University of Gies-sen; and published by G. P. Putnam. N. Y.

It is no small honour to be the first to furnish literary apparatus for Anglo-Saxon studies in America. Dr. Klipstein, in a very quiet way, and with little sympathy of the public, has here provided all that beginners need, except a lexicon, and this we presume will soon appear. The University of Virginia has had an Anglo-Saxon chair from its foundation: several colleges have followed with tardy pace: but the majority of our scholars are still indifferent. Gentlemen who are pursuing these studies, such as Professors Gibbs, Schiele, and Fowler, Mr. Marsh and others, have given little through the press, except in periodicals. Anglo-Saxon books are very costly, even in England. Up to a recent date, Bosworth's complete work was absolutely out of the market. Madden's edition of the *Brut* would alone absorb a month's pay of some poor clergymen. To such, Mr. Putnam's neat and cheap editions come as a benefaction.

Dr. Klipstein sets about his work with that enthusiasm which is all-important in a pioneer, and spares no pains in clearing the way. In regard to orthography he has rejected all the peculiar characters, and represented the *th* by dotted letters: we like the ancient signs, yet reluctantly accede to this as convenient and perfectly intelligible. The Grammar has some advantages not offered by those now in use. Not to mention Rask, which is very dear, and exceedingly uncouth, Vernon's Guide, though admirable in many respects, adheres so closely to the continental arrangements, as to be odd and puzzling to beginners. Few persons ever overcome the mental inversion produced by learning nouns after a method which places the Accusative next to the Nominative, and the Genitive last of all; however legitimate this may be, on principles of Germanic etymology. For practical purposes, the three declensions are likewise all-sufficient. The version of the Gospels, besides being a venerable relic, is an admirable reading-book for beginners; and more advanced scholars may collate it with Ulfilas. The tract of Aelfric is an agreeable study, with the editor's translation and analysis. But the *Analeeta*, for such as have not the works of Thorpe, will serve as a magazine of Anglo-Saxon lessons, for all the early months of study. In giving this sincere tribute to Dr. Klipstein's labours, we do not by any means wish to be considered as subscribing to his particular judgments, especially in regard to his estimate of authorities, and his proposed emendations of English orthography. We entertain no doubt, that, five years hence, the study of Anglo-Saxon will be thought as indispensable for a young gentleman as that of French now is for a young lady; and this result will be due in no small degree to the works named above.

Sketches of Virginia. By the Rev. William H. Foote, D.D., author of *Sketches of North Carolina.*

In expectation of the time when we may more fully express our judg-

ment in regard to this most promising historical work, of which some chapters are before us, we heartily commend it to the notice of all Presbyterian readers, as from the hand of a laborious, competent, and faithful son of our church.

An Address on the Importance and Advantages of Classical Study. Delivered before the Graham Philanthropic and Washington Literary Societies, of Washington College, June 1840. By H. M. Smith, Pastor of the Staunton Presbyterian Congregation. Published at the request of the Societies. Lexington, Va. 1849.

We are accustomed to look to the author for conservative truth, strong reasons, and forcible language; nor are we disappointed in the present instance. He argues irresistibly in favor of thorough classical training; and gives the thong, as he passes, with right good will, to a method of which we know nothing by direct observation, but which is said to exist in some colleges, of admitting what is called an irregular course, out of which the ancient discipline is excluded.

The Swedish Church in America. A Discourse delivered before the Historical Society of the American Lutheran Church, May 18th, 1848. By William M. Reynolds, A. M., Professor in Pennsylvania College. Gettysburg. 1849. pp. 40.

Professor Reynolds has given us a valuable chapter in American Church History, and one which will acquire new value, with the new accessions to our people from the Scandinavian nations. Few signs in our literature are more encouraging, than the increase of historical monographs; these are researches which we would cheer on, with all our strength. The work seems well done, and shows intimacy with the best German authorities, and American sources. Some of the best people in the middle states have Swedish blood in their veins. Well do we remember old Doctor Collin, and his quiet little church: now turned over, as we learn, to the Episcopalian denomination. Some will be surprised to find almost thirty ministers named, as having laboured in America. There is something attractive to us in the protestantism of northern Europe. Why does not Mr. Abbot, who sends forth so many biographies, give us a life of Gustavus Adolphus?

Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society. Memoir of John Fenwicke, chief proprietor of Salem Tenth, New Jersey. By Robert G. Johnson. Read before the Society, July 23. 1846. Printed 1849.

A venerable Jerseyman, much addicted to the delightful research of ancient annals, here gives us the fruit of his labours, in regard to a case of

much interest, especially to West Jersey. Two centuries ago, Fenwick was acting as Major in the forces of Cromwell. He was first an Independent in John Woolwin's church, and then became a Quaker. Of his history in this state, we have our only sufficient record in this memoir.

A Lecture on African Colonization, delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives of Ohio. By David Christy, Agent of the American Colonization Society. Cincinnati, 1849.

This pamphlet is on one of the most important enterprises of modern times, which will one day be looked back upon, with such historical interest as we now look back on the founding of Rome, or the Norman Conquest. Mr. Christy presents some politico-economical aspects of African Colonization, which claim the serious attention of both friends and foes.

Apostolic Baptism. Facts and evidences on the subjects and mode of Christian Baptism. By C. Taylor, editor of Calmet's Dictionary. New York. M. W. Dodd.

This is a new and stereotype edition of a work which has given no little trouble to immersionists. The facts of Mr. Taylor have never been denied, to our knowledge; nor have his evidences ever been disproved. Whilst Baptists assert that baptism as administered in the whole church of God, save by themselves, is a relic of Popery, Mr. Taylor, by facts and arguments, that are yet unmet, proves, that, both as to mode and subject, we administer it in the way and manner which are both scriptural and apostolical. The offensive ground which our Baptist friends are taking, the feeble arguments by which they maintain it, and the bad temper which they manifest from Dr. Carson down to Dr. Cote, unless abandoned and corrected, must induce other Christian denominations to treat them with less fraternal regard than formerly, and to place their views and their conduct as to baptism on the same shelf with the absurdities of Puseyism.

The work before us has acquired a reputation which our endorsement cannot materially increase.

The Works of Leonard Woods, D. D., lately Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Andover. In four volumes. Vol. I. Andover. Printed by J. D. Flagg and W. H. Wardwell.

Few living men have for so long a time devoted themselves to theological studies, as the author of this work. The thoughts of a man of so clear a head, and so impartial in his pursuit of truth, must prove valuable to those who come after him. It is a pleasing reflection, that some hundreds now in the ministry have been instructed in theology by this distinguished professor. And it is a matter of congratulation to the friends of orthodoxy

that his life and health have been thus far continued: so that there is a prospect of his being able to revise, remodel, and superintend the publication of all his lectures: of which one volume is before the public. The greater number of lectures in this volume are supplementary to those on didactic theology: of which a considerable portion has, in substance, been published in former years. The only subjects of theology treated in this volume are—**GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES—THE HUMANITY AND DIVINITY OF CHRIST—THE MEDIATOR—THE TRINITY—AND THE DIVINE PURPOSES.**

We were somewhat surprised to find so small a space devoted to a consideration of the Divine Attributes: but we presume the author proceeded on the principle stated in regard to the Evidence of Divine Revelation, that the subject had been amply treated by authors accessible to students. As, however, most important errors have their source in misconception of one or other of the attributes of God, it would have been well in a system of theology to discuss these points—concerning which there exists a difference of opinion among theologians.

It is not our purpose, at present, to review the lectures published in this volume, particularly: when the whole system shall be before us, we may be inclined to prepare an extended review of the work. Our only object now is, to invite the attention of our readers, and to congratulate them on the prospect of so large a contribution to the theological literature of our country; a contribution which we trust will have the effect of counteracting the tendency to wild hypotheses and erratic speculations, and to promote the knowledge of sound scriptural doctrine, on the most important of all subjects.

The Four Gospels: arranged as a practical family commentary for every day of the year. By the Author of "The Peep of Day," &c. Edited with an Introductory Preface, by Stephen Tyng, D. D., Rector of St. George church, in the city of New York. Illustrated with twelve highly finished steel engravings. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: George S. Appleton, 161 Chestnut St. 1850. Svo. pp. 548.

As the Holy Scriptures are the foundation of our common Christianity, the source of all authentic divine truth, whatever promotes the study of the sacred volume is a good to the whole community of believers. And as the Four Gospels are the record of the personal history of our common Lord and Saviour, whatever tends to the devout and reverential contemplation of his word and works, is to be hailed as water poured on the very root of evangelical religion. The volume before us is not so properly a commentary, as a series of practical remarks on the chief incidents in the Redeemer's life. They are written, as far as we have had the opportunity of examination, in a devout and evangelical spirit. The book is

therefore to be recommended as an important contribution to our practical religious works; and is very attractive in its outward appearance.

Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Missionary to China
 Edited by his Father. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.
 Philadelphia: William S. Martien. Svo. pp. 500.

The personal knowledge of the subject of this memoir: the record of his labours as spread in our Missionary Journals before the churches: the deep sympathy felt at his sudden death: the widespread acknowledgments from so many different sources of his uncommon attainments and abilities and worth, lead us to take up this record of his life and labours with feelings of very peculiar and solemn interest. The volume has come into our hands at too late a day to permit of our doing more than to insert its title in our present number. We hope soon to be able to call the attention of readers more fully to its contents.

The Practical German Grammar; or a natural method of learning to read, write, and speak the German language. By Charles Eichhorn. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia Geo. S. Appleton. 1850. pp. 284.

The author remarks in his Preface that there are two principal methods of learning a language. The one begins by mastering the grammatical forms and applying them as they are acquired in analysis and translation. The other professes to begin with the words and phrases of the language and to gather a knowledge of the forms from their use. This latter is called the natural method, as being the one adopted in learning our native tongue. This is the method the author of the grammar has adopted. The former is the one to which adults will adhere. The latter is the method which may be best suited to the young.

The Importance of Religion to the Legal Profession: with some remarks on the Character of the late Charles Chauncey, Esq. A Discourse delivered on Sunday evening, September 30th, and repeated on Sunday evening, October 14th, 1849, in the Tenth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. By Henry A. Boardman, D.D. Philadelphia. W. S. Martien. 1849. pp. 40.

A great topic and a fit occasion. The publication of the discourse complies with a double request, from members of the congregation and from other hearers, many of whom are gentlemen of the legal profession. The memory of an excellent man receives a suitable tribute, while the cause of religion is pleaded with faithfulness, judgment, and scholar-like ease. We have reason to believe that few productions of the respected author have been more applauded; and we wish for it a wide circulation.

The Relations of Faith and Philosophy. An address before the Porter Rhetorical Society of Andover Theological Seminary. Sept. 4, 1849. By Henry B. Smith, Professor of Intellectual Philosophy in Amherst College.

If this discourse did not come to us at the very close of our quarterly labours, it would invite us to enlarged remark. The subject proposed is of great intrinsic importance, and is at this juncture forcing itself upon us from several sides at once. That which most interests us, is the prominence given to the Person and the Work of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the justice which is done to those views on theology which connect themselves with this central doctrine, but which find less and less sympathy in New England. We are not called upon to express a judgment on all the definitions and opinions which may be expressed in the Address. Some of them may have bearings on New England controversies unknown to us. Some of them, if more fully developed, might fail to command our assent. But we freely own, that there is in several parts, especially in the conclusion, a generous statement of several evangelical truths, which we have often missed from the religious philosophy of our Eastern neighbours. As a philosophical treatise we regard it with interest and respect. It has acumen, fairness and earnestness, and would be more impressive still, were it more plain and natural in its diction. We do not understand Professor Smith as by any means subscribing to any one of the German philosophies: but a stronger caveat against the errors of Schleiermacher seems to us to be demanded by the times.

Memoir of Charles Henry Porter, a Student in Theology. By E. Goodrich Smith. American Tract Society. 18mo. pp. 168.

This is the memoir of a young man engaged in mercantile pursuits in New York, who began studies for the ministry, but who was suddenly cut off, while at the New Haven Theological Seminary. It is a narrative not unlike the life of James Brainerd Taylor; the same warmth, and the same turn for active labour.

Ollendorff's New Method of learning to read, write, and speak the French language; or First Lessons in French: Introductory to Ollendorff's larger Grammar. By G. W. Greene, Instructor in Modern Languages in Brown University. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1850. 18mo. pp. 138.

The title explains the intention of this little book. We suppose it may be used with advantage, in cases where the larger work is inconvenient.

The Missionary's Daughter: a Memoir of Lucy Goodale Thurston, of the Sandwich Islands. American Tract Society. 18mo. pp. 219.

The Rev. Mr. Thursten was one of the first of those beloved brethren who went to the Sandwich Islands. His daughter, aged about seventeen, came to America, but lived only three weeks after her arrival. No one who loves Christian missions or youthful piety can read the book without emotion.

The Young Disciple; or a Memoir of Anzonetta R. Peters.
By the Rev. John A. Clarke, late Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. Abridged from the fifth Edition.
American Tract Society.

The Child's History of Rome. By E. M. Sewell, author of *Amy Herbert*, etc. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1849. 18mo. pp. 254.

We profess no admiration for the fictions of Miss Sewell, which have seemed to us tediously sentimental. This history is far more pleasant. The story of Rome is well told; and parents may rest on the assurance that nothing is introduced, against which infantile modesty need be guarded: which is more than can be said of most ancient histories. No book of the kind is in this respect so well suited to young children.

Is Christianity from God? Or a Manual of Bible Evidence for the People. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., Minister of the Scottish National Church, Crown Court, Little Russel Street, Covent Garden. With an Introduction by Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen. New York. M. W. Dodd. 1849. 18mo. pp. 276.

We earnestly recommend the circulation of this volume. Where scepticism exists, here is strong argument, freshly presented, to settle the belief: where general confidence in the scriptures exists, here are detailed proofs to give it corroboration. Dr. Cumming is a Presbyterian minister, of extraordinary reputation, in London.

The Mercy Seat. Thoughts suggested by the Lord's Prayer. By Gardiner Spring, D.D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church in the City of New York. New York. M. W. Dodd. 8vo. and 12mo. pp. 383.

This newest publication of the respected author is on a great and delightful subject, and is marked with all those characteristics which have long since become familiar to the Christian public. In this union of the pulpit and the press, Dr. Spring sets an example, worthy of being followed by his brethren, of diligence, zeal, and determination not to grow weary in well doing. The work is presented in a variety of forms, some of which the enterprising publisher has made unusually inviting and elegant.

Exercises in Greek Prose Composition, adapted to the First Book of Xenophon's Anabasis. By James R. Boise, Professor of Greek in Brown University. New York. Appleton. 12mo. 185.

The synthetical method of teaching language, which was long neglected in this country, has now not only gained its right place in our systems of instruction, but begun to threaten the hitherto-enslaved analytic method with exclusion. We are therefore glad to see school books so constructed as to secure the combination of both methods. Such a book is this one by Professor Boise of Providence, the plan of which is such, that the synthetical exercises cannot be performed without a previous analysis of the corresponding passages in the *Anabasis*. If the execution is at all worthy of the plan, the book must be a welcome addition to our means of elementary instruction.

Der Brief Pauli an die Philipper. In beichtigter Lutherscher Uebersetzung von K. F. Th. Schneider. Praktisch erläutert durch Dr. August Neander. Berlin. 1849. 12mo. pp. 110.

Der Brief Jacobi. In beichtigter Lutherscher Uebersetzung, von K. F. Th. Schneider. Praktisch erläutert durch Dr. August Neander. Berlin. 1850. 12mo. pp. 102.

The first two numbers of a highly interesting series, intended to exhibit, in a popular form, the results of Neander's exegetical labours. This eminent writer is known to the English and American public almost exclusively as a church-historian; but a large part of his celebrity at home, especially with those who have enjoyed his instructions, rests upon his expositions of the New Testament. The specimens here given are free, not only from all pedantry and unpopularity of learning, but from the usual formalities of method. The exposition in each case has the form of a continuous discourse, in which the words of the epistles are interwoven, but with more adhering to in the second than the first to the exact order of the text. Preixed to each interpretation is Luther's version of the epistle, corrected in conformity to Neander's views by his assistant and amanuensis.

An Examination of the Doctrine declared, and the powers claimed by the Right Reverend Bishop Ives, in a Pastoral Letter to the clergy and laity of his diocese. By a Lay Member of the Protestant Episcopal Church in N. C. Philadelphia. H. Hooker. 1850. 12mo. pp. 105.

We may infer the importance attached to the controversy now rending the Episcopalian body, from the fact that persons of such standing as Mr. Senator Badger, find it necessary to enter their protest against Puseyitish and Romish errors and abuses. Need we add, that the modicum of argu-

ment employed by the Diocesan shrinks into nothing in the practised and vigorous grasp of the Lay Member?

A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History. By Dr. John C. L. Gieseler. From the fourth edition, revised and amended. Translated from the German by Samuel Davidson, LL. D. Two volumes. 8vo. pp. 396, 397. Harper & Brothers. 1849.

These are truly beautiful volumes, and the type and paper strike us the more, from the incongruity of the New England spelling, which ever and anon catches the eye and leaves us for a moment in doubt whether any scholarship, except what is provincial, has meddled with the proofs. In its kind Gieseler's work is one of the greatest ever written; not in respect of entertainment, nor in respect of the author's doctrinal leanings, but in the almost matchless riches, erudition, and bibliographical and antiquarian completeness of the notes. The text is a sluggish Nile running through a margin of boundless verdure and fertility. It is a book rather for the professor than the student: yet even as a text-book it would be invaluable, if the pupil could be induced to master the Greek and Latin authorities in the notes.

We find much that is objectionable in the Prefatory Notice. The curt and disrespectful terms in which Mr. Cunningham, the American translator, is set aside, with a grave but unproved insinuation: the flippancy with which the learned professor discredits all the common histories, but two or three: the application of the witty but lax and sneering Hase has no fault but shortness, and that his Manual is superior to that of the pious Guericke; these are blemishes, which we deplore. The work however is indispensable, and the version though hastily is ably made. It is after all the best, and a little more care about uniformity in proper names, some of which are given in Latin and some in German guise, with a little more avoiding of German idioms, would render it admirable.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

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No. II.

ART. I.—*The Life of Robert Blair, Minister of St. Andrews, containing his Autobiography from 1593 to 1636, with a Supplement to his Life, and Continuation of the History of the Times to 1680.* By his son-in-law, Mr. William Row, Minister of Ceres. Edited for the Wodrow Society, from the Original Manuscript, by Thomas McCrie, D.D. Edinburgh: Printed for the Wodrow Society, 1848.

ROBERT BLAIR was a remarkable man, and lived through a large part of a century, in very eventful times. His history has not, hitherto, been so well known, as that of other Scottish worthies; but by the exertions of the Wodrow Society, it has recently been brought to light. He was born at Irvine, in the year 1593, and was the youngest of four brothers; the names of the other three were John, James, and William: the two eldest rose to be chief magistrates of Irvine, and William was first a regent in the University of Glasgow, and afterwards minister of Dumbarton.

Robert entered the University in the year 1611, and took his degree of A.M. in 1614. After teaching two years in the public school, he succeeded his brother as one of the Regents

in 1616. During the time he was Regent he received license to preach. When he first came out as a preacher, it so happened, that on a certain occasion he had the celebrated Robert Bruce, of Edinburgh, as one of his hearers. After the sermon, he sought the judgment of that eminent man on his performance, whose censure he never could forget. It was this: "I found your sermon very polished and digested; but there is one thing I miss in it, to wit, the Spirit of God—I found not that." This made a deep impression on the mind of Mr. Blair, and he often spoke of it to others. It had a most salutary effect; for it led him to consider, that it was something else to be a minister of Jesus Christ, than to be a knowing and eloquent preacher.

In 1623, Mr. Blair was involved in a dispute with Dr. Cameron, the learned principal of the University of Glasgow, and, being weary of teaching philosophy, he accepted a call to be minister of Bangor, in Ireland. In his autobiography, he relates many interesting particulars of his experience, and of his various trials, both before and after he entered the ministry, which we have no reason to notice. His various exercises and trials, in his spiritual state and progress, he has detailed at great length: some abridged extracts from these it may be proper here to insert.

"Before I enter upon the trouble I underwent at Glasgow, it is expedient to declare, how the Lord prepared me for the same. And first, I did find great sweetness in worshipping the Lord for some considerable space; so that I did not apprehend any great difficulty. But when I began to set closer on duties, as in sanctifying the Lord's day, I did meet with such opposition by the wanderings of my own mind and injections of Satan, that the more I aimed at watchfulness and circumspection, the less freed I came; so that I knew not what to do. To slack my endeavours I durst not, and to bind them more I could not; and when I endeavoured it, I was beaten back with loss: and so, for some time, I walked in heaviness. My brother, who had been my teacher, finding me in this case, by my frequent sighs, inquired what ailed me? Was I in doubt about my soul's salvation? I said, I am not. I have Christ for my righteousness, and by his merits I hope to be

saved. What can trouble you then, said he. I answered, this troubleth me, that I cannot serve the Lord my God cheerfully and constantly; especially on his own day, as, sometimes, I have been able to do. He laboured partly to encourage, and partly to drive me out of this heaviness; but it had no effect. I continued in heaviness, until, on a certain Lord's day, the Lord spoke to my soul by his Spirit, out of the 71st Psalm, "I will walk in the strength of the Lord, and will make mention of thy righteousness even of thine only." Thereby, great light shined within my soul, disavowing the ignorance and darkness, wherein I was walking, and that when the Lord first taught me to rejoice, I observed not that I was mostly upheld by the hand of the Lord, but my thought was that I had gotten a stock of grace in my keeping, that would suffice to carry me through all difficulties. And then, I looked upon this as my own, which no doubt provoked the Lord to blast all my efforts, and to withdraw his gracious assistance; that, so I might learn what I was, and what was my own; to wit, weakness, folly, wandering, deadness, backsliding, &c. Then did I see, that the strength whereby to walk with God, was not committed to my keeping, nor at my command, but in thy hand, O Lord! Who didst withdraw from me, that thou mightest again embrace me. Then did I experience the truth of that scripture, 'The Lord is my strength and my song, He also is become my salvation.' This did the Lord teach me, that the stock and strength of sin was in myself; yea, that I carried about with me a body of sin and death—a bitter root of sinning—sin abounding and bringing forth fruit unto death—that, although God had quickened the soul, yet the principle of sin sought to reign and frequently prevailed; so that the new creature was assaulted and carried captive, hindered from doing good, and carried away to evil; and that strength to resist was to be looked for from a Preserver and Deliverer. Then I perceived, that sin, which had appeared to be dead, had too much of vigorous life, which appeared most evidently when the spiritual law urged obedience, according to Rom. vii. 8, 'Sin taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence, for without the law, sin was dead.' Then, O Lord, thou wast pleased to humble thy ser-

vant, and to drive me out of myself, to teach me not to trust in myself, but in God who raiseth the dead. Then began I to learn the meaning of that, ‘When I am weak then am I strong,’ 2 Cor. xii. 10. The Lord gives proof of his power, when he makes a discovery of weakness. If any think this was no great manifestation of an important truth, I answer, it is one thing to know a truth naturally or notionally, and another to know it spiritually. Between these there is a difference in kind or species. His true spiritual knowledge is affectionate and practical: as it flows from the Spirit of God, so it carries with it a current of holy affections, and stirreth up to endeavours and earnestness in holy practice.

“Thus began I in a serious way to study the person, the nature, and the offices of the Mediator; how he is made to us of God, not only wisdom as the great promised Prophet, righteousness as our Justifier, but also sanctification as our King to reign in us, and working that which is well-pleasing in his sight. Comfortable then was the consideration of his human nature, wherein He is touched with the feeling of our infirmities; for upon this ground we are invited to come to the throne of grace, that we may ‘obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need.’ And so our Saviour was made fit to be a sacrifice to satisfy for sin, and to be our friend to whom we might have recourse for sanctification to help us against all temptations. So also the consideration of his divine nature proved very comfortable, as by that He is able to subdue all his own enemies, and through abundant grace, to bring us to the possession of the promised inheritance, and to make us kings and priests unto the Father. And so now when the fulness and riches of Christ were laid open, O gracious God! how sweetly and satisfyingly did this refresh the soul of thy poor servant! But I perceived, that as Christ had an inward kingdom, so also he had an external kingdom, where He governed by His appointed officers and servants. This put me to a new examination of church government; considering first the scriptures, and then authors who had discussed this subject. In searching the scriptures, I did find that our Saviour, upon several occasions, did forbid lordship and domination even to his apostles, and, consequently, to all that shall at any time bear office in

his kirk. The apostle Peter also—on whom they pretend to build their hierarchy—forbids all such domination. ‘Neither as being lords over God’s heritage, but ensamples to the flock.’ 1 Peter v. 3. And wherever bishops are mentioned in the New Testament, no other thing is meant than pastors, presbyters, or ministers: so that bishop and presbyter, in the language of the Holy Spirit, is nothing else but two names for one and the same office, which is acknowledged by the most learned of the prelatic party. They, therefore, ground the superiority of bishops on the ancient custom of the kirk. But it may justly be counted a profane conceit that Christ has not appointed the substantials of government, whereof officers are a principal part—and it contradicts the perfection and sufficiency of holy scripture. And as to antiquity it is no absurdity to call every substantial change, after the closing of scripture, a corrupt novelty. And as to the pretence, that it was introduced to keep unity, it is evident, that the remedy was worse than the disease; and the argument would be still stronger for a universal bishop.”

“This may seem to be a digression; but it is not. For I profess that as I gained any progress in piety from the influence of the grace of Christ, I also attained unto further confirmation of the truth of the government of his kirk, by his appointed officers, and not by other intruders and usurpers, to whom I durst not give the accustomed titles of honour.

“But now, to open up the practical light wherein the Lord did lead me in these times. Having heard of the practice of some diligent Christians who daily took brief notes of the condition of their souls, I followed the same course, using an obscure way of writing, and kept it up about sixteen years; so that every Lord’s day, the notes of the preceding week were considered and laid to heart; and at the end of every month the whole.

“But now I found some new obstruction to arise; and I was again put to a stand with great sorrow, wondering what would be the outgate. Sometimes I thought deeper humiliation for not improving a discovered Christ, would clear the way to me. At another time, I thought that more diligence would clear the way; and if ordinary diligence carried not

the matter, extraordinary would do it. But still the obstruction remained, to my great astonishment. Then that great oracle, so often set down in holy scripture, 'The just shall live by his faith,' sounded in my ears.

"This led me to search through the scriptures, where I did find great weight laid on that grace, both in order to our justification and our sanctification. But I was not satisfied with what I did read in our divines, who described rather the high degrees attainable in this life, but gave not a description of it that agreed with it in all degrees. But when that *Treatise of Faith*, penned by Ezekiel Culverwell, came forth, I was thereby much satisfied with his views of the nature of faith. The description of old given of faith, that it is an assurance of the love of God in Christ, though it be true that many attain and comfortably enjoy it, and though it be true of a high degree of faith, yet argues not to all degrees of saving faith. Hence many gracious and sound believers, who have received Jesus Christ and rested on him as he is offered to them in the word, have been perplexed, and feared that they were not believers at all. On the other hand, many secure unhumbled unbelievers, who have not so believed as to love holiness and hate sin, out of self-love, without the warrant of the Word, conceit themselves to be beloved of God. I perceived also that many who make a right use of faith, in order to their justification, make no direct use thereof in order to their sanctification. I now found that the living of the just by faith reached further than I before conceived, and that the heart is purified by faith.

"If any think, what! knew I not till then, that precious faith, being a grace, was not only a part of holiness, but did set forward other parts of holiness? I answer, I did indeed know, and so avowedly made use of faith as a motive to stir up holiness, according to the apostle's exhortation, 'Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord,' (2 Cor. vii. 1). But I had not before that learned to make use of faith as an instrument to draw holiness out of Christ, the well of salvation; though it may be I had both heard and spoken of it by way of a transient notion; but then I learned to purpose, that they who

receive forgiveness of sins are sanctified through faith in Christ our glorious Saviour, as Paul taught, (Acts xxvi. 18). Then I marvelled not that my progress met with obstruction for not making use of faith for sanctification. I hoped then to make better progress, with less stumbling; but not long after, encountering difficulties, I wondered what discovery would next clear the way. Then I found that the Spirit of Holiness, whose appropriate work it was to sanctify, had been slighted, and so grieved. For, though the Holy Spirit had been teaching, and I had been speaking of Him and to Him frequently, seeking the pouring out of the same; yet that discovery was to me a new practical lesson; and so I laboured more to crave, cherish, and not to grieve or quench the Holy Spirit; praying to be led into all truth, according to the scriptures, that blessed guide: and by that heavenly comforter, I sought to be comforted in all troubles, and scaled up thereby in strong assurance of my interest in God.

“About that time the Lord set me to work to stir up the students who were under my discipline, earnestly to study piety, and to be diligent in secret seeking of the Lord; and my gracious Lord was pleased herein to bless my endeavours.”

Mr. Blair's situation, as regent of the College of Glasgow, became embarrassing and unpleasant, on account of his opposition to the measures adopted by the court to bring the Scottish church into conformity with the church of England. Mr. Boyd, the principal of Glasgow college, while he extolled Blair's talents, took pains to prevent his getting a pastoral charge; for he was tired of teaching philosophy, and wished to devote himself to the ministry of the gospel. And when Dr. John Cameron* was sent down by the court to recon-

* This Cameron was a very remarkable man. Though he was born in Scotland and died in Scotland, he spent the greater part of his life in France. While at the University of Glasgow, he had as his classmates the two Rivets, from whom he learned to speak the French language. At the age of 20 he went to France, (1600), and was made professor of theology at Sedan. After this he accepted a pastoral charge at Bordeaux, where he had as his colleague another Scotchman, Mr. Gilbert Primrose. While there he was involved, together with his colleague, in a difficulty with the government of France, the consequence of which was their being forbidden to preach there any longer. The king signified to the Protestant synod, met at Charenton, that it was his will that neither of these ministers should be preferred to anything in the church, or to a pro-

cile the ministers of Scotland to the prelatical innovations, he for a while took the place of Boyd, as principal of the college, and was more inimical to Blair than his predecessor. He was a man of extraordinary abilities and great learning.

Mr. Blair wishing to converse with some eminent ministers, among whom were Daniel Dickson and Robert Bruce, who were confined in prison in the north of Scotland, on account of their refusal to comply with the late innovations in religion, which were attempted to be imposed by authority on the Scottish church, took a journey into those parts, and enjoyed much and satisfactory intercourse with these eminent servants of God. He was particularly satisfied with his visit to Bruce, who was so kind as to give him a full account of the various incidents and experiences of his life, in a manuscript book, from his own hand.

On his return, he found Dr. Cameron exceedingly displeased with him for having taken this journey, as he believed that Blair was engaged in carrying on some design, in cooperation with those ministers, in opposition to the innovations in religion, which he had undertaken, at the king's request, to promote. The difference between them was also increased by the part which Mr. Blair took in disputation, on some points on which Mr. Cameron supported opinions repugnant to the revealed doctrines of the church. Mr. Cameron also delivered lectures in explanation and vindication of the "Perth Articles," of which lectures Blair took full notes; and to which he prepared an answer.

Mr. Blair was now fully resolved to relinquish his situation

fessorship in any of their universities. Cameron therefore left France, and came to London, where, being found favourable to prelacy, king James sent him down to Scotland, to reconcile the Presbyterians to the innovations in religion, which he contemplated. But being entirely unsuccessful, he returned again to France. His fame as a theologian was great, and he became professor of theology at Montauban, and also at Saumur. Here he attempted to introduce a new theory of divinity, taking a middle course between Calvinism and Arminianism; for while he held the doctrine of gratuitous election, he maintained also the doctrine of universal grace and universal redemption. His lectures were published at Saumur, and his system was carried out by his disciples, Amyrald and Testard. Having preached the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance at Montauban, during the civil wars, he was attacked by a mob: heroically opening his breast, he said to one who murdered him, "Strike, you villain," on which the man knocked him down. He was taken care of by a woman, and was carried to a village where he died, aged forty-eight.

in the university of Glasgow; and Mr. Cameron, notwithstanding his previous hostility, used all his powers of persuasion to induce him to remain. For some time, however, Providence opened no field for his labours which appeared satisfactory. He was strongly induced to go to France; but while he was meditating a voyage thither, he received an invitation to Ireland, from lord Clancboy, patron of the church of Bangor, in the county Down. Having laid the matter before God in prayer, he was led to see that it was the will of God that he should accept this invitation; although his prejudices against the country were very strong. Upon landing, after a stormy night, and much suffering by sea-sickness, he fell in with a company of Irishmen at their cups, which confirmed his preconceived dislike. But being invited by the patron to preach, he did so for several successive sabbaths, after which several ancient men came to him, and assured him that his ministry was very edifying to them, and requested that he would continue to labour among them; and said, if the stipend furnished by the patron was not sufficient, they would make up the deficiency. He was also urged by the incumbent of the parish who then lay on his death-bed, not to leave the parish, but to pursue his preaching as he had begun.

This part of Ireland had been settled from Scotland, by emigrants who were not generally of the best character, though there were among them some respectable and worthy people. Their first preachers were not generally men of evangelical character; and it was on these accounts that Mr. Blair was prejudiced against the country. But he found here before him some preachers of excellent character, particularly Mr. Cunningham and Mr. Ridge. There had also been there a certain Mr. Hubart, from England, who had been a pupil of Mr. Cartwright, but he had lately died.

"The bishop," says Blair, "understanding that I was opposed to be episcopally ordained, had the liberality to permit the ceremony to be performed by presbyters, in his presence." Accordingly, Mr. Blair received ordination by the laying on of the hands of Mr. Cunningham, Ridge and others. And the former parson, old Mr. Gibson, having died, Mr. Blair was

inducted into the parish by lord Claneboy. When he first administered the Lord's supper, as he says, my lord Claneboy and his lady insisted on kneeling, against which Mr. B. strongly protested; but the matter was accommodated by their consenting to sit in their pew.

Mr. Blair relates a remarkable case of an attempt to assassinate him, by a man instigated, as he declared, by the devil, who had frequently appeared to him. But when he came into the presence of Mr. Blair, he was seized with such a trembling, that he was unable to carry his murderous purpose into effect; and, upon being questioned, confessed for what purpose he had come. Soon afterwards he was taken ill, and died in great agony of mind.

There was at this time, a certain Mr. Glendinning, settled at Carrickfergus, an eccentric, injudicious man; but possessed of a loud voice and much zeal, and making great pretensions to learning, by referring to books which he had never read. He attracted no small attention to his preaching; and in fact preached the terrors of the law so forcibly, that many persons were brought under deep conviction of sin; but he was unable to guide them aright, or to open to them the plan of salvation. This awakening, however, gave opportunity to Blair, Cunningham and Ridge, to preach the gospel to many who were inquiring what they must do to be saved. Glendinning, becoming envious at the popularity and success of the other ministers, began to vent some very extravagant opinions, pretended to new revelations, declared that the day of judgment was at hand, and acted in the most fanatical manner. On one occasion he thrust his foot into the fire, pretending that it would suffer no injury; but Mr. B. plucked it out.

In the year 1630, the Holy Spirit was poured out abundantly upon the churches in the north of Ireland. The narrative of this revival is given by Fleming in his "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," and by Reid in his History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. It will not be necessary, therefore, to enter much into detail, respecting this remarkable work of grace. The preaching of Blair was a principal instrument in the hand of God in carrying it on. One experience which he had of extraordinary assistance in preaching, as related by

himself, it will be worth our while to contemplate; especially as it will serve to show, in a clear light, the piety and humility of the man. It was on a Monday after communion, at which a very numerous congregation had assembled. The preacher for that day having, on some account, failed to be present, Mr. Blair without preparation, was reluctantly constrained to occupy the pulpit. He says, "In my preface, before prayer, I promised a blessing from God to them that would ask it—a thing I never did before nor since—after calling on the name of the Lord and earnest wrestling with Him for his presence. The Lord so carried on the business, that only one proposition was offered to me to speak of, and no more, until the closing of that point; then another edifying point was suggested from the text, and so various others until the glass was run. In all this, I was but the voice of one crying. There was a prompter that suggested to me, even He that sent me to preach the gospel. But when the hour-glass was ended, three points, all weighty and concatenated together, were presented to me, the uttering whereof was almost (as I suppose) as much as all the rest. I hastened to my chamber, that I might meet with nobody, but that I might hide me in my chamber, and spend some time in admiration. I feared applause, whereas there was nothing in me but a voice. Yet I was surprised, as I was stealing away, by that ancient minister, Mr. Bryce, of Broadisland. He, perceiving the haste I was making, cried after me, "Of a truth the Lord was with you;" and I, turning, cried to him, "Sir, God forgive you your backdrawing." I continued in my chamber until called to dinner, and sat silent, except when something was asked me. After dinner, I heard an honourable gentleman saying to another, he wished the speaker had spoken till sunset, the hearing of which sent me out of the room."

At this time the attention of the people was so much awake that they were never weary of hearing. "They," says Blair, "hung upon us, still desirous to hear more. No day was long enough; no room was large enough. Then said I, in the hearing of many, 'Our tide has run so high, that there will be an ebb. No doubt a restraint is near; our trials are hastening on.'"

In the revival of religion which was now so remarkable in the north of Ireland, every thing, for a while, was conducted with solemnity and good order; until, after it had gone on for some time, a number of persons became the subjects of swooning and various bodily agitations; which our author thinks was a device of Satan to bring the work into discredit: for upon careful examination, the persons thus affected appeared to be ignorant of the doctrines of religion, or to have no just views of truth during the time that they were the subjects of these bodily agitations. The ministers, therefore, did not encourage these extraordinary effects on the body, as any sign of true religion; but rather discouraged them; although some truly pious persons were also affected in this manner.

Blair, and his friends in the ministry, in the north of Ireland, were peculiarly situated as to their ecclesiastical relations. For, while they were fixed in their opinions against prelacy, they were under the authority of the bishop of the diocese. Echlin, the bishop, at first, appeared to be friendly to Blair, but after a while he began to lay snares for him. One instance of which was, that he wrote to him to be ready to preach at Archbishop Ussher's triennial visitation; but before the appointed day came, he sent him word, that another would perform that service. This was intended to leave him in uncertainty as to what would be expected of him; and that he might have some occasion to quarrel with him; as his private oral message contradicted his written appointment. Mr. Blair, however, prepared a discourse, which he delivered in the presence of all the bishops and clergy. His text was, "Therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not." Among other things, he undertook to show "that Christ, our Lord, had instituted no lord bishops in the kirk, but only presbyters and ministers, both to teach and govern." This, he undertook to prove, 1st, from the scriptures; 2d, from the testimonies of purer antiquity; 3d, from famous divines, who have been working reformation for 1300 years; and lastly, from modern divines, both over sea and in England. And he closed with the testimony of Archbishop Ussher himself. No remarks were publicly made on the discourse.

The bishop, having been defeated in his first attempt to ensnare Blair, contrived another trap more dangerous. Knowing that one of the judges, the Lord Chief Baron, who came, yearly, to the circuit, was a violent urger of English conformity, he wrote to Blair to have a sermon prepared by the time of the assizes. This was the more dangerous, because, it being Easter, the judges, according to custom, would communicate. Mr. Blair prepared himself by prayer and meditation, and then committed the matter to the Lord, who has the hearts and mouths of all in his own hand. He was also required to preach on the day before the communion; which was unprecedented. On the Lord's day, he preached in the morning, but said nothing about the sacrament, as his duty was not to administer it. He then returned to his chamber; and, in the evening, one of the judges sent for him, and said, he was well satisfied with his sermons, both on Saturday and on the Lord's day; but said, that he had opened a point he had never heard before, viz: "the covenant of redemption, made with the Mediator, as head of the elect church." He entreated him to go over the heads of the sermon. Then he opened his bible, and he and Blair went through all the proofs cited; and he said he was so well satisfied, that he protested, if his calling did not confine him to Dublin, he would gladly come to the north, to enjoy such a ministry. And this pious judge, as Blair understood, sent for the bishop, and exhorted him to lay aside his ill-will to Mr. Blair, and to be careful to put no hindrance in the way of his ministry.

When Primate Ussher came to town, Blair's patron introduced him to the archbishop, who treated him courteously, and invited him to be one of his guests, while he should remain. He inquired of him, what was his mind concerning justifying and saving faith. He answered that, in his opinion, "the receiving Jesus Christ as he is offered in the gospel," is the essence of saving faith. With this he was well satisfied, confirming the same in a large discourse. He spoke kindly and encouragingly, and said that if any thing should occur to interrupt their successful ministry in the north, it would break his heart. "They think," said he, "to cause me to stretch out my hand against you, but all the world shall never make me to do it."

“Beside our other helpers we had from the Lord, Mr. John Livingston was sent over to us. He was a man of a melting, generous spirit, and was greatly desired by the godly people of Torpichen, where he had preached as an assistant to another, but was opposed by the Bishop. Old Bishop Knox, of Raphoe, however, refused no honest man, after hearing him preach. By this chink, he and others got entrance, and the Lord was pleased greatly to bless his ministry, both within his own charge and without it, wherever he had a call to preach. But he was not permitted to continue long. Likewise Andrew Stewart, a well studied gentleman, and fervent in spirit, was settled at Donagore, and prospered well in the work of the Lord. But his ministry also was of short continuance, for he died in the midst of our trials.”

Mr. Blair, about this time, had a contest with a certain Englishman, who had drunk in the opinions of the Arminians, and was exceedingly self-confident. By much appearance of zeal and devotion, he insinuated himself into the favour of many, and particularly won over to his side, Mr. Rowlie, a respectable gentleman, who was solicitous to have him enter into conversation with the brethren, at one of our Antrim meetings. “The brethren insisted that I should encounter this boasting polemic. Accordingly, I went to Antrim, though indisposed with a bad cold, and there I found Mr. Freeman and his partner, waiting for us to enter on the disputation. He insisted on choosing both the subject and order of discussion. The subject selected by him was reprobation. We told him, that this was an unsuitable topic to begin with; but yielded to his wishes, and he offered his first argument, which was easily answered, and retorted on himself. The second, had the same issue. He continued to manifest a jocund humour, telling us that he would soon come on with the strength of his arguments. But then, the Lord did smite him with such confusion, that he spoke nonsense; so that the scribe could set down nothing of it. All the hearers were sensible of this; and some fell a laughing; but his patron turned to me and said, ‘You know what he would be at, set it in order, and give an answer to it.’ To whom I replied, ‘How can I know, seeing he knows not himself? But now,’ said I, ‘as it

is late, and you all see him in confusion, let him recollect his thoughts, and we shall meet in this place, the next morning.' In the morning, going to the place, and not finding him, I went to his lodging, where I found him with his patron, writing out arguments from an Arminian author. I snatched the book out of his hand, and asked him whether he believed that all events came to pass according to the determined counsel of God; to which he gave a flat denial. Then said I 'Know ye not that it is written. He hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord?' His answer was, that there was no such thing in the Bible. I desired his patron to turn to Acts, xvii, 26, 27. Then said Mr. Rowlie, 'We need no more disputation: I see evidently his ignorance of the scriptures. Mr. Freeman, I have followed you too long—here I renounce you, and will have no more to do with you;' and immediately departed. Being left alone with him, I gave him my advice seriously, which he, in his usual jocular way, seemed to wave. The ground of my apprehension was, that he knew nothing of the grace of Christ, and this event followed sadly; for he being deserted of the people who formerly adhered to him, turned more dissolute, and at last, as I was credibly informed, fell into mischievous practices."

The bodily exercises, before mentioned, were made an occasion of accusation against Mr. Blair and his coadjutors. One of his own charge, a dull and ignorant person, in the time of divine worship, made a noise, accompanied with spasmodic action of the body. Immediately he rebuked the lying spirit that disturbed the worship of God, charging the same, in the name and authority of Jesus, no more to disturb the congregation. And they had nothing more of the kind. "But Mr. Livingston and myself," says he, "being in Scotland, on a visit to our friends, on our return, we were both invited to assist an aged and infirm man, who was about celebrating the Lord's supper at the kirk of Shotts, where there was a great confluence of zealous people. A certain Mr. John Maxwell informed Mr. Leslie, by letter, of our presence, and an accusation was brought against us, that we taught the necessity of a new birth, by bodily pangs and throes. The bishop of Down,

having received some information from Leslie, of the part which Blair and Livingston took in the meeting at the kirk of Shotts; and the old calumny of their teaching a new birth by physical agonies, having been received; immediately, without farther examination or trial, suspended not only Blair and Livingston, but also Dunbar and Welsh. Upon this, Blair made application to Archbishop Ussher, who wrote to Bishop Echlin, which induced him to relax the suspension for the present, and they went on with their ministry as usual. But shortly a letter coming from court, in which the old accusation was renewed, the bishop, although well assured of the innocence of these ministers, cited them to appear before him, and required of them a subscription to the liturgy; which they refused, as not being required by any law or canon, in the kingdom of Ireland. Upon this refusal, the bishop deposed them from their ministry. When Archbishop Ussher was made acquainted with the fact, he expressed great sorrow, but said he could not help them.

There appearing no other method of relief, Mr Blair was urged by his brethren to lay the matter before the king. This he undertook, and during the journey was attacked by a painful disease; but in answer to prayer was almost instantly relieved. Indeed during the whole journey he experienced several remarkable interpositions of Providence in his behalf. By the favour of the secretary, his petition was presented to the king, then at Greenwich, and was favourably received; so that letters were written to Ireland, directing inquiry to be made into the facts, and if were they found as represented by the deposed ministers, to grant relief. They were addressed to the Earl of Strafford who was just gone to take the chief authority in that kingdom. Mr. Blair greatly rejoiced in his success, and hastened his return, but took Scotland in his way; where he visited Rutherford and some other dear friends.

While on his journey, he had one night a remarkable dream, in which he was informed of the death of his wife. When he awoke in the morning, the impression on his mind was so vivid, that he entertained no doubt of the fact; and opening his Bible, the passage that met his eye was, "Son of

man, I take from thee with a stroke, the desire of thine eyes ; but thou shalt neither weep, mourn nor lament." The fact was just as it was represented to him ; his wife died that very night.

Many things of this kind are recorded in the experiences of the eminent ministers of those and former times. The reflections of Blair on the subject are solid and judicious. -- If any reading these things shall stumble, that both now and hereafter, I have mentioned what hath been revealed to me of events to come, seeing revelations are now ceased, and we are to stick close to the revealed will of God, in the scriptures, for their satisfaction I answer, That if an angel from heaven should reveal anything contrary to the scriptures, or offer to add anything to that perfect rule of faith and manners, he ought to be accursed : and much more if any man upon earth should do the same. But in the meantime it ought not to be denied, that the Lord is pleased sometimes to reveal to his servants, especially in a suffering condition, events concerning themselves and that part of the church of God wherein they live ; innumerable examples whereof might be produced, and not a few within this land, as in the case of the blessed martyr Wishart, Mr. Knox, Mr. Davidson, Mr. Welsh and Mr. Patrick Simson. This I write under protest, that I compare not myself with these I have now mentioned."

Mr. Blair returned to his place at Bangor, and was received with great joy, on account of his success in obtaining a favourable letter from the king ; not indeed that this removed the sentence of deposition, under which the ministers lay ; but as recommending a reconsideration of the matter, and a restoration, if the facts should be found correct, as stated by Mr. Blair. But when this letter was presented to Lord Strafford, who had just arrived in Dublin, he paid no attention to it ; but began immediately, in the most vituperative style, to speak against the church of Scotland. This was a sad disappointment to the ministers ; but the Lord overruled it for their relief. For Sir Andrew Stewart, making a visit to the lord-deputy, after praising his other acts, convinced him that he had acted improperly in treating a respectable minister so roughly ; and inquired of him how Blair had conducted him-

self in his presence; he said, humbly, modestly and cautiously. "But now," said he, "let us help it the best way we can;" and he wrote to the bishop of Down, to give them indulgence for six months. This was an unexpected relief. Mr. Blair, when he heard it, was fourteen miles from home, but he hastened to his people, and found a great congregation assembled, not only of his own flock, but of the neighbouring parishes, to whom he preached a sermon from the words of Ezekiah, "What shall I say? He hath spoken unto me and himself hath done it, I shall go softly all my years, in the bitterness of my soul." (Isaiah xxxviii. 15.)

"These six months," says Mr. Blair, "were well improved, and by the blessing of God the people made more progress in God than ever before." By means of the same excellent gentleman, who had obtained for them this indulgence, another six months would have been added, had it not been for the interposition of bishop Bramhall, who, on account of their refusing to kneel at the Lord's supper, induced the lord-deputy, to withhold the letter which he had written. "We, therefore," said Mr. Blair, "celebrated the Lord's supper and delivered up our people to the Great Bishop of our souls, from whom we had received our charge. And being convened a third time, we received a sentence of deposition; at which I cited the bishop Echlin, to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, to answer for that wicked deed. To which he replied, 'I appeal from justice to mercy.' 'But,' said I, 'your appeal is likely to be rejected, because you act against the light of your conscience.' Soon after the bishop sickened, and when the physician inquired into his complaint, he said, 'It is distress of conscience.' The physician said, 'For that I have no cure.' When the physician reported this to the Viscount of Airds, he charged him never to speak of the matter; but the Viscountess, being present, replied, 'No man shall get that report suppressed, for I shall bear witness of it to the glory of God, who did smite that man for suppressing Christ's witnesses.'"

After making some ineffectual attempts to obtain the liberty of preaching, these pious ministers, having heard that many of the English were going to New England, to escape from

the religious oppression to which they were now subjected, also began to think seriously of emigrating to America: and a number of other persons being willing to cast in their lot with them, it was determined, to build a vessel to convey them to the new world. They were much encouraged in their design, by the conversation of Mr. Wintthrop, son of the governor of Massachusetts, a gentleman of extensive information, who had travelled much on the continent of Europe. Mr. Blair having been left a widower, with three helpless children, thought it expedient to take a second wife, and accordingly, he selected a pious woman of a good family, of whom all he says is, that she bore him nine sons and a daughter.

The company who had agreed to transport themselves to America, thought it expedient, while the vessel was building, to send two of their number, Mr. John Livingston and Mr. William Wallace, to go before them and visit New England, and to fix on a place for their settlement. But this measure failed, in consequence of Mr. Wallace not coming to the place of embarkation at the appointed time: for the first ships had sailed before they were ready; and afterwards for fourteen days contrary winds prevented, so that they were unable to reach London in time. And Mr. Wallace falling sick, his physician advised him not to enter on the voyage at so late a period.

The company, however, persevered in their determination to prosecute their voyage to America, and on the 9th of September, 1606, they loosed from Loch Fergus; but from the commencement of the voyage, they experienced unfavourable weather, and were long detained by contrary winds. And at length, when they were unable to go forward, after being more than half way over the Atlantic, they met with a tremendous storm, which so shattered their vessel, that after much earnest prayer and consultation, they came to the conclusion to turn back. The number of persons on board was about a hundred and forty. Their pecuniary resources were much impaired by this voyage; for they had invested their money to a considerable extent in provisions, and in goods which they expected to sell to advantage in the colony. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the bishop, both Mr. Blair and Mr. Livingston

found means of preaching somewhere every Sabbath. Their enemies, however, soon found out their places of residence, and an information was lodged against them; upon which an order was issued to apprehend them. A pious servant overheard a direction given to another servant, to have a horse ready to go to the north, early in the morning, to bring down the deposed ministers to Dublin. This servant, whose name was Andrew Brown, immediately went and hired a horse and rode all night, and brought word to Messrs. Blair, and Livingston of the intention to arrest them; on which they immediately passed over into Scotland.

Here they were kindly received by the Rev. Daniel Dickson, minister of Irvine, and were frequently employed by him in preaching to his people. On a sacramental occasion, when many assembled, and not a few of their friends from Ireland, both Blair and Livingston preached at Irvine. Mr. Cunningham also came over, and died at Irvine, at the house of Mr. Dickson.

Mr. Cunningham's end was peaceful. From his dying bed he gave many pious counsels to his friends, and to the whole presbytery of Irvine, who visited him. His epitaph was written in Latin, by Mr. Blair. For some time, Mr. Blair preached in Irvine and its vicinity, and also in Edinburgh; but the persecution by the prelates, being very hot through the land, against all who refused the service-book and a compliance with the Perth articles, Mr. Blair determined that he would emigrate to France; for he had received an invitation to become the chaplain of Col. Hepburn's regiment, then stationed on the continent. His friends in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose; for he actually set off to go to France. The boat, however, on which he embarked, having a company of Highlanders who were exceedingly profane and offensive in their discourse, he was much annoyed, and felt it to be his duty to reprove them. On which one of them was so enraged, that he attempted to kill him with his dirk, but was prevented by his companions. Having reached the ship, he resolved that he would not go in company with such a crew, and requested to be put on shore. Here, he met with a signal deliverance, which he attributed to the guardian care of angels. For, as

he attempted to leave the ship, his foot slipped, and he fell down the side of the vessel, and must have been drowned, had it not been for one of the lines of the vessel, which providentially happened to be there to receive his hand. While he was hanging by the side of the vessel, he had these reflections: "I have often read and preached, that the good angels are ministering spirits, sent forth by God to serve and preserve them that shall be heirs of salvation. I knew that truth notionally; but now experimentally. Now I find that true which is written, 'He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways: they shall bear thee up in their hands.' Though it cannot be proven from scripture that every one has a tutelary angel, yet it is certain that the good angels do many kind offices for the people of God; especially to his ministers and ambassadors, which we do not see nor remark to know: especially when we are in danger, in our infancy or old age."

When Mr. Blair returned to Edinburgh, his friends received him joyfully. A sister of his former wife brought him paper, pen and ink, and entreated him to write a petition with his own hand, to the secret council, for liberty to preach; and promised that the women would present it to some member of the council, as he passed along to the place of meeting. He consented, and when it was finished, it was committed to one of the oldest women among them, who attempted to put it into the hands of Traquair; but he, fearing that it contained something which would not be agreeable to the council, put her aside, declining to take the paper; on which Barbara Hamilton, his former wife's sister, taking the petition, seized Traquair by the arm, and said, "Stand, my lord, in Christ's name, till I speak to you." He, looking back, said, "Good woman, what would you have from me?" "There is," said she, "an humble supplication of Mr. Blair, for liberty to preach the gospel. I charge you to befriend the matter, as you would have God to befriend you in your distress and at your death." He promised to do what he could; and accordingly, the request was granted by the council. Thus we see that the Scottish women were more resolute in seeking relief, than the men. Mr. Blair, being thus providentially prevented

from going to France, and having obtained liberty to exercise his ministry, received and accepted a unanimous call from the town of Ayr; and much about the same time, Mr. Livingston, his companion in labour and suffering, received and accepted a call from the church at Stranmaer, in the same neighbourhood. As towns were situated near the western coast of Scotland, many of their friends came over from Ireland, and took up their residence among them. At one time, there came over five hundred persons. Besides, others who did not remove to Scotland, brought over their children to be baptized. As many as twenty-eight of these were baptized at Stranmaer in one day.

But Mr. Blair was not permitted to remain quietly at Ayr, for the General Assembly of 1636, of which he was a member, having deposed the bishops, ordered that he should be translated to St. Andrews; but he was so reluctant to leave Ayr, where his labours began to be blessed, that he ventured to disobey the order, hoping that the next Assembly would permit him to remain. In the mean time, the king's army approached the borders of Scotland, on which the Covenanters collected their forces and marched to meet them. Blair accompanied the Covenanters as chaplain, as did many other of the evangelical ministers of the Church of Scotland. But when the armies came near together, a negotiation took place, which terminated in a compromise; and no blood was shed.

The Assembly of 1639 censured Mr. Blair for not obeying the order of the former Assembly, and peremptorily resolved, that he should immediately be transported to St. Andrews; and at the same time ordered that Mr. Rutherford should take charge of the college, from which Spottiswood had fled. But Mr. Rutherford made it a condition of his going, that he should be associated with Blair in the pastorate of the church. They accordingly both removed to St. Andrews, about the same time.

In the year 1642, the General Assembly appointed Mr. Blair to visit the churches in the north of Ireland. He found the state of religion to be greatly deteriorated since he left the country, but there was a universal hunger for the word; so that he preached once every day, and twice on the Sab-

bath; and in some places the assemblies were so large that no house could contain the people. Mr. Row, who writes the supplement to the autobiography of Blair, informs us, that he had conversed with some aged people, who had heard Blair's discourses on this visit, who said, "that in their lifetime, they never heard the gospel so powerfully preached, and pertinently applied: and that they never saw such commotion and heart-melting, with greatest abundance of tears, among hearers."

Finding the charge of the parish of St. Andrews too onerous, as many of the parishioners lived in the country, Mr. Blair resolved to get a new parish formed out of the old. And, as a new church and stipend for another minister would be required, he relinquished a part of his own salary, and employed a zealous, active man to solicit voluntary contributions for the object. This enterprise was successful. The new parish was named Cameron, and the people called Mr. Nairn to be their pastor. It is recorded, that he found the people of St. Andrews, when he came to them, in a very unfavourable state. The poor were ignorant and superstitious, and the rich exceedingly profane, irreligious and prelatical.

In the year 1643, commissioners from the English Parliament and from the Westminster Assembly were sent to propose and promote a closer union between the two kingdoms, and uniformity in religion. Mr. Blair was a member of the committee to whom this matter was referred; the result of which was the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, to be sworn individually, by ministers and people, by magistrates and citizens, in both kingdoms. This proposal was received by the pious in Scotland with great joy. "Such a torrent of overflowing affection," says Row, who was present, "I never saw on any other occasion. When the aged ministers were asked their opinion, their feelings were so strong that they were unable to speak, while the tears rolled down their cheeks. And Blair declared, "that a solemn covenant for reformation and uniformity of religion, for the three kingdoms, came up to his highest wishes when he indulged his most sanguine anticipations."

Mr. Blair took a very active part in the contest between the Scottish forces and those of the king; and at the battle at

Longmarston, in which Prince Rupert's army was defeated, he was present. He soon, however, returned to his parish, at St. Andrews, and as the plague was at Edinburgh, the parliament sat at St. Andrews, before whom Mr. Blair often preached. Several persons of distinction were imprisoned there, as traitors to the country, whom he often visited in prison: and his conversation with one of them, Nathanael Gordon, was attended, apparently, with very happy effects. For this person manifested deep repentance for the course which he had pursued, and for all the sins of his life; so that Mr. Blair, at his earnest request, obtained for him a remission of the sentence of excommunication under which he lay; and attended him on the scaffold, where he was greatly satisfied with his conduct.

In the year 1646, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh, and Mr. Blair was elected Moderator. By this Assembly, three persons were chosen to go to Newcastle, where the king then was, to deal with him, respecting taking the Solemn League and Covenant, and establishing Presbyterian government. The persons selected were Robert Douglas, Andrew Cant, and Robert Blair. They immediately repaired to the king; and on their first introduction, Andrew Cant, who was zealous, forward, and of a fiery temper, very unseasonably addressed the king, and charged him with being a favourer of popery. Blair interposed, and said, "We think this neither a fit time nor place to speak to your majesty." The king, looking at him, said, "That honest man speaks wisely and discreetly;" and appointed the next day for an audience, in his chamber. From this time, the king manifested a particular regard for Mr. Blair, more than for any other of the Scottish ministers, who from time to time attended on him.

The object of this commission to the king was, as has been said, to induce him, if possible, to gratify the wishes of the Scotch Kirk, by signing the Solemn League and Covenant; and Blair and Alexander Henderson, who was already with the king, went so far as on their bended knees, and with tears, to entreat him to comply. But their efforts were not successful; he refused to the last. It is wonderful, that these good men should have so earnestly urged the king to do a thing which

was against his conscience. But in those days, no allowance was made for a diversity of opinion, even in regard to church government. The committee of estates, also, sent nine commissioners to treat with the king, in relation to the same thing; but he still refused to comply with their wishes. Mr. Blair now returned to his charge, and Alexander Henderson, being sick and overburdened with sorrow and grief, came to Edinburgh and died there, August 19, 1646. As soon as the king heard of the death of Henderson, who had been his chaplain, he appointed Blair as his successor. Upon the reception of his patent, he was thrown into much perplexity respecting his duty, and deferred an answer, until he had sought, by wrestling prayer, guidance from the Father of light. He also consulted his friend, Mr. David Dickson, who advised him to go. Mr. Blair now left his charge at St. Andrews, in obedience to the king's orders, and repaired to New Castle. Here, in the performance of his arduous duties, he was most faithful and diligent. He prayed in the king's presence and that of his attendants, twice every day; preached twice every Lord's day, morning and evening, in the presence of the king. But his most painful duty was, dealing, in conversation, with the king, with whom he had many debates, respecting prelacy, the liturgy, and forms of prayer; in all which, he urged his majesty to comply with the earnest wishes of his Scottish subjects. But after finding that the king was proof against all his arguments and entreaties, he returned home to St. Andrews. But in the next year, 1647, he returned to Newcastle, with a view of dealing yet further with the king; for the Scottish nation was resolved not to receive him, unless he would subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, by which both nations were now united in a solemn bond. The king received him very graciously, and while many flocked around to hear a debate between him and the king, his majesty disappointed them, by conversing very pleasantly, and even facetiously, with Mr. Blair; and directed him to come to him in his chamber, where Mr. Blair renewed his arguments and solicitations; but the king pleaded conscience, and particularly his coronation oath, and said, that he would sooner lose his crown, and even his life, than violate his conscience.

In the disputes which arose about the Engagement, among the Scotch people, Blair took a middle course, and exerted himself to reconcile the parties. And, although he did not altogether succeed, his mediation was productive of much good, by moderating the long-continued animosities of one party against the other.

In the year 1648, Messrs. Blair, Dickson and Guthrie were sent, by the Commission of the General Assembly, to confer with Cromwell, who was then in the country with an invading army. Blair had seen Cromwell before, and had taken up a very unfavourable opinion of him. Cromwell made a long speech to them, "with a fair flourish of words, and not without tears." Mr. Blair answered him, by saying much in few words. He told him plainly, that nothing stood in the way of a reformation and uniformity of religion in England, but only his army. On this occasion, Mr. Blair put three questions to Cromwell. The first was, whether he was in favour of monarchical government? Cromwell answered that he was, and was also in favour of the king and his posterity. The second question was, whether he was in favour of toleration? He said he was not. And the third was, what was his opinion respecting the government of the church? Cromwell replied, "O, Mr. Blair, you article me too severely. I cannot give you an immediate answer to this. I must have time to deliberate." When they came out, Mr. Dickson said, "I am very glad to hear this man speak as he does." Mr. Blair replied, "And do you believe him? If you knew this man as well as I do, you would not believe one word he says. He is an egregious dissembler, and a great liar." Cromwell soon after returned to England, with the greater part of his army.

In 1649, Mr. Blair was sent to London to promote reformation; but now all power was usurped by the army; and strong measures were taken against the king, which issued in his trial and condemnation; against all these proceedings Blair protested; as did the other Scotch commissioners. Mr. Blair being in London, as one of the commissioners of the church, joined cordially with the other commissioners, both of the church and estates, in a protest against the whole proceedings of the men who arraigned, tried and condemned the king.

Indeed, the spirit of loyalty was so strong in Blair, that he declared that he would be as willing to lay down his head on the block, as he ever was to lay it on a pillow, if he might be permitted to die with the king, for whom personally he seems to have entertained a high esteem. The king also felt a particular regard for him; and, when cruelly debarred of the privilege of having the services of his own chaplains, expressed an earnest wish to see Blair; who, on being informed of the king's request, was very solicitous to go; but was not permitted to see him by those who were his persecutors. He declared, that if he had had access to the king, he would have advised him not to submit to a trial; nor to answer to any charges, and when condemned not to walk on his own feet to the scaffold. He speaks of his accusers and judges as cruel murderers.

The Scottish commissioners, both of the church and state, as soon as the king was dead, declared the prince Charles to be the legitimate king. And it was resolved, that Mr. Blair and others should be a delegation to the king, in Holland, to inform him of their allegiance, and that the Scotch people considered him the legitimate heir to the throne. But when they were about to sail, they were prevented by the ruling powers. When this was made known in Scotland, other persons were appointed to represent both the church and state, who immediately crossed the sea, and repaired to the young king. The parliament, fearing that the Scotch commissioners might still attempt to go to the king, sent them down to Scotland under a guard. By his frequent journeys, and hardships in them, Mr. Blair's health was much broken. During this last journey to England, he was greatly afflicted with the gout; but he was not a man to spare himself. After this, however, he was unable, as formerly, to attend the judicatories of the church; yet he was a member of the General Assembly of 1649. When the commissioners, sent to Holland, brought over the young king, Mr. Blair conversed with him at large, and gave him much good advice.

When the Scotch rulers of church and state had got the king into their power, their first step was, to induce him to swear to the Solemn League and Covenant, which he did, with

apparent seriousness and sincerity, in the following solemn form of words, viz: "I, C. R., King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, do assert and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant, and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and for myself and successors shall covenant and agree to all acts of Parliament, enjoining the National Covenant and the solemn League and Covenant, and fully establishing Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith, and the Catechisms of the kingdom of Scotland, as they are approved by the General Assembly and Parliament of this kingdom; and that I will give my royal assent to acts and ordinances of Parliament passed or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make any opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof." What a comment on this solemn oath is the conduct of this same king, when restored to power! Soon after this ceremony, the coronation of the king took place; on which occasion, the coronation sermon was preached by Mr. Robert Douglas, from 2 Kings, xi. 12.

Cromwell, however, coming into Scotland, with his well disciplined army, proceeded to defeat and scatter all the Scottish forces which had been raised to defend the king, and restore him to his throne. Still, the Scottish parliament took measures to collect another army from the north. But an unhappy division arose respecting the discipline of persons who should be admitted to office and to join the army. The parliament were anxious to unite, as far as possible, the whole nation in defence of the king and country. They therefore proposed the following query to the commissioners of the General Assembly, then sitting at Perth: "What persons are to be admitted to rise in arms and join the forces of the kingdom, and in what capacity for defence, against the common enemy?" The commission, after serious deliberation, returned the following answer: "That considering it a necessary duty, both by the laws of God and nature, to use all lawful means in de-

fence of the liberty, lives, and estates of the people against the common enemy; and considering that the forces are so routed and scattered, and that there cannot be raised any competency of forces out of those parts of the kingdom that's free, unless there be a more general calling forth of the body of the people than hath been before; therefore, in this case of so great necessity, we cannot be against the raising of all sensible persons, and permitting them to fight for defence of the kingdom: excepting such as are excommunicate, forfeited, notoriously profane or flagitious, and, such as have been, and continue still, obstinate and professed enemies and opposers of the covenant and cause of God."

This answer grievously offended such as had declared themselves against any conjunction with those formerly debarred. Many of the presbyteries, also, were dissatisfied, and wrote letters to the Commission, expressing their dissent from the answer to the query. Mr. Blair was not present at that meeting of the commission: but he did not show any dislike to their answer, and had several debates with the warm opposers of the act. As he remained some time at Perth, he preached there, and in his sermon, we are told, alluded to the unhappy division among the ministers, respecting the answer returned to the parliament by the commission, and their resolutions on the subject. He said, "There are some that say, Give us religion well secured, become of the king what will; and there are others that say, Give us the king well established on his throne, become of religion what will. But blessed be God there are some, both ministers and others, who wish well both to religion and the king; giving to God what is God's, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar's." It was a prominent trait in Mr. Blair's character to be moderate, and avoid extremes; steadily to steer betwixt dangerous rocks on either hand.

This difference of opinion among the leading and most eminently pious ministers of the Church of Scotland, instead of being reconciled, increased, greatly disturbed peace, and hindered all combined and successful action against the common enemy, by whom the country was then invaded. The presbytery of Stirling came out strongly against the resolutions, and the Commission, which next met at St. Andrews, in

January, 1651, appointed Mr. Blair, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. John Smith, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Sharp, to confer with Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Wetherford, and others, who were opposed to the resolutions. Mr. Blair, on account of infirmity, was not able to attend; but the conference produced no favourable result.

The king being about to go to the north to expedite the raising of troops, Mr. Blair, sensible that his own end was approaching, took this occasion of speaking freely and kindly to him, in regard to his future conduct. At the same time, he expressed freely what he liked and disliked in his royal father, of whom he entertained a more favourable opinion than most of his brethren. He said, "that he was a good king, badly used."

The controversy respecting the resolutions became very warm. Brethren, hitherto united, were now engaged in dispute both from the pulpit and the press. Mr. Daniel Dickson wrote in favour of the resolutions, and was answered by Mr. Guthrie, in four letters, to which Mr. Dickson replied. Mr. Patrick Gillespie wrote against them, and Mr. James Ferguson in defence of them. After various fruitless conferences, to settle the dispute about the public resolutions, the General Assembly met at St. Andrews. Immediately after it was constituted, and before a moderator was chosen, Mr. John Menzies arose and moved, that none of the members of the Commission, who adopted the resolutions, should be allowed to sit as members in that Assembly. To which it was replied, that it would be much more reasonable to exclude from the Assembly those ministers who had preached and published against the acts of the highest judicatory of the church. As the majority of the Assembly appeared to be favourable to the resolutions, the opposers withdrew, and Mr. Samuel Rutherford drew up a PROTEST against the Assembly, to which twenty-two persons subscribed their names. Thus, the most able and pious ministers were warmly engaged in quarrelling with one another, about a matter which must now produce astonishment in every candid mind. The question between the parties was, "whether those persons who had acted inconsistently with their covenant engagements, should be permitted to

take part in the defence of the country?" And at the very moment that they were contending with one another, intelligence was received, that the enemy had landed, with a considerable force, at a neighbouring port; so that the Assembly consulted their own safety, by adjourning their sessions to Dundee. The Assembly, now convened at Dundee, summoned James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, John Menzies, James Simson, and James Nasmyth, to their bar; and proceeded to depose from the ministry, Messrs. Guthrie, Gillespie, and Simson; and to suspend Nasmyth. The breach between the parties was now wide, and apparently irreparable. Henceforth, the church was divided into two parties; the RESOLUTIONERS and the PROTESTERS. Blair tried much to reconcile the parties, being much respected by both, but he could not succeed.

The controversy, between the RESOLUTIONERS and PROTESTERS, continued without abatement, although the country was not only invaded, but conquered, by Cromwell. All effectual resistance to the English was prevented by these unhallowed divisions.

The General Assembly, in the year 1651, had a majority in favour of the resolutions; and a solemn warning against the Protesters was issued by that body. But the Protesters, so far from submitting to the supreme judicatory of the church, grew more violent in their opposition, and openly declared this Assembly to be no legitimate Assembly.

Again, in the year 1652, the state of parties was much as in the preceding year. And when the Assembly met at Edinburgh, July 3, 1653, after having sermons from those distinguished men, David Dickson and Daniel Douglas, before they had proceeded to any business, a company of British officers appeared in the house, and commanded them to disperse, as they were met without authority from the government either of England or Scotland. Mr. Dickson answered, that they acted under the authority of Jesus Christ. But the officers ordered them to march out after them, which they were obliged to do, and were led entirely out of the town; marching in a body, along the streets. The Protesters were prevented from presenting their protestation to the Assembly, in consequence of its being broken up. They then met by themselves,

but their meeting also was dissolved by a proclamation, requiring all ministers to depart from Edinburgh. Against this, they drew up a protest, and sent it to the commanding general of the English army.

During this whole controversy, Mr. Blair acted the part of a mediator and peacemaker, between the parties, but without effect. Oh, the folly and evil of religious bigotry!

Cromwell, being now securely seated in the highest place of power, wished to hold a consultation with some of the leading ministers of Scotland, in regard to ordering the affairs of their church. He therefore sent for Blair, Douglas, and Guthrie; but such was the state of Mr. Blair's health, that he was unable to undertake the journey; and, besides, he had not great fondness for the Protector. In all the attempts at bringing about a reconciliation between the two contending parties in the church, there was no man who so entirely agreed with Mr. Blair in his views and feelings, as the eminently pious and learned Durham. He laboured much to promote unity and peace among the brethren; but in vain. One of the heaviest judgments of God on any church is to be given up to angry contention; and the less important the matters in dispute, the more rancorous, often, does the polemical spirit of the parties become, and the more difficult is the restoration of peace. The Church of Scotland paid dearly, in a few years, for these unnecessary and unhallowed contentions; when prelacy came in upon them with intolerance and violence, and when some of those who had appeared zealous for truth, apostatized from the cause of presbytery. The General Assembly, in order to have an orthodox commentary on the books of scripture, appointed a number of the most distinguished divines, to expound particular books. Mr. Blair had assigned to him the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. With this appointment, he was not well satisfied; for he wished to employ his remaining days in the study and explanation of those parts of scripture which contained most of the gospel. He did, however, comply with the Assembly's order, and composed and preached a number of lectures on Proverbs; but whether the work was ever completed and published, does not appear.

After the introduction of prelacy, by authority of the Eng-

lish government, the zealous Presbyterians who would not yield their principles, were treated with unrelenting severity. Some of their most zealous and leading men were brought to the scaffold and suffered death: and, particularly, the Duke of Argyll and the Rev. James Guthrie: and the resisting Covenanters were persecuted and dragooned, in such a manner, that few persecutions have been more cruel.

Mr. Blair having felt it to be his duty, in a public discourse, to bear a faithful testimony against the prevalent errors of the time, and against the unfaithfulness of many ministers, was prosecuted for the same, by Archbishop Sharp—who was one of the apostates—and was put under restraint and forbidden to preach. For three years he abode at Kirkaldy, for he was not permitted to remain with his flock at St. Andrews, and finally he sent in a resignation of his charge. During this time, he suffered much from various diseases, particularly the gravel. While resident at Kirkaldy, many serious people and ministers came to see him, and to confer with him about the concerns of their own souls; and also respecting the state of the suffering church. And though prevented from preaching, he had religious service in his own house twice every day, and kept a solemn fast on the last day of every month. His inveterate enemies, however, would not allow him even this privilege, and caused him to be removed to an obscure village in an unwholesome place, near a marsh. Here the good man ended his days, in the faith and assured hope of the gospel, in the seventy-third year of his age. Two days before his death he was visited by Mr. Geo. Hutchinson, who upon leaving his bed-side said, “Truly, I think persecuted Mr. Blair is now dying a martyr. Is it not a martyrdom to be thrust from the ministry that was his delight, and hindered from doing good to his people and flock; and after he was driven from his place by the prelates, and especially by the malice and tyranny of Sharp, to be driven to this unwholesome place? Let others think what they will, I say Mr. Blair is dying, not only a persecuted minister, but a faithful martyr of Jesus Christ.” His death occurred August 27th, 1666.

The character given of him by Kirkton, in his history, is as follows: “This month Mr. Robert Blair, that godly and able

minister, departed this life in his confinement, whither he was sent by the state, at the bishop's request. He was a man of great piety, ability, and high experience; and though he died a sufferer, yet he died full of hope that the Lord would deliver Scotland, and very confident that God would rub (as he expressed it) shame on bishop Sharp, as it came to pass."

Few ministers have had a more eventful life; and few have spent their life in more troublous times; and perhaps none in modern times with a character more free from every stain. Mr. Blair was not only eminent as a minister of Christ, but had few equals in his day, as an elegant classical scholar. His Latin poetry places him near to George Buchanan, in this species of composition. A few of his poems are found in his life, by Rowe, from which our narrative has been taken. But his greatest praise is, that he, with his intimate friend and fellow-labourer, John Livingston, had an instrumental part in the conversion of a greater multitude of souls, than almost any others since the Reformation.

ART. II.—*Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical.*

By the Rev. William Henry Foote, D.D., Pastor of Presbyterian Church, Romney, Virginia. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1850. 8vo. pp. 568.

We have not the slightest hesitation in expressing our belief that Dr. Foote has in this work made an offering of inestimable value to our church. The experiment has proved that there may be rich gleanings even in fields which have been reaped by many and able hands. In every period of the history contained in this volume, and especially in the early parts, we have learnt much that we never knew before; indeed the filial veneration of the author, by leading him to unwearied collections from oral tradition, recondite manuscripts and rare volumes, has resulted in a treasure of unexpected facts, and has filled up some important chasms in our church-history. One consequence of this assiduity has been,

it is true, the accumulation of many documents which are properly memoirs to serve the future historian; but where the grand object is authentic annals, we can readily exchange facility of narrative for full details. Dr. Foote, as a son of the Puritans and a native of New England, brought to his task some qualifications which ensure impartial judgment; but he has painted the history of the Presbyterians, especially of the Scotch Irish, with a warmth of admiration which must satisfy the sternest adherent of our standards.

So dense is the mass of facts, that we cannot even abridge the interesting annals of what relates to the civil history of Virginia; though even here there is much to give the work a claim to be numbered among original histories of the English plantations in America.

The first Christian minister in Virginia was the Rev. Robert Hunt, who was of the little company that landed at Jamestown, on the 18th of May, 1607. Every tourist has looked with pensive meditation on the dwindling ruins of the old church on the James River. Mr. Hunt's labours were arduous and his life was short. He was a man of scholarship and piety. When Jamestown was burnt, the memorial is, "Master Hunt, our preacher, lost his library and all he had but the cloathes on his backe; but none never heard him repine at the losse." Mr. Whitaker, the Christian instructor of Pocahontas, was likeminded; he had charge of the town of Henrico, built in 1611. "I hereby let all men know," says Crashawe, "that a schollar, a graduate, a preacher, well borne, and friended in England; not in debt, nor disgrace, but competently provided for and liked and beloved where he lived; not in want, but (for a schollar and as these days may be) rich in possession, and more in possibilitie; of himself, without any persuasion, (but God's and his own heart) did voluntarily leave his warme nest; and to the wonder of his kindred and amazement of them that knew him, undertook this hard, but in my judgment, heroicall resolution, to go to Virginia and helpe to beare the name of God unto the Gentiles." Good Mr. Whitaker complained and mused much, we are told, that so few of the English ministers that were so hot against the

surplice and subscriptions came to the colony, where neither was spoken of.

The father of American Presbyterianism was Francis Makemie; and never before has so much been published of his history as now. He was from Donegal in Ireland. One fact only is known of his early religion, namely, that at the age of fourteen, under the instruction of a pious schoolmaster, he felt the converting power of grace. He was ordained an evangelist for America by the Presbytery of Lagan; this was probably in 1682 or 1683. He laboured in Barbadoes as well as Maryland and Virginia. The first mention of Makemie's name by any record in America is in the county of Accomac, Virginia, and bears date February 17, 1690. The first known qualification on record under the Toleration Act is that of Makemie, in the same record, October 15, 1693. This record states his owning the Anglican articles, except the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth, and part of the twentieth. In Maryland he preached at Snow Hill, Rehoboth or Pocomoketown, Head of Monokin, Wicomico, and on Joseph Venable's land. He married in Virginia, and acquired some fortune by this, as well as by his own industry, for his hearers probably did little for his support. At his death the congregations gathered by him were sufficient to employ three ministers.

Severe as were the English laws in Virginia, Makemie preferred it as his residence, and, as abundant records show, was duly qualified and shielded by the courts. In 1704, he went to Europe, and prevailed with the ministers of London to undertake the support of two itinerants for two years; but they failed to fulfil the engagement. After his return from England, in 1705, we find him before the county court of Somerset, with two ministers, John Hampton and George McNish, whom the records style "his associates." Soon after this return from Europe, the venerable Presbytery of Philadelphia was formed. As the first leaf of the old minutes is lost, we can only conjecture the date, which Dr. Foote thinks it safe to set down at the latter part of 1705. In 1706 the ministers of this Presbytery were Francis Makemie, George McNish, John Hampton, Samuel Davis, John Wilson, Nathaniel Taylor

and Jedediah Andrews. His will bears date April 27th, 1708, and he died soon after. For the filling up of this outline we refer to the volume under review, but we cannot refrain from being a little more full in regard to one incident of his life, in which the sagacity, zeal and courage of the old-time Presbyterian shine out undeniably.

In January, 1707, Mr. Makemie and Mr. Hampton stopped at New York on their way to New England. At first they were well received by Lord Cornbury, who entertained them at the castle. On January, 19th Mr. Mackemie preached in the house of a mechanic named William Jackson, in Pearl street, and on the same day Mr. Hampton preached to a regular congregation at Newtown, Long Island. For these offences both were arrested, on a warrant signed by Cornbury. The narrative published soon after the event, and probably drawn up by Makemie himself, gives us the following lively report of an examination much resembling scores in the old country. When they appeared in the council chamber, Lord Cornbury inquired, "How dare you to take it upon you to preach in my government without my license?"

"Makemie replied—'We have liberty from an act of parliament made in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, which gave us liberty, with which law we have complied.

"C. 'None shall preach in my government without my license.

"M. 'If the law for liberty had directed us to any particular persons in authority for license, we would readily have observed the same; but we cannot find any directions in the act of parliament, therefore we would not take notice thereof.

"C. 'That law does not extend to the American plantations, but only to England.

"M. 'My Lord, I humbly conceive that it is not a limited nor local act; and am well assured it extends to other plantations of the Queen's dominions, which is evident from certificates from courts of record of Virginia and Maryland, certifying we have complied with the law.' These certificates were produced and read by Lord Cornbury, who was pleased to say they did not extend to New York.

"C. 'I know it is local and limited, for I was at the making thereof.

"M. 'Your Excellency might be at the making thereof, but we are assured there is no such *limiting clause* therein as is in local acts, and desire that the law may be produced to determine the point.

"C. (Turning to the attorney, Mr. Bekely,) 'Is it not so, Mr. Attorney?

"Attorney—'Yes, it is local, my Lord.' And producing an argument he

went on to say—‘that all the penal laws were local and limited, and did not extend to the plantations; and the Act of Toleration does not extend to any plantations.’

“M. ‘I desire the law may be produced; for I am morally persuaded there is no limitation or restriction in the law to England, Wales and Berwick on Tweed; for it extends to sundry plantations of the Queen’s dominions, as Barbadoes, Virginia, and Maryland, which is evident from certificates produced, which we could not have obtained if the act of parliament had not extended to the plantations. I presume New York is a part of her Majesty’s dominions also; and sundry ministers on the east end of Long Island have complied with the law, and qualified themselves at court by complying with the directions of said law, and have no license from your Lordship.

“C. ‘Yes, New York is of her Majesty’s dominions; but the Act of Toleration does not extend to the plantations by its own intrinsic virtue, or any intention of the legislators, but only by her *Majesty’s instructions signified unto me, and that is from her prerogative and clemency*, and the courts which have qualified these men are in error, and I will check them for it.

“M. ‘If the law extends to the plantations any manner of way, whether by the Queen’s prerogative clemency or otherwise, our certificates were demonstration that we had complied therewith.

“C. ‘These certificates were only for Virginia and Maryland; they did not extend to New York.

“M. ‘We presume, my Lord, our certificates do extend as far as the law extends; for we are directed by the act of parliament to qualify ourselves in the places where we live, which we have done: and the same law directs us to *take certificates of our qualification*, which we have also done; and these certificates are not to certify to such as behold us taking our qualifications, being performed in the face of the country at a public court; but our certificates must be to satisfy others abroad in the world, who saw it not, or heard any thing of it, otherwise it were needless. And that law which obliges us to take a certificate must allow said certificate to have a credit and a reputation in her Majesty’s dominions; otherwise it is to no purpose.

“C. ‘That act of parliament was made against *strolling preachers*, and you are such and shall not preach in my government.

“M. ‘There is not one word, my Lord, mentioned in any part of the law against *travelling or strolling preachers*, as your Excellency is pleased to call them; and we are to judge that to be the true end of the law which is specified in the preamble thereof, which—*for the satisfying scrupulous consciences, and uniting the subjects of England in interest and affection*. And it is well known to all, my Lord, that Quakers, who have liberty by this law, have few or no fixed teachers, but are chiefly taught by such as travel, and it is known to all, that such are sent forth by the yearly meeting at London, and travel and teach over the plantations, and are not molested.

“C. ‘I have troubled some of them, and will trouble them more.

"M. 'We hear, my Lord, one of them was prosecuted at Jamaica, but it was not for *travelling and teaching*, but for *particulars in teaching* for which he suffered.

"C. 'You shall not spread your pernicious doctrines here.

"M. 'As to our doctrines, my Lord, we have our Confession of Faith, which is known to the Christian world, and I challenge all the clergy of York to show us any false or pernicious doctrines therein; yea, with those exceptions specified in the law, we are able to make it appear that they are, in all doctrinal articles of faith, agreeable to the *established doctrines of the Church of England*.

"C. 'There is one thing wanting in your certificates, and that is signing the articles of the Church of England.

"M. 'That is the clerk's omission, my Lord, for which we are no way accountable, by not being full and more particular; but if we had not complied with the whole law, in all parts thereof, we should not have had certificates pursuant to said act of parliament. And your Lordship may be assured that we have done nothing in complying with said law but what we are still ready to perform, if your Lordship require it, and that ten times over. And as to the *articles of religion*, I have a copy in my pocket, and am ready at all times to sign, with those *exceptions specified by law*.

"C. 'You preached in a private house not certified according to act of parliament.

"M. 'There were endeavours used for my preaching in a more public place, and (though without my knowledge) your Lordship's permission was demanded for my preaching in the Dutch church, and being denied, we were under a necessity of assembling for public worship in a private house, which we did in as *public a manner as possible with open doors*; and we are directed to certify the same to the next Quarter Sessions, which cannot be done until the Quarter Sessions come in course, for the law binds no man to impossibilities; and if we do not certify to the next Quarter Sessions we shall be culpable but not till then. For it is evident, my Lord, that this act of parliament was made and passed the Royal assent May 24th, and it being some time before the Quarter Sessions came in course, and all ministers in England continued to preach without one day's cessation or forbearance; and we hope the practice of England should be a precedent for America.

"C. 'None shall preach in my government without my license, as the Queen has signified to me by her royal instructions.

"M. 'Whatever direction the Queen's instructions may be to your Lordship, they can be no rule or law to us, nor any particular person who never saw, and perhaps never shall see them. *For promulgation is the life of the law*.

"C. 'You must give bond and security for your good behaviour, and also bond and security to preach no more in my government.

"M. 'As to our behaviour, though we have no way broke it, endeavouring always so to live, as to 'keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man,' yet if your Lordship requires it, we would give security for our behaviour; but to give bond and security to preach no more in your Excel-

lency's government, if invited and desired by any people, we neither can nor dare do.

"C. 'Then you must go to gaol.

"M. 'We are neither ashamed nor afraid of what we have done; and we have complied, and are ready still to comply, with the act of parliament, which we hope will protect us at last. And it will be unaccountable in England, to hear that Jews, who openly blaspheme the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and disown the whole Christian religion—the Quakers who disown the fundamental doctrines of the Church of England, and both the sacraments,—the Lutherans, and all others are tolerated in your Lordship's government, and only we, who have complied and are still ready to comply with the Act of Toleration, and are nearest to and likeliest to the Church of England of any dissenters, should be hindered, and that only in the government of New York and the Jerseys. This will appear strange indeed.

"C. 'You must blame the Queen for that.

"M. 'We do not, neither have we any reason to blame her Majesty, for she molests none, neither countenances nor encourages any who do: and has given frequent assurances, *and of late*, in her gracious speech to parliament, that she would inviolably maintain the toleration."

Here Lord Cornbury began writing precepts for discharging the prisoners from the custody of the sheriff of Queen's county, and for their commitment in New York. Mr. Hampton, who had hitherto remained silent, demanded a license to preach, according to Act of Toleration; Lord Cornbury absolutely denied it. Mr. Makemie then moved that the law be produced to determine the point whether it were local and limited or not. He said he doubted not the Attorney was able soon to produce the law; and further he offered to pay the Attorney for a copy of that paragraph which contains the limiting clause.

"C. 'You, sir, know law?

"M. 'I do not, my Lord, pretend to know law; but I pretend to know this particular law, having had sundry disputes thereon.' He here refers to his appearance before the courts of Maryland and Virginia. The mittimus being made out, the high sheriff of York city and county, Ebenezer Wilson, took them to his dwelling house, as the place of their confinement. On Friday the 26th, after sundry demands, by the prisoners, he gave them a copy of their commitment, viz.

"You are hereby required and commanded to take into your custody the bodies of Francis Makemie and John Hampton, and them safely keep, till further orders; and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal this 23 day of January 1706, 7.

CORNBURY (seal)

To Ebenezer Wilson, Esq., High Sheriff of New York.

A true copy—Ebenezer Wilson."

Finding themselves imprisoned, they sent a petition to the Governor, praying for speedy trial, but without success. Again

at the next Quarter Sessions, they asked that in custody of the Sheriff they might be permitted to apply for license as the law directs: this was denied them. They then applied to the above named court for a like privilege, and application was made for license of the house in which Makemie preached. On the arrival of Chief Justice Mompesson, before the March term, their petition was granted and a writ of habeas corpus was issued, March 1706-7. On March 11th Makemie and Hampton appeared before the Supreme Court: the name of Hampton was soon dropped from the prosecution. The bill found by the Grand Jury charged Makemie with having preached in New York to more than five persons, without permission or qualification, and also with using other rules and ceremonies than those found in the book of common prayer. Mr. Makemie was permitted on bail to return to Philadelphia, and it is probable Lord Cornbury was quite willing to let the matter drop here, but he had to deal with a man whose learning had not inclined him to shrink before injustice. Accordingly he came from Accomac, and on the 4th of June, 1707, pleaded "not guilty of any crime by preaching a sermon at York." Among other incidents of the trial, which we owe to Dr. Foote, Mr. Makemie challenged a Huguenot, summoned as a juryman, and added these words, that "he was amazed to find that one so lately dragooned out of France for his religion, and delivered out of the galley, so soon prove a persecutor of the same religion." It is not our intention to report the trial, interesting as we have found it. At a certain stage of the proceedings, Makemie obtained leave to speak, and expressed astonishment that the Attorney should construe the Act of Toleration as applying to the province of New York, after he had produced an argument to prove that it was local, when Lord Cornbury was examining the defendant for commitment. Judge Mompesson called upon him to speak directly to the point; upon which Makemie replied:

"May it please your Honour, I hope to make it appear that it is to the point; and what was Mr. Attorney's argument then, is now mine. For whatever opinion I was of, while an absolute stranger to New York and its constitution, now, since I have informed myself thoroughly with its constitution, I am entirely of Mr. Attorney's opinion, and hope he will be of the same still. I allow of the Queen's supremacy, and in all the

Attorney has said, I cannot learn one argument or word from all the quoted statutes, that preaching a sermon is the least contempt or overthrow of the supremacy; and I hope it is not unknown to any, that the oath of supremacy has been abolished by a law ever since the Revolution. And I cannot learn from any law yet produced, that Lord Cornbury has any power or directions to grant license to any dissenters, or that any of them are under any obligations to take license from his Lordship before they preach, or after.' He then discussed the Queen's instructions to Lord Cornbury, at large, and with great force, to show that they applied only to members of the Church of England coming from England or other places. He also plead that the penal laws did not and could not extend to New York, where there is no law in favour of the Church of England, and no restriction on the liberty of dissenters. He concluded by saying—'And if Jews, who openly blaspheme the Lord Jesus—Quakers, and Lutherans, and all others, or whose persuasions, are allowed even in this government, it is matter of wonder why we only should not be allowed of, but put to molestation, as we now are by present prosecution. Is it because we are Protestants? Is it because we are nearest like the established church of England of any dissenters? Is it because we are the most considerable body of Protestants in the Queen's dominions? Is it because we have now, since the union, a national establishment in Great Britain as nearly related and annexed to the crown of England as the Church of England themselves? Sure such a proceeding, when known, will and must be a prodigy in England.'

"Attorney—'It is impossible for any man to answer all that has been offered, where so much has been said; and by so many.'

"Makemie—'I verily believe it is impossible for the Attorney to answer what has been said: it is a great truth which he has uttered.'

"The Attorney then proceeded to argue that the penal laws, at least some of them, were coextensive with the Queen's dominions. He said the kings and queens of England command their governors to grant licenses; and that it had been customary to take licenses from the governors.

"Mr. Makemie replied at large; and concluded by saying, 'And whereas Mr. Attorney affirms that giving and taking license was very common and universal; I am well assured there never was, neither is, to this day, any such practice in any plantations of America; and there are but few persons as yet in York government that have license: for beside the two Dutch ministers who differ upon Long Island, and it is said these licenses are the cause of their difference, there is but one English non-conformist minister in all the government, who has taken a license; and it is certain that Mr. Dubois, and sundry others of the Dutch churches have no license, neither will they submit to any such as are granted.'

"The Attorney then moved that the jury bring in a special verdict. The judges inclined that way too. The Attorney said, 'The matter of fact is plainly confessed by the defendant, as you have heard, and you are to bring it in specially, for the jury are not judges of law.'

"Mr. Makemie—'May it please your honours: I am a stranger, who lives four hundred miles from this place, and it is known to the whole

country what intolerable trouble I have been put to already, and we cannot consent to a special verdict, for that would only increase my trouble, multiply my charges, and give me further delay. Besides it is a known maxim in law, *that strangers are always to be favoured with expedition in justice.* This seems no way to admit of delay, and if this should be allowed of, no man's innocence would be able to protect him: for if I should be cleared I should suffer more attain't than if I were guilty of many penal laws in England. And as to the jury's judging of the law, and confessing the fact, I cannot see one point of law to be judged. It is true I have confessed preaching a sermon at the house of William Jackson, but have not owned it to be a crime, or repugnant to any law, or inconsistent with any of the Queen's instructions: nor hath the attorney made any thing of this nature to appear, for all those ancient statutes of Henry VIII. tend only to throw off the authority, supremacy, and jurisdiction of the Popes and See of Rome, and invest the kings and queens of England with that usurped authority, and to bring ecclesiastical persons under the civil jurisdiction of England, who in the times of Popery, was more accountable only to the See of Rome; therefore they do not touch, neither are any way applicable to this case.'

"Attorney—'These gentlemen acknowledge, and say, that the ministers of the Church of England are to take license, and are obliged so to do; and if so the Dissenters should also, otherwise they must expect more favours and liberty than the ministers of the Church of England.'

"Makemie—'It is the constitution of the Church of England, that the ministers, notwithstanding their ordination, do not preach or officiate as ministers until they procure a license from their Bishop: and they voluntarily bring themselves under oath of canonical obedience. But finally there is a great deal of reason why ministers of the Church of England submit to license; but not so with us. For it is only *bare liberty* which Dissenters have; but the *others* have not only *liberty*, but a *considerable maintenance* also, without which I never knew any of them value *liberty* only. And Dissenters having liberty only, without any maintenance from Government, are not at all under any obligations, neither is it required of them to take license.'"

The Judge in charging the jury stated his belief that this was the first trial of the kind in America. The jury returned in a short time, and being called, found the defendant *not guilty*. The defendant, thus cleared, was made to pay fees, amounting in all to 83*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* Soon after his liberation, Mr. Makemie preached in the licensed church of the Huguenots. His sermon was printed, and new accusations were made, that he was the author of a pamphlet then in circulation. The Governor again issued process, but his late prisoner had left the province. For the only letter of Makemie, known to be

in existence, we refer the Presbyterian reader to this history : it is addressed to Lord Cornbury.

The course of the historian, in this part of the work may be indicated, but we do not think of repeating his narrative. It was not until we turned to certain parts with some purpose of abridgement that we observed how much condensation had already been secured by the author. He inserts a lively chapter upon the Scotch Irish, a race which has furnished a large part of the Presbyterianism of our land : and this leads him to relate the siege of Londonderry, a picture in the history of protestantism and of our fathers, which we shall continue to unfold to our sons even in these days of theoretical non-resistance. We have good cause to know, that some who were in that beleaguered town were eminent among the founders of our American church. There is no evidence of any colony of Presbyterians direct from Scotland ; but those who came from Ulster were really Scotch, often the sons of native Scotchmen, as their names, tenets, habits, and even their dialect, continued within our memory to show. Of these some settled in New Hampshire as early as 1719 ; a few in Massachusetts ; large numbers on the Delaware, and still more in the west of Pennsylvania and Maryland. It was then that the emigration poured into the beautiful valley of Virginia and North Carolina.

Dr. Foote does not neglect to do justice to the Episcopalians of Virginia, and gives full accounts of Mr. Commissary Blair and the foundation of William and Mary College. He lingers with affectionate particularity on the work of God in Hanover county, one of the most wonderful events in our religious history, connecting itself with Whitefield, Davies and remotely with Patrick Henry. To these pages, therefore, we refer the reader for ample accounts of Morris's Reading Room, and the revival of religion in Hanover ; the labours and sufferings of Hunt, Robinson, Roan and others ; and the missionary visits of Tennent and Whitefield.

When Dr. Foote arrives at the name of President Davies, he allows himself a liberty of enlargement, which the greatness of the subject and the errors of some foregoing accounts, may well justify. This volume contains the first complete

biography of the great preacher. As the dates here given differ from those which have gained currency, it is proper to say, that the author has derived them from memorandums, made by Mr. Davies himself, in an interleaved Bible, now in the hands of a descendant. While these remarks were in preparation, the following letter from Mr. Davies to Dr. Bellamy appeared in the New York Observer, with the statement that it had never been printed before :

HANOVER, Va., August 26, 1750.

Rev. and very dear Sir: The continuance of the correspondence your friendly condescension has begun, will always be very agreeable to me, though the prospects of so many interruptions as our distance and other circumstances will unavoidably occasion, is afflictive. This, Sir, is like to be the only method of conversation we shall be blest with, till we come to our Father's house above, where everlasting intimacy subsists between all his numerous children, and where they are more fit for mutual acquaintance and society, than in this state of imperfection. Thither, I hope, I am aspiring, though faintly: and I request the help of your prayers to accelerate my motion.

Blessed be God, I am free from the burdensome necessity of an idle life. So large and rude a quarter of the Lord's vineyard is committed to my care, that I can hardly behold it without being animated to industry, or (which is frequently my case) sunk into discouragement at the disproportion of my strength to my work. O! that I may not have more reason to cry out at last, than Grotius had, "*Proh! vitam perdidi operose nihil agendo!*" I hope my poor ministrations are not wholly in vain, though my success is not, I think, equal to what the circumstances of these parts would seem to promise, according to common observation. Nothing seems wanting, but larger effusions of the divine Spirit from on high, and better accomplishments in the solitary, sleepy watchman. Thousands are eager to hear, from a principle of curiosity, or from a better principle. Sundry are proselyted, and a few, I hope, are "in the place of the breaking forth of children." There seems to be of late a greater solemnity among the people, (especially at the meeting house, where the greatest assemblies are wont to attend,) than I have observed for some time. The labours of that pious Enoch (for so I may denominate him for his intimate walk with God) Mr. Davenport, who has been here about two months, have been generally acceptable, and I hope serviceable to many. By observing his conversation, and reading Mr. Brainerd's Life, I have lately had clearer discoveries of my prodigious defects, than ever I had before. O! my brother, *what a misery, what a hell it is to be unlike God!* It is our criminal inadvertency that makes us so thoughtless about it, and our unaccountable stupidity that renders us so insensible of it! Forgive me, my dear brother, that I make these complaints in your name, as well as in my own; for I

cannot once think that you, or any of the heirs of heaven, have so much reason for them as I have. I have often with an aching heart, read that surprising delineation (or rather hypotyposis) of a Christian's life, which the mercy of God has given us in Romans xiv. 7, 8. May I never rest, till I find myself the glorious transcript of it!

I hope, Sir, your endeavours have not been wanting to provide some supplies for the numerous vacancies in this colony; and your prudence will direct you to send more, but such as you judge qualified for a place attended with so many peculiar difficulties. Please to inform such as intend to come to Hanover, that it will be necessary for them to come about the 10th of April or October, that they may be qualified by the President and Council, who then sit for twenty-four days, for they have taken away the power of qualifying ministers from the County Courts, and appropriated it to themselves. As for the new settlements, where there are nine or ten vacancies, their distance secures them from the inspection of the Council, and therefore ministers may officiate there, without molestation at any time.

I have had some thought of preparing for the press, the substance of four sermons I delivered lately on 2 Cor. iv. 3, and Acts viii. 22. On the first text, I proposed, I. To show who those are to whom the Gospel is hid. II. In what great danger they are of perishing, or that it is dreadfully uncertain whether they ever will be brought out of their present condition. III. To vindicate the justice of God in suffering such to continue ignorant of the Gospel, and perish.

On the second text, I proposed, as far as I can now remember, (for I have not my notes about me), I. To show that it is awfully uncertain whether those who are now impenitent, will ever be brought to penitence, and so obtain forgiveness: yet, II. That it is possible. III. That a mere possibility is sufficient to excite the impenitent to use all means of obtaining repentance, &c. It pleased the Lord to make these discourses solemnizing to sundry; and I have found, since, that they were peculiarly fit for the awakening of the secure here. This, together with an apprehension that they might be suitable to the cases of secure sinners in other places, has inclined me to publish them. If you think any of them will be needed in your parts, please to inform me, and I shall endeavour to send them to such places as you shall nominate.

Pray, Sir, write to me as often as you can; and when you cannot find a readier method of conveyance, direct yours to the care of the Rev. Mr. Burr at Newark. I shall be glad to know of the affairs of the church with you. And now, committing you to that God, "whose you are, and whom you serve," I must break off conversation with you, and only assure you that I am, Reverend Sir,

Your affectionate brother, and fellow-labourer

in the Lord's vineyard,

SAMUEL DAVIES.

To the Reverend Mr. Joseph Bellamy, Bethlem, Connecticut.

P. S. When I review my letter, I cannot but secretly blush to see what freedom I have used with an entire stranger. But while I was writing, I found my affections to you so warm, and the pleasure of free conversation so great, that I could not easily restrain myself; and therefore I hope, dear Sir, you will take it in good part. S. D.

The celebrated letter to the Bishop of London, and other parts of correspondence with Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Avery and others, are given at length; as is also Mr. Davies's Journal of his visit to Great Britain, in 1753, 1754 and 1755, on behalf of the College of New Jersey. The precious autograph of this has long been familiar to us, and we thank Dr. Foote for republishing a diary so replete with useful and entertaining facts. Doddridge was no more, when Davies landed in England, but his excellent widow received the stranger with Christian warmth. The Rev. Gilbert Tennent was Mr. Davies's companion in this mission. It would be tedious to recite all that is recorded concerning the great men, Nonconformists of England and Presbyterians of Scotland, who gave him the right hand of fellowship. Much may here be found concerning Guyse, Benson, Lardner, Chandler, Jennings, Kippis, Stennet, Gibbons, Walker, Gillies, Hamilton, Maclaurin, Cumming and Webster. It is almost superfluous to say, that this journal gives no authority for the story which has passed from mouth to mouth, about Mr. Davies's rebuke of George the Second. Those who will peruse the record will at once perceive how far the poor dissenting minister of Virginia was from royalty; and those who are well read in Scottish history recognise in the fable a metamorphosed fact in regard to a famous preacher of the Reformation before James the Sixth; with these parties the alleged conduct on either side tallies very well. Dr. Foote passes the legend with dignified silence. As many who have heard it will be willing to trace its origin, we give the story as told by Livingston of Robert Bruce. "The King had a custom very frequently of talking with those about him in time of sermon. This he fell into that day. Mr. Bruce soon noticed it, and stopped, upon which the King gave over. The King fell a talking to those next him a second time, and Mr. Bruce stopped a second time, and, as I remember, sat him down in his seat. When the King noticed this

he gave over, and Mr. Bruce went on with his subject. A third time the King fell a talking. Mr. Bruce was very much grieved that the King should continue in this practice, after the modest reproofs he had already upon the matter given him; and so a third time he stopped, and directing himself to the King, he expressed himself to this purpose: 'It's said to have been an expression of the wisest of Kings (I suppose he meant an apocryphal saying of Solomon's), When the lion roareth, all the beasts of the field are at ease; the Lion of the Tribe of Judah is now roaring, in the voice of his Gospel, and it becomes all the petty Kings of the earth to be silent.' '*

No apology is needed for inserting the paragraphs which follow.

"Makemie stands as the father of the Presbyterian Church in America: Davies as the apostle of Virginia. To no one man, in a religious point of view, does the State owe as much; no one can claim a more affectionate remembrance by Christian people. His residence in the State is an era in its history. To Virginia we look for the record and fruits of his labours. The Virginia Synod claims him as her spiritual father; and the Virginia creed in politics acknowledges his principles of religious freedom and civil liberty. His influence on politics was indirect, but not the less sure. The sole supremacy of Christ in the Church,—the authority of the Word of God,—the equality of the ministers of religion,—and individual rights of conscience,—principles for which he plead before the General Court, and in defence of which he encountered such men as Pendleton, Wythe, Randolph, and the whole host of the aristocracy, are now a part and parcel of the religious and political creed of an overwhelming majority of the citizens of the '*Ancient Dominion*.' He demonstrated the capability of the Church of Christ to sustain itself, not only without the fostering aid of the State, but under its oppressive laws. He showed the patriotism of true religion; and in defending the principles of Presbytery, he maintained what Virginia now believes to be the inalienable rights of man. The time of Mr. Davies' labours in Virginia embraced that interesting part of Patrick Henry's life, from his eleventh to his twenty-second year. This great orator, in his youth, could not have been unacquainted with the dissenting ministers of his native county; and it is scarcely possible he was unaffected by his ministrations. Two of his sisters, Lucy Henry, who married Valentine Wood, and died in Havana,—and Jane Henry, who married Colonel Samuel Meredith, and lived and died at New Glasgow, Amherst county, were known to be pious people, and members of the Presbyterian Church;—and we have the authority of an elder in the church, now living, a grandson of Lucy Wood, that they were members of Mr. Davies' congregations. The first

popular pleading of Mr. Henry was in Hanover against the authorized construction of those very laws under which Mr. Davies and the dissenters had groaned, and from which they had obtained but partial relief. The oratory of these great men was much of the same kind. Both reasoned from great principles and facts, and addressed human nature with an overflowing heart, on subjects to which the souls of men are ever alive,—their individual rights and personal interests. What Dr. Finley said of one may be said of both, ‘the unavoidable consciousness of native power made him bold and enterprising. Yet the court proved that his boldness arose not from a partial, groundless conceit, but from true self-knowledge. Upon fair and candid trial, faithful and just to himself, he judged what he could do; and what he could, when called to it, he attempted, and what he attempted he accomplished.’ The same bold eloquence that roused the militia of Hanover in Braddock’s war, was heard again in Hanover and Williamsburg, calling to arms in the revolutionary contest. Mr. Henry, through life, held to the religion of the Bible. In another chapter the influence of Presbytery on the civil constitution of Virginia will be traced at large, and the indirect influence of Mr. Davies and his co-labourers fully seen.

“Mr. Davies’ own pen shall close the sketch of his life, with the beautiful and characteristic sentiments in his correspondence with Dr. Gibbons as preserved by Dr. Finley. ‘I desire seriously to devote to God and my dear country, all the labours of my head, my heart, my hand, and pen: and if he pleases to bless any of them, I hope I shall be thankful, and wonder at his condescending grace. O my dear brother! could we spend and be spent, all our lives, in painful, disinterested, indefatigable service for God and the world, how serene and bright would it render the swift approaching eve of life! I am labouring to do a little to save my country, and, which is of much more consequence, to save souls from death, from that tremendous kind of death, which a soul can die. I have had but little success of late; but blessed be God, it surpasses my expectation, and much more my desert. Some of my brethren labour to better purpose. The pleasure of the Lord prospers in their hands.

“‘Blessed be my Master’s name, this disorder’—a violent sickness from which he was just recovering—‘found me employed in his service. It seized me in the pulpit, like a soldier wounded in the field. This has been a busy summer with me. In about two months I rode about five hundred miles, and preached about forty sermons. This affords me some pleasure in the review. But alas! the mixture of sin, and of many nameless imperfections that run through, and corrupt all my services, give me shame, sorrow, and mortification. My fever made unusual ravages upon my understanding, and rendered me frequently delirious, and always stupid. But when I had any little sense of these things, I generally felt pretty calm and serene; and death, that mighty terror, was disarmed. Indeed, the thought of leaving my dear family destitute, and my flock shepherdless, made me often start back, and cling to life; but in other respects, death appeared a kind of indifference to me. Formerly I have wished to live longer, that I

might be better prepared for heaven; but this consideration had very little weight with me, and that for a very unusual reason, which was this;—after long trial I found this world a place so unfriendly to the growth of every thing divine and heavenly, that I was afraid if I should live any longer, I should be no better fitted for heaven than I am. Indeed, I have hardly any hopes of ever making any great attainment in holiness while in this world, though I should be doomed to stay in it as long as Methuselah. I see other Christians indeed around me make some progress, though they go on with but a snail-like motion. But when I consider that I set out about twelve years old, and what sanguine hopes I then had of my future progress, and yet that I have been almost at a stand ever since, I am quite discouraged. O, my good Master, if I may dare call thee so, I am afraid I shall never serve thee much better on this side the regions of perfection. The thought grieves me; it breaks my heart, but I can hardly hope better. But if I have the least spark of true piety in my breast, I shall not always labour under this complaint. No, my Lord, I shall yet serve thee; serve thee through an immortal duration, with the activity, the fervour, the perfection of the *rapt seraph that adores and burns*. I very much suspect this desponding view of the matter is wrong, and I do not mention it with approbation, but only relate it as an unusual reason for my willingness to die, which I never felt before, and which I could not suppress.

“I am rising up, my brother, with a desire to recommend Him better to my fellow sinners, than I have done. But alas! I hardly hope to accomplish it. He has done a great deal more by me already, than I ever expected, and infinitely more than I deserved. But he never intended me for great things. He has beings both of my own, and of superior orders, that can perform him more worthy service. O! if I might but untie the latchet of his shoes, or draw water for the service of his sanctuary, it is enough for me. I am not an angel, nor would I murmur because I am not.

“In my sickness, I found the unspeakable importance of a Mediator, in a religion for sinners. O! I could have given you the word of a dying man for it, that Jesus, that Jesus whom you preach, is indeed a necessary and an all-sufficient Saviour. Indeed he is the only support for a departing soul. *None but Christ, none but Christ*. Had I as many good works as Abraham or Paul, I would not have dared build my hopes on such a quicksand, but only on this firm eternal Rock.”

The chapters on Liberty of Conscience in Virginia and the progress of opinion on that subject during the Revolution, will continue to be consulted, even by those who do not show an interest in the history of Presbyterianism. The several memorials of the Hanover Presbytery which are given at length, and the notices of Jefferson and Madison in respect to the bill for religious freedom, are deserving of particular study.

We are by no means surprised that the author has devoted

a chapter to the Rev. James Waddel, D.D., and the churches in the Northern Neck. Those who have talked with old inhabitants of Virginia are familiar with traditions respecting the eloquence of the Blind Preacher, which seem exaggerated if not fabulous: yet these are fully supported by the testimony which Dr. Foote has collected. The early labours of Mr. Waddel, in the Northern Neck, belong to a most interesting chapter in Presbyterian annals. The manuscript journal of Mr. James Gordon, from which copious extracts are here for the first time published, now lies before us, and fully justifies the account given of those churches. They were visited by Whitefield and Davies, and, under a Christian zeal and eloquence such as few communities ever enjoyed, they grew and prospered. Yet at this moment a large part of that favoured field lies utterly waste. It is almost an unexampled fact in the annals of our missionary plantations, and is to be ascribed to causes altogether remote from aught of religious error or unfaithfulness; such as the unhealthiness of the country, the incursions of the enemy, and the retrocession of trade to other marts. So far as we are informed, no record of Dr. Waddel's life and services has ever appeared, which can be compared with that which is here presented; and it will be regarded as not the least fascinating part of the volume.*

Writing where we do, we naturally feel interested to observe that Dr. Foote ascribes the projecting of Hampden Sidney College to Mr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, afterwards Dr. Smith: it was taken up by the Hanover Presbytery at his instance, as early as 1771. In 1776 they named Mr. Smith, at that time a probationer within their bounds, as a proper person to undertake the new school in Prince Edward. Mr. Smith had previously taught in Princeton College. In February, 1775, Mr. Smith was formally chosen Rector of the Prince Edward Academy. Among the Trustees we observe the names of several whose families continue to be among the most distinguished in Virginia. When Mr. Stanhope Smith was elected

* As Dr. Foote mentions the orthography of Dr. Waddel's name, we think it proper to add, that in the autograph of Col. Gordon's Journal, now in our hands, it is written as we here give it, in the great majority of instances, as also in numerous autographs of Dr. Waddel himself, in our possession.

professor in the College of New Jersey, his brother Mr. John Blair Smith, just ordained, was chosen to succeed him. The connexion of these two brothers, both highly gifted, but very unlike, had a remarkable relation to the work of education, as the history of American Colleges will show. The revolutionary reminiscences of the College would be spoiled by any abridgment of ours; they must be read in the very happy collections of our author. The names which occur on every page of the record bring to our memory persons and scenes connected with some of the brightest days of Southern Presbyterianism, in which our honoured fathers were yet more nearly concerned. We rejoice to be able to record that an institution so intimately connected with the progress of our church in Virginia is at this moment in a most flourishing condition.

It ought never to be forgotten by our sons, that from the very beginnings of Presbyterianism in America, our fathers were intent upon leaving a learned ministry and universal education. In this they breathed the spirit of Calvin, Knox and Melvill. They saw no inconsistency between the highest zeal for classical learning and the most arduous labours for the conversion of souls. In the midst of a great revival, such as has never been exceeded among us, for burning affection, large extent and permanent results, the very men who preached with a frequency and fervour that seems hardly credible, were working night and day in forwarding schools and academies, which in several instances grew to be noted colleges. Many of these preachers were far beyond the age in liberality of view; they were good scholars and able writers: in numerous instances they assumed in their own persons the toils of the schoolmaster. In terseness and pungency the letter of Waddel bears comparison with Junius, and his eloquence was justly applauded by Patrick Henry. The Smiths were foremost among the literary men of the day. Graham was not merely a preacher and a president, but a master in metaphysical research. They were in an eminent degree the educators of the time, and thousands now living are reaping the harvests which they sowed. Each of the Smiths was president of two colleges, and their venerable father rendered services little

less valuable in his academy at Pecquea. Hence it was, that within our own recollection the colleges of America were to a remarkable extent under the presidentship of Presbyterian ministers; the appellation being taken in its wide and popular meaning. The history of these labours forms a conspicuous part of this book; nor should it fail of its impression on all who are seeking to extend our institutions over the opening territories which invite the mighty emigration of our own period.

In this connexion we ask special consideration for all that relates to the academies here named, and to Washington College, in Rockbridge. The memoir of the Rev. William Graham is worthy of the place it holds. He was truly a great man, and like his companions gave all his energies to the establishment of our church, and the revival of scriptural truth and piety.

It is possible, we think, to urge the total separation of teaching from preaching with a stiffness which is unwarranted by sound principle, and utterly impracticable in the peculiar condition of thin populations and new settlements. Great as are the demands for the gospel, there is a simultaneous demand for schools. This the reformers felt: this was acknowledged in the Presbyterian foundations of Scotland; and this was nobly acted on by our fathers a hundred years ago. Similar situations make the same demands in our new countries. Where the clergy are the best scholars in the land, they must condescend to labour sometimes in teaching, or they must see the people left in ignorance, or they must abandon the work of training the youth to the hands of other sects or of the world. For a century to come, part of our country will need men like Melancthon and Melvill, or their humble, faithful, holy imitators, Finley, Graham, and the Smiths and Tennents. Such men there are, whose labours in the word and doctrine, over and above the tedious bondage of the schools, are far more numerous and fruitful than those of sundry who live as pastors exempt from every such avocation and encumbrance. Liberty Hall, afterwards Washington College, and the Log Colleges, were as essential to the progress which has resulted in our congregations, as the silver trumpets of Davies and Lacy.

The blessing of God crowned those joint labours with a revival of religion which can never be forgotten. Of that revival, these pages contain an ample record.*

Throughout this volume, as in that on North Carolina, there breathes a spirit of American patriotism, which we recognise as belonging to our forefathers. When the struggle for our colonial rights, and afterwards for our National Independence began, it is not too much to say that the Presbyterians, both ministers and people, were united as the heart of one man. Of Tory clergymen and railers against the Congress and the Commander in Chief, our history furnishes no examples. When Greene retreated before Cornwallis, the Presbyterians of the valley were addressed by Mr. Waddel, whose fire was kindled by the knowledge of the ravages committed in his once happy flocks on the Northern neck. After the battle of the Cowpens, when the men of Southern Virginia were flocking to Greene's army, the President of Hampden Sidney College went in person as far as Halifax to join them, and was with difficulty persuaded to return. In 1777, all the students of that College, who were above sixteen years of age, enlisted and marched to Williamsburg; and though most of them were sent home by the Governor, some remained in the army as officers, and others as private soldiers. William Graham commanded a company. John Blair Smith was at one time a captain, before his licensure. Similar facts might be multiplied in respect to Liberty Hall and the Scottish Presbyterians of the valley. How characteristic this was of the same people in Pennsylvania, and how unreservedly and unanimously they threw themselves into the patriotic ranks, has been openly testified by all impartial writers, especially by Mr. William B. Reed, in more than one of his masterly historical productions. This was a favourite topic with the late Mr. Gallatin, who was fond of tracing these traits to the lessons of his native Geneva.

If Dr. Foote had done no more than give us in a permanent form the documents relating to the progress of opinion and

* The late Dr. David Caldwell was a pupil of Mr. Smith's school at Pecquea. The memoir of this venerable servant of God, which was published at Greensborough, N. C., in 1842, by the Rev. Eli W. Caruthers, is a work of valuable contents, to which, however, we never had access until within a few months.

enactment, touching liberty of worship, he would have deserved well of his church and country. In no part of our land has this controversy had a more marked character than in Virginia; the evil and the good having, at different periods, stood out with singular prominence. The eventual settlement of the question on the basis of rational legislation, in conformity with the highest principles of politics which philosophy has yet attained on earth, concurs felicitously with the analogous declaration of civil rights, in which Virginia retains precedence; and connects itself with the names, first of Henry and Madison, and then of the Smiths, Todd and Graham. We claim attention to the fact that Presbyterianism was in the van of this battle. The first Presbyterian, Makemie, in the uncompromising spirit of his forefathers, vindicated and obtained the limited rights which were possible under British acts; in Virginia, in Maryland, and in New York. The greatest of Presbyterian preachers, Samuel Davies, threw down the same gauntlet, and won the same prize, in various courts, before divers magistrates, in the face of the King's officers here, especially of Randolph, and by correspondence and personal application and conference, in England.

That the clergy of the Establishment in Virginia should frown on another church, even though established in part of the United Kingdom, and that they should relinquish their emoluments and prerogatives with an ill grace, is no more than might have been predicted. But they miscalculated the strength of what they called dissent, in the new accessions of population, in the Valley and beyond the Blue Ridge, and could not understand the temper of the men, who more than all others formed by their courage and enterprise the barrier between the older settlements and the Indian frontier, and who were from the beginning of the Revolution Whigs to a man. Several testimonies on this head might be added to what these sketches contain. The scholarlike pen of Mr. Reed, an impartial as well as a fearless witness, records some unwelcome truths, in the Memoir of President Reed; of whom he thus writes:

“Mr. Reed was, it may incidentally be remarked, firmly attached to the Presbyterian church, in which he had been educated. In one of his publications, a few years later, he said

of it, 'When I am convinced of its errors, or ashamed of its characters, I may perhaps change it. Till then, I shall not blush at a connexion with a people, who in this great controversy are not second to any in vigorous exertions and general contributions, and to whom we are so eminently indebted for our deliverance from the thralldom of Great Britain.'"

It was not the Presbyterian clergy, who in New York and New Jersey, became Tories; nor was it one of our eminent men, who in 1776 acted as a guide to Sir Henry Clinton, or contributed clever ribaldry to Rivington's Gazette. The connexion between zeal for civil liberty, zeal for religious rights, which Hume has pointed out, was obvious in the history of Virginia. When the era of colonial subserviency and petty official tyranny gave place to the era of legislation, the whole pile of prescriptive arrogance came down: but it was by successive shocks. The word toleration, about which so many disputes had been waged, was already obsolete. The Bill of Rights, adopted in 1776, declared, "That religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction. not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love and charity towards each other." This is the American doctrine, but it was too high for some of the old politicians, in the first General Assembly at Williamsburg. Their earliest suggestion came, we gratefully record it, from the Presbytery at Hanover: it is given at length. Of this, as of the numerous similar memorials from that judicatory which followed during several years, we may observe that it is not only strong but elegant, closely resembling the state papers of the period, in chasteness and weight of masculine English, and worthy of the body which comprised Waddel, Graham, and the Smiths. If, as we suppose, some of these were draughted by Samuel Stanhope Smith, they are monuments to his skill in reasoning language, from his very youth. The last in order is known to have proceeded from the hand of the Rev. Wm. Graham, and though less terse, it has a ponderous logic and closeness of diction about it which is rare. In the progress

of these debates, Jefferson and Madison rendered great service to the cause of truth: they were stoutly opposed by Pendleton and Nicholas, who stickled for Episcopalian privileges. In the first conflict, much was gained; but it was still declared, that religious assemblies ought to be regulated, and that provision ought to be made for continuing the succession of the clergy, and superintending their conduct. This led to a second memorial, among other things remonstrating against a general assessment for any religious purpose, and very significantly adding: "These consequences are so plain as not to be denied; and they are so entirely subversive of religious liberty, that if they should take place in Virginia, we should be reduced to the melancholy necessity of saying with the Apostles in like case, 'Judge ye whether it be best to obey God or man;' and also of acting as they acted."

There were yet many who held the old European doctrine, still clung to even by Presbyterians in Scotland, that public worship could not survive a separation of Church and State, and the formalities of the ancient State religion were to be preserved. But the question was staved off from year to year, and meanwhile the salaries of the Episcopalian incumbents were suspended. The increasing body of Baptists, who had suffered great persecution, threw their weight for the American and Presbyterian doctrine of liberty. It was not however until 1779, that the established church was deprived of compulsory support, by a repeal of the act for the support of the clergy. They still retained their glebes, and claimed the right of solemnizing marriage. The marriage question was still further disembarassed by the act of 1780; but something was still needed in order to perfect equality. In 1780 the Presbytery of Hanover, meeting at the house of the Rev. Mr. Waddel, issued a memorial, asking for further liberty. Another memorial, of date May 1784, prepared by Messrs. Smith and Waddel, strongly expresses their regret, that the security of their religious rights, upon equal and impartial ground, instead of being made a fundamental part of the constitution, as it ought to have been, was left to the precarious fate of common legislation. Speaking of the Presbyterians, they say: "Their continuance so long in a republic, without animadver-

sion or correction by the Assembly, affords just ground of alarm and complaint to a people, who feel themselves by the favour of Providence happily free; who are conscious of having deserved as well from the State as those who are most favoured; who have an undoubted right to thiuk themselves as orthodox in opinion upon every subject as others, and whose privileges are as dear to them." In 1784 there was another memorial, against the incorporation of the Episcopalian clergymen as a distinct body, and resisting any such incorporation of any clergymen, "independent of the religious communities to which they belong;" as well as any general assessment for the sustentation of ministers, even though it should include their own. These were the questions which came before the Assembly of 1784. The bill for incorporating the Episcopalian clergy was passed. Equality of rights in regard to marriage was established. When the bill for supporting the ministry came up for discussion, it had the support of Patrick Henry, known as the champion for religious freedom. On its third reading, it was sent out for the opinions of the people. The Presbytery of Hanover was unanimously opposed to the measure. Their memorial, drawn by Mr. Graham, is pregnant with argument, wisdom and resolution. Possibly some of its expressions are less guarded than we might require, as to the protection of our privileges; but it is a great and memorable document, worthy of being laid up in cedar or carved on brass, among the charters of a protesting church.

The Legislature met on the 17th of October, 1785. The chief supporter of the Bill for Religious Freedom was James Madison. The Rev. John Blair Smith, President of Hampden Sidney College, was heard for three days on behalf of the Presbytery. In the committee of the whole, the Assessment Bill had its quietus, and Mr. Jefferson's bill was reported to the house. And on the 17th of December, 1785, an engrossed bill, entitled *An Act for establishing Religious Freedom* passed the house. We do not claim for our Presbyterian fathers the sole agency in achieving this victory; but the chief agency, in originating these opinions in the colony, maintaining them under penalties and in courts of law, and carrying them through by patriotic agitation and invincible argument, we do and will claim, without the fear of contradiction.

The interest of this volume by no means declines as it approaches its close, for there is not a chapter in it which will awaken more deep affections than that which concerns the revival of 1787 and 1788. It is already condensed in its narrative; and any attempt to present it in further abridgment would exclude those personal traits and characteristic extracts, which give it prominence and colour. Though less connected with it than our fathers, we have wandered over its scenes and talked with some of its surviving sons, few of whom now remain. Many a heart will throb at the names of Cary Allen, Lacy, Pattillo, McGready, Hoge, and those we have already mentioned. Of the Rev. Dr. Hill, the Rev. Mr. Calhoun, and a few venerable survivors, we might speak with equal respect. The burying-grounds of our Churches in Philadelphia, by a singular coincidence, hold the remains of three eminent and beloved labourers in this work, John Blair Smith, Drury Lacy, and Moses Hoge. But though the generation which felt that mighty influence has departed, the results of the gracious visitation are abiding to this day, not only in Virginia and North Carolina, but in all the Presbyterianism of the South and South-West, which retains a peculiar character of warmth and tenderness from the impulse then communicated. In this there is great encouragement to pray and labour for such extended successes of the truth, especially in the formative period of our new settlements. The graces of Davies still hover over hundreds of the churches. The theology which he taught, with an eloquence never surpassed in America, is the system which against many and able opponents is established in the hearts and minds of our wide-spread church. The books which were circulated, by dozens or scores, in the great revival, and which are exponents of the doctrines which produced it, are the books which our Board of Publication is diffusing by thousands: such as Alleine's Alarm, Baxter's Call, Boston's Fourfold State, Doddridge's Rise and Progress, Willison on the Catechism, and Dickinson's Letters. The Colleges at Lexington and Prince Edward still remain as fountains of the same truth, and they are still blessed with effusions of the Holy Spirit. In no part of our states is the line of ancient Calvinistic Presbyterianism more unbroken, in none is the harmony of brethren more complete, nowhere are church courts more

frequently sought as places of fervent preaching and delightful communion, than in the regions over which this wave of saving influence poured itself three score years ago. In these, therefore, the volume now introduced to our readers will have early currency and continued favour.

In comparing these Sketches of Virginia with the author's preceding work, we observe a decided improvement, in all that relates to literary ease and correctness. Numerous errors in trifles seem to be owing to the writer's remoteness from the press.* Every chapter gives proofs of extraordinary caution in founding the narrative on unquestionable authorities: these have been collected with great labour, in frequent and toilsome journeys, over many States, not without tedious consultation and transcription, as well as recourse to living witnesses. If the thread of the story is broken by repeated citation of documents, it is not only pardonable but praiseworthy; as many of these are extant no where else in print. Notwithstanding the insertion of long and numerous papers of this kind, the narrative is never diffuse and never wearisome. We should do the respected author an injustice, if we did not add, that every part of the elaborate work is written in the spirit of the soundest evangelical doctrine, and with the filial ardour of a genuine Presbyterian.

ART. III.—*A History of the Hebrew Monarchy from the Administration of Samuel to the Babylonish captivity.* By Francis Newman, D.D., Oxon. London: John Chapman, 142 Strand. New York: George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. 1849.

Many readers of the Bible will take up this book with the hope and expectation that it will satisfy a want which they have long felt. It might be fairly inferred, from the standing

* One or two errors are such as affect the historical verity. On page 151, the charter of William and Mary should bear date 1692. On page 305, Havana is put for Fluvanna. On page 54, line 19, Mississippi should be read for Alabama; and on page 557, line 18, Parsons for Vanmeter.

of its author, that it would contain a serious attempt, at least, to gather up and arrange and harmonize the facts which now lie scattered through the historical books of the Old Testament; and which on the face of them appear to some conflicting, and to others irreconcilable. Such a work would be a valuable addition to our Biblical literature. Instead of this, however,—while it is the result of extensive reading, and is often acute and plausible in its suppositions, it must be characterized as a deliberate, and to the author himself apparently grateful attempt, to destroy the authority of a large part of Scripture; and if it have any force at all, as grounded upon general principles of criticism, to change throughout the very idea of inspiration.

The history of the book is somewhat interesting, both from its genesis, and from the position of the author. It is avowedly of German origin, and in part at least from the worst of Germany. We do not mention this at all as accounting for its character, but simply to note it, as a sample of the influence which that kind of study may exert upon a certain class of English minds. The author is or was a divine of the Church of England, the brother, we believe, of the Mr. Newman, who not long since went to Rome. The *Via Media*, like most other ways, has, it seems, two directions, and these diametrically opposite. We may walk in it until it leads us up to the gates, and indeed into the very heart of the Eternal City; or if we start with our faces in the other direction, we may never leave the beaten track, and still come out into the clear, but dreamy wastes of unbelief. It is instructive to observe the workings of different minds, and the apparently opposite results to which they come, when leaving the sure ground, and the only sure ground, of a firm hold upon God's word as the authoritative rule of faith. The result, as it is brought out in history, is no more than might have been predicted from the fact that different minds are working under these conditions. It is just such as it always has been, and always must be, when men trust to anything else than the word of God. For after all, tradition, or superstition, as distinguished from reason and scripture, by whatever name it may be called, is but another form of Rationalism. There is a hidden unity in the thousand forms of error, could we trace them back to their source, just as there is in all truth.

They cannot be reduced down to the strict dependence of a logical system, and each one assigned to his peculiar place and sequence; but they wear still common features, the ineffaceable marks of their one descent and common parentage. And thus there is a common origin for the opposite errors, which make tradition or reason the highest authority, and last appeal in matters of faith. It is still the assertion of the individual right to choose what, in such questions, shall lie back of and above the word of God; in one case leading him to submit to the authority of his fellow-men, with its galling bondage; in the other shutting his eyes upon every thing beyond the reach and compass of his own understanding, with its bald and lifeless conclusions. It is but the difference between bowing down and worshipping at the altar of men, and the attempt to deify and then fall down and worship one's self. It is the primal sin of our race, that is, a refusal to credit God's word as the rule of our faith and practice, working itself out into widely different results.

The history of the Jews, differs from the history of other nations in this, that it is interwoven with, and indeed takes its peculiar character and form, from their religion, and as their religion reaches its end in the Christian faith, and involves its truth or falsity, the questions in their history becomes of momentous interest. It is true that the religion of any people must have a marked influence upon its condition, and must therefore be studied in its spirit and forms, before its history can be rightly understood or written. But religion has more to do with the history of the Jews than this. They owed their existence, as a nation, to their religion. Their periods of prosperity and decay were co-extensive with those of the purity or corruption of their faith. Their history ends with the end of their religion; or rather when casting away its bands and forms of separation and support, it expanded itself into the pure and spiritual and universal religion of Christ. In one sense they may be termed a religious people, rather than a nation, for it is this which distinguishes them from other nations and not any civil or social peculiarities, further than these were the fruits and outworkings of their faith. Their history falls, more properly to the ecclesiastical than to the civil historian. It

demands the same character and qualities of mind, the same spiritual insight into the plans of God's government, and the methods in which it is administered, which alone have accomplished any thing of permanent value in the history of the Church. This peculiarity of their history accounts in a great measure for the difficulty which is found in any attempt to form a clear, and connected statement, of the events in their national existence, from the records furnished in the Scriptures. For the religious element is there kept all-important. To bring this out prominently was the main object, for which these historical books were given us. It is never their design to record the outward history of the Jews as a nation. When they speak of the national growth and glory, it is always as the fruit of piety in the people or their rulers; when they record its decay it is as the effect of a general apostacy or flagrant sins. Wars and battles, treaties and leagues, every thing which belongs peculiarly to their political history, and forms a main element in other histories, obtains here only an incidental place; and even this often with an ulterior object which casts back its own shadows, and gives its colouring to the facts. Unless therefore we know the design of these books, and of course their relation to each other, unless we enter in some measure into the spirit of their religion, and start from that point, we shall constantly be liable to misinterpret the facts which they state. The various statement of the same event, and the different connection in which it stands recorded, may appear like contradictions, while the special end of the authors, if it were known and kept in view, would at once shew them consistent. This is only the application of the principle which alone gives any perfectly consistent and harmonious statement to the gospel history; a principle which would go far to explain every difficulty which is met with in the Old Testament history; if we except mere differences in numbers, which no sane and candid man, taking into account the facility with which errors of this kind are made in transcription, would ever urge as a serious objection. It is not intended to press this, as any excuse for apparent inaccuracies of statement or contradiction, these must be explained by special principles applicable to particular cases, but to urge as a general ground underlying this whole field of criticism, the

imperative necessity that the spirit and end for which these books were written should be well ascertained before we are fit to sit in judgment on their facts.

When, therefore, any one attempts to write the Jewish history he enters at once and necessarily upon a religious field. He must deal with momentous truths as well as with facts, truths not merely speculative, but in the highest sense practical, spiritual and in their results reaching on into eternity. The philosophy of his history runs high into the purposes of God. From the sources to which he goes, he must fall in with the fundamental question of revealed religion, that which comes next to the possibility of religion at all—that is, the question of inspiration. It lies in his way, and he cannot avoid it. He may not discuss it; but he must practically decide it.

He must use his authorities as coming to him with the seal of God's truth upon them; or he might use them as the mere word of man. The decision of this question will determine the spirit with which he writes. It is thus with the author of the work before us, and it is this relation which his work bears to the grounds and truths of religion that gives it a special importance. As a mere statement of facts, it is mainly well enough, and when wrong may be set right by a reference to the original records; but in its criticism upon the sources from which those facts are drawn, in its judgments upon the characters and actions which pass before us in the course of his narrative, in its allusions to other portions of the word of God, in its whole theory of the divine economy of the Old Testament, and its relations to the gospel, it is only evil and that continually. It could not well be more ruinous than it is. The author has evidently settled the question of inspiration for himself. He does not hesitate to deal with the scriptures as the writings of men only. The books of Kings and Chronicles are no more than a Jewish Tacitus or Livy. A Thucydides or Herodotus would be far more credible. He stops at no results of his criticism. He does not flinch at any consequences which it may draw with it. There is no shrinking back from the abyss which yawns before him. His own faith, the faith of the church, are cheerfully sacrificed to his pre-conceived opinions and theories. We do not remember to have read a work which

could claim with a better right, the merit of strict consistency ; consistency we mean in carrying out his principles without faltering to their result ; fearful as it is when thus starting from false assumptions as its premises.

The book of Chronicles is of later origin and priestly in its spirit ; therefore the sacerdotal system and especially the Levitical side of it must be of recent growth, the work of ambitious men, little by little working itself as an element, into the constitution of the state, and outlasting the power of the king. The image of the brazen serpent was not destroyed until the time of Hezekiah, therefore "the Hebrews were habitual image worshippers," and this too of the worst kind, "as we have no means of learning whether in their worship they fancied they were pleasing Jehovah or not. The serpent is a well known emblem in various pagan superstitions." It was left for Josiah to break down the high places, therefore it was not till this time that idolatry was understood to attach to the use of images, even though Jehovah was the object, and of course all the condemnations of it, in the earlier history are after thoughts inserted to justify the requirements of the clearer knowledge of the later kings. Only one copy of the law was found in the rubbish of the temple, but the extreme improbability that there should be but one copy, and that unknown to the king, justifies, in the opinion of our author, the assertion that the work was partly a forgery of Hilkiah, and answers to what we call the book of Deuteronomy ; and partly a collection of the other four books of the Pentateuch, which had previously existed in fragments and comparatively unknown. How well this agrees with the fact that the book of Deuteronomy is the only book quoted by our Saviour in his conflict with the tempter, is of course a matter of consequence. It is true indeed that the latter assertion is defended upon other grounds, but this seems to have called out the theory, the attempted defence follows necessarily, in order to sustain if possible so startling a conclusion. In the breadth of its sweep, as it takes away at once a large part of the Pentateuch, seems to have given the author some trouble ; but it is from pure compassion for his English readers, who may be distressed at the assertion, and not at all from any fear or trembling lest he should be trifling with that which "was guaran-

teed to us by God himself." So again, because there were false prophets, therefore it is a fair inference that there was nothing in the character of Hilkiah which would make forgery and falsehood inconsistent. Since it is possible that he might have been a false prophet, it is probable that he was. Because God has chosen to execute partially his judgments upon the idolatrous priests of Baal and their idolatrous supporter, therefore we must conclude that those who were his instruments, were men of ferocious dispositions, who shrunk from no means however cruel and bloody, through which they might gain their ends. The prophets, whose whole lives bear testimony to their purity and goodness, who suffered want and persecution gladly for the truth, must stand out in history with blackened characters (to say nothing of the charge which rests impliedly upon God) because their conduct does not seem to fall in with our author's idea of justice, or rather because, as he believes God has no right to do what he will with his own. We shall see hereafter how this grows out of his principle of criticism. Ambition, or revenge, or state policy seem to be the only motives which find access to his mind as adequate to account for such conduct. He never reaches the conception that it may be, and often is the duty of men, to obey the commands of God, even as the ministers of his justice; that as he often makes us the channel of his mercies, so he may make us the channels of his wrath; that as the angels are ministering spirits to the heirs of salvation, and also the messengers of destruction to those who oppose the purpose of God, so it may be with men; that as the angel of death went on his awful mission through the land of Egypt, so men may not be called, and that consciously, by the same holy Governor and Judge, to execute the purposes of his vengeance. We give these as specimens of the objections and insinuations which come to our notice on almost every page of this work. We cannot however pretend to follow him as he advances in his task. At some of his objections we should be disposed to smile, were it not for the moral state in which they have their spring and source; while others break upon our ears like the harsh sounds of blasphemy, and we feel it difficult to restrain our indignation. There are many things which must shock every one, who has not in some way become ac-

quainted with the reckless spirit in which this modern criticism has been prosecuted, when in the hands of unbelievers. A special refutation of these objections would be impossible of course, within the compass of an article like this; and it might not be worth while to attempt it, even if it were possible, for the best refutation after all would be the careful and reverential study of the books themselves, with the aids which most intelligent readers now possess. It is rather the principle and spirit of the book, taken as a specimen of those which we may look for in the course of a few years, (for our author intimates that this is but the beginning of the end,) to which we wish to call the reader's attention.

There is, however, a preliminary point upon which we shall offer a remark. It is that these works come mainly from the professed friends of religion, and from those who are bound officially to defend its claims. It is perhaps a characteristic of the unbelief of this age, that it hides itself in the church. It clothes itself as an angel of light, and conceals its deformities under scriptural forms of expression and an earnest attachment to a purely scriptural religion. Hitherto the opposers of the Bible have for the most part been manly and open in their opposition. Its friends have known where to find them. It was thus with the Deists and infidels of the last century. There was too much honour and common fairness in the English mind to avail itself of the arts of the assassin, who gives the most deadly blow while greeting you with the warmest friendship. It was left for others to devise and act upon the distinction between an exoteric and esoteric faith. This is the fair growth of German infidelity. It required the ingenuity and depth of a Strauss to shew the honesty and consistency of preaching the gospel, or professing to preach it, and yet denying him who is its source and sum. The presence of such a man in the assemblies of the church, reminds us of a similar assembly of which we are told in the first chapter of Job. But the disease has spread, and with us as in Germany we fear that opposers of the gospel are found in the bosom of the church, and ministering at her very altars. There is always, as of old, the same pretence of a strong love for spiritual christianity. The same plea for freedom of thought and investigation, the same complaint against symbols and creeds and the subscriptions which the church has

ever required of her teachers. There is something fearful in all this. It seems as if the church herself were drifting away from her moorings, and already far out upon the sea of unbelief; as if the very pillar and ground of the truth were shaking beneath us, from the perpetual heavings of an unbelieving world. As in every age, there have arisen peculiar forms of opposition to her progress, and she has been called to defend first one and then another fortress of the faith against the assaults from the world without; so in every age, there have been peculiar forms of strife within herself. It has ever been Satan's master policy to turn the church against herself, both individually and collectively. He makes the heart of a believer her worst foe. All the severer conflicts of his spiritual life are fought out and decided here. He has long had the parts of the church, the members of that one living body of which Christ is the head, warring against each other; frightful gashes and scars are upon every member; her voice as it "sounds to us through ages," has been sometimes the cry of battle, and at others the wail and lamentation over her bleeding body and wasted energies. The world has looked on with secret exultation, and refused to credit what the church was to proclaim and witness, that Christ came from the Father, and came into the world. Christ from his throne in glory has watched her strifes, and in the midst of them all, to the confusion of her adversary and when his scheme seemed most likely to prove successful, has appeared for her deliverance, healed her wounds and refreshed her exhausted strength; and more than this, he has out of all wrought clearer views of truth, a fuller comprehension of the cardinal points in her faith, and thus laid the ground, for the fulfilment of his last prayer, in a higher and more abiding unity.

But now we have a new device; it is not so much the members striving against each other, as a part of them covertly joining with her enemies, and entering cordially into their plans and labours. From her very bosom, there have come forth vipers, who would pierce her very vitals, were not their fangs made harmless and their eyes blinded with the excess of their rage. They strike quickly, and with deadly intent and force, but their blows fall frequently upon themselves. It is no security however, against their influence, that the very intensity of their malice is thus overruled and made to frustrate their design.

Nor is this device of Satan likely to confine itself to any one land. It has accomplished too much for his ends for him to abandon it now. It is not in Germany alone that infidelity cloaks itself in the church, and from her altars, peers, with its sightless eyes, out into the darkness which it has created. For the tendency out of which her unbelief has grown is not peculiar to the Germans. It has its ground not in the mental habitude of a nation, but in that of the race. It lies deep in the nature of us all, and we do but deceive ourselves, if we trust to any thing which distinguishes us from them, as that which shall stem the tide coming in with its might upon us. It is true that the strong practical cast of the English mind may prevent in some degree the fearful ruins which we witness there; but unless our confidence rests upon something stronger than this, it will surely be swept away, and we too may be left to mourn over deserted pulpits, or what is far worse, over pulpits filled with men who preach any thing but Christ. This is not a bare conjecture. We can feel too well the beating of the church's pulse to doubt its significance. There is a feeble and unsteady hold upon the truth. There is a spreading theory of inspiration which permits the word of God to be held subject, in some respects, to the revelations of modern science, and the results of what is termed philosophical criticism, and a tendency to reconcile these where they may apparently differ, not by waiting until science shall become perfect, and by consequence perfectly consistent in its results with faith, but by a ready sacrifice of Scripture. There is a wide spread laxity of doctrinal belief which betokens any thing but good, and which discovers itself by sure signs to those who can see. When the truths of the trinity and atonement, the most fundamental in the gospel, can be called in question and submitted to a process of explanation which empties them of all life and power, by those who minister in the church, and enjoy the fellowship of ecclesiastical assemblies, it requires no peculiar perspicuity to see that there is a prevalent false liberality of sentiment, a breaking down and a breaking over the old forms of truth and the truth itself, among those whose office it is to teach. In the reach after charity, errors are made of little account. A fatal error obtains in too many minds, that because we are bound by every Christian feeling, to the exercise of charity toward those who may

differ from us in opinion; that therefore we are to cherish a charity which will compass in its embrace all opinions, from Popery to Unitarianism; that we must make a creed wide enough and loose enough to cover all forms of doctrines, because charity requires us to love the men who hold them. The lesson is needed with us that the largest charity, and the only thing which deserves the name, is strictly consistent with the firmest hold upon the truth, and that even as to its form, so far as those who teach is concerned. For if the gospel is any thing, it is truth as well as life, and the holding of that truth, with the most unyielding tenacity—provided we do not judge those who differ from us—cannot be incongruous with the spirit which it breathes; that spirit of love which sums it up, and which had its brightest example in him, whose lips dropped love, and who yet spake with the utmost distinctness and frequency, the truths which are now so unpalatable to men; who ever in his teachings mingled the sternness of inflexible truth, with the most boundless charity. Nor is this mistaken notion of charity all. Men are growing restless under the restraints of the church and her creeds. Some are ready to disown these altogether as the marks of narrow-mindedness and bigotry; the last hold and refuge of a lifeless orthodoxy. They would cast them away, as the shackles and unyielding forces, which have cramped and moulded the workings of a free mind, as bars to the progress of all enquiry and research, an effectual obstacle to the growth of spiritual Christianity. There is something deeply significant in all this, something which may remind some of our readers of the first steps in that course which Semler took in Germany.

But what concerns us most here is, that there is a plain reason for this anomaly of a ministry holding its position in the church, and yet actively opposing her faith and progress; a reason which is in itself a warning and a cause of trembling to those who may think their feet stand firm. A man may hold a merely speculative truth, though he may not know it to be true by any experience of his own; and yet after years have passed away, his faith may be as strong and as well-grounded as when he first professed to receive it. But it is not so with moral and religious truth. A man who professes to receive the Bible, and is not conscious, to some considerable degree, of its

power in his own experience, runs great danger, if he be an intelligent and reflecting man, of becoming an unbeliever. For as there is no evidence so convincing to the believer as that which grows up from his own experience of the truth, upon which he can say with the highest certainty, I know in what I have believed; so there is nothing which leads more directly to unbelief, than the want of that experience, while he still assents to, and even cherishes an outward faith in the truth which should produce it. There is more here than the influence of our moral character upon our convictions. The case is different with those who make no profession. They may stand aloof from the consideration of this question altogether, and look upon the experiment as it is tried in the hearts and lives of others with the interest of a mere spectator. If they have no evidence in themselves for its truth, they have none against it. If they have never felt its power, they know that they have never given it a fair trial. Years may roll over them, and their relation to the truth remains unaltered, so far as their experience is concerned. There is no greater obstacle in their hearts to the reception of the truth than before, if we except the natural growth of every unrenewed heart in sin. They have never felt themselves called upon to decide it, and if they have, it has been as a speculative and not a practical question. But when a man professes to hold a truth so practical, which proposes to change his whole heart and life, and at the same time is conscious of no corresponding effect, his mind is thrown into opposition to itself. A practical question arises at once out of this inconsistency, and he must either own his profession insincere, or deny that the Bible is what it claims to be. And as there lies in every one a predisposition to reject the Scriptures, the probability is, (and indeed the certainty, were there no influences at work upon us out of ourselves,) that the constantly increasing power of this want of conformity between his profession and his life, would lead him to the latter side of the alternative. He must have relief in some way from this flagrant inconsistency, (for men cannot long consciously be hypocrites,) and unless he find it, in a cordial submission to the truth, and a perceptible moulding of his life under its influence, he will find it, and must find it, in casting away his profession. Nothing less than this, if he is awake and thought-

ful, can relieve the difficulty. Nothing less than this will set him at one with himself. It is true indeed that some may avoid this question, or rather smother it, and find relief in ritual observances, by changing the Bible from a revelation of living and divine truths, to a mere ceremonial code. But the result here is still practically the same. For mere formalism is little better than open unbelief, and may be regarded as such. And those who are sincere in their observances, are either practising upon themselves a vast deception, through which they suppose that the whole power of the Bible, the end for which God has made a revelation, was to lay down and enforce a round of rites; or in the midst of their formalism, the truth has come to them in its real power, and they have the seal and witness of it on their hearts. And this brings them upon one or the other side of the alternative stated above.

Now, just in proportion as any one finds this inconsistency between his life and what it should be, if the truth he held exerted its legitimate effects, will the spirit of unbelief, which exists in every one of us, and which makes us conscious of its power, have the advantage over him. There are no doubts so fearful and almost overpowering to any one conscious of this short coming, as those which arise when he compares his life with the truth upon which he professes to form it. Compared with these all the arguments against the Scriptures, which skeptical ingenuity can devise, are comparatively powerless, mere withs of tow. He may silence them indeed by falling down, and confessing that the fault lies in his own evil heart; but this supposes that he has already known or knows in his present experience, the truth of the scripture doctrine of sin. The only other way is avowed unbelief, which silences them by yielding to their clamorous demands. A mind in this state would naturally resort to just those means, which we see in the cases around us, (and which appal us even in the distance,) have been resorted to. There would naturally be an attempt to invalidate its authority; for it would be no relief to deny the power of the truth, and yet admit that it came from God. There must be an attempt to justify this denial, by proving it an imposture. The first step would be to invalidate its evidences; then if this should fail, to impeach its histories and

facts; then to deny and explain away its mysteries; and then to turn the whole into a beautiful allegory or fable. And this must be the case, wherever there is an enlightened and thoughtful, but not a spiritually minded ministry; wherever the form is held without the power; wherever truth is professed, while the life is contrary to its spirit. This might be shown by an historical induction, so far as questions which concern the inward experiences of men admit of being argued on historical grounds; but our limits here forbid.

We proceed to mention some of those particulars, which characterise this unbelieving criticism, which betray its spirit, and upon which it may be met, rather than by a laborious refutation of its special objections.

It sets out with the assertion that the Bible must be approached and treated as a book of human origin; that its authors must be judged of, as we judge of living authors, as subject to the same biases, prejudices and errors. It is stated in the work before us as follows.

"In criticising we have no choice but to proceed by those laws of thought and reasoning, which in all the sciences have now received currency. We advance from the known to the unknown. We assume that human nature is like itself, and interpret the men of early ages, by our more intimate knowledge of contemporary and recent times; yet making allowance for the difference of circumstances. Much more do we believe that God is like himself; and that whatever are his moral attributes now, and his consequent judgment of human conduct; such were they then and all times. Nor ought we to question that the relation between the divine and the human mind are still substantially the same as ever."

As thus presented there seems at first view little that can be objected to; and yet under this plausible exterior, there lies sufficient error, in its application, to sweep away a large part of the Scriptures. One of the first lessons they teach us, is to distrust their forms of expression, to gather their principles of criticism, from their application in the progress of the work, rather than from any statement of them, which they may make. It is no doubt true that as the authors of the Scriptures make use of the instrument of human language, they must be interpreted

by the same general rules, as the works of other men using this instrument. The principles of philosophy, grammar and logic, must be applied here as well as elsewhere; or we cannot take the first step towards any apprehension of their meaning. The mind must work under certain conditions and in certain fixed formulas or methods in all its reasonings, and if it work upon the Bible at all, it must work here, as upon all other subjects. But granting all this, we are not therefore prepared to admit the broad principle, as it is laid down and understood by those who avail themselves of it in their investigations, that the methods of modern science in its application to criticism can be applied without any limitations to the criticism of the Bible. It is neither fair nor safe to say, that, unless the same methods are strictly adhered to in the criticism of the Scriptures, as in mere human writings, the conclusions to which we arrive in our interpretations are unreliable. If it is safe to reason from what has taken place in nature, to what under like circumstances, will take place, it is not therefore safe to infer that men will act just as they have acted, or that the dealings of God with them will always appear the same. Neither does it follow, that because, so far as we have known men, they are subject to bias and liable to error in their statements of facts and truth, that therefore the authors of the Bible were liable to a similar bias and error. For although the Bible is the work of man, it also claims to be the work of God. If it has a human side, it has also a divine side, and comes to us with a presumption that it differs essentially from human writings. If indeed, there were men among us, who wrote under the same influences as the authors of the Scriptures, and we had formed our rules of criticism upon their works; then we might safely proceed from the known to the unknown, judge of their writings by those of recent times, and apply to their interpretation the principles which we had found sufficient to explain the writings of contemporaneous authors. But until this shall be the case, we cannot bring the two classes of works under entirely the same methods of criticism. There will remain an element so distinct and so peculiar to the Scriptures, that we cannot pass from our writings to theirs, in our reasonings; without involving a fallacy which vitiates our conclusions. We are not justified,

even prior to any examination of their subject-matter, in predicting the same things precisely of them, which we do of all merely human books. And if modern science has taught us any one thing with distinctness, it is that we should use the extremest modesty and caution in forming our generalizations; that we should confine them strictly to the class of things, or fields of truth, in which our observations have been made, and check at once all inferences from one thing to another which differ in kind, or have elements peculiar to themselves: and this even when we have no more than a suspicion that such a peculiar element exists in either. And it does not seem too much to insist upon the same scrupulous caution, in our reasonings upon matters which decide our destinies, and compared with which all questions of mere science are lost in insignificance. But if this principle be true, in the broad sense in which it is claimed, we are at liberty with all confidence, to pass at once in our inferences and generalizations from man to God, and from the forms of our thinking to the forms in which he thinks. And as this principle is neither safe nor reasonable, so in fact those who have gone upon it in their criticism, have never thrown much light upon the Bible. They are perpetually at variance with themselves, and to be consistent with their own theory, are driven to the most violent assumptions, which rob the Scripture of its richest meaning, and pervert its sense. Were there no other argument against this claim, the mere fruit of its workings, the vast amount of evil which has grown out of its unrestricted use, must convince any one that it needs to be limited, in order to be safe, and in order to produce any very beneficial result.

We cannot therefore criticize the scriptures altogether as we criticize other writings: and the very claim of inspiration, a claim which has all the presumption in its favour, growing out of the fact that it has been generally admitted from the time of their origin to the present, places them all at once out of the category of human works, and requires that so far as we may safely apply the ordinary laws of criticism, it should be done with a very different spirit than if they made no such claim. We do not mean of course that the question of their inspiration must be settled before all criticism; for the two processes must

intermingle and in a large measure be carried on together; the one grows up and decides itself in the prosecution of the other. But what we do mean is, that the claim that they are the very words of God, and the possibility that this claim may be true, ought to strike every one with a sacred awe, who ventures upon critical inquiry; that the work should be undertaken with a seriousness which would never permit him to trifle with hopes dearer to multitudes than their lives, and with a purpose to explain and vindicate where that was possible, rather than to find fault or search for objections. Such a spirit would lead to widely different results from those before us.

Again, as the Bible is a spiritual book, it demands as a prerequisite to any just appreciation of it, a peculiar moral and spiritual culture. A bad man stands scarcely any chance of reaching the full truth. For even if he should sincerely strive after it, as an intellectual exercise, his views must necessarily be warped and modified by his own internal state. We make ourselves, after all, however unfair it may be, the standard of our own judgments. This influence of our moral character upon our speculative judgments, though not easily defined is still freely admitted by most. Those who have made the effort know that as they become better men, in that proportion their views of moral and religious truth are clearer. And this again places the Bible upon other grounds, than the mass of human books, as to the requisitions it makes upon those who investigate or interpret it. It is true that this does not apply with so much force to the historical parts of Scripture; yet as history and doctrine, are so constantly interwoven in the Old Testament as well as in the New, we may not omit it here.

Closely connected with this, and yet distinct from it is the fact that the human and divine elements in the Scriptures so interpenetrate each other, that we cannot bring the one under the processes of our criticism, without at the same time sitting in judgment upon the other.

Now although this does not in any measure exempt the Bible from a free and fair criticism; although it does not at all conflict with the most searching investigations; yet it does clearly and strongly demand something in the purpose and spirit of those who carry on these processes, very different from that

which is demanded for the fair criticism of the works of men. While therefore it is true that we must follow the same law of thought in our investigation of Scripture, which we use in the investigation of other works; yet this is not true as it is understood and applied, by this unbelieving criticism; it is not true without the limitations which naturally arise from the distinctive divine element, claimed to enter into the constitution of the Bible, from the peculiarity of its structure and from the nature of the truth which it contains. •

There is another concealed error in this principle as stated above, founded upon the assumed fact, that the dealings of God with men are always the same, and that the relations which exist between men are likewise unchangeable. This is by no means the case. God is indeed unchangeable, but in his works as they are seen by us there are changes. The same unchanging principles of justice and mercy are the habitation of his throne; yet as they work themselves out in the course of his providence, in the history of individuals and of nations, they appear widely different. In one case the one is visibly prominent, and in another the other. His purpose is one and absolute and yet under that unity of purpose there are a thousand diversities of operations. Nor is there any inconsistency in this. In God himself all these apparent changes are resolved into his one eternal immutable counsel, and could we trace them back to their origin, they would appear to us, as they are in fact, perfectly consistent and harmonious. It is through this endless variety that he ever brings out a real and substantial unity. It is thus that he works in nature, and we ought to expect that he would work thus in providence. We may as well demand that the mountains should be cut into squares or pyramids, or that every shore should be turned into an unvarying bank of sand, as to demand that there should be no diversities or apparent changes in the administration of his government. The one is no more inconsistent with the truth that "God is always like himself" than the other. There is no difference as to his absolute immutability, between his natural and moral attributes. Because as we see his works they are ordinarily marked with mercy and grace, it is not inconsistent with his immutable counsel, that he should at other times mani-

fest himself in wrath and justice. He may sweep away the world with a devouring flood, and he may spare it long to receive the influences of his grace, and yet be without variable-ness or shadow of turning. He may smite the first-born of Egypt, filling the whole land with mourning and death, and yet be the same who sent Joseph to preserve it from death. He may call Abraham to sacrifice his own son, and yet be the God who calls to him from the heavens, "Lay not thine hand upon the lad." And so he may commission a Saul to smite and extinguish the Amalekites; an Elijah to call down vengeance upon the prophets of Baal; a Jehu to destroy the idolatrous Jezebel, and still remain the Lord God gracious and merciful. Otherwise how could there be that mingled work of mercy and judgment carried on, which every thing within us, our sense of justice, our guilty consciences, and our reason teach us to expect from a holy God, toward a world fallen, apostate and buried in sin.

Nor is it any more true that the relations of the human and divine mind are always the same. If we admit the idea at all, that God works in and upon his creatures, that the human and divine mind can have any communion or communication with each other; then it is natural to suppose, judging from what we know of God's dispensations towards men in other cases, that it would not always be the same here. As to their moral characters, men must stand in substantially the same relations to God; but as the organs by which he makes known his will, as the instruments in carrying out his purposes in the world, and as to the methods by which they may become conscious that he thus calls them, they may and do stand in very different relations to him. Unless we admit this we shall find ourselves, whenever we open the Bible, in a world of perplexities and strange anomalies. We meet with the record of deeds and actions which cannot be explained by the motives which ordinarily govern men; which cannot be explained as consistent with the characters of those who perform them; but which are perfectly consistent when we regard the agent as acting under the special influence and discretion of God; an influence declared by the narrative to be peculiar, but which this theory of the unvarying relation must deny. It is no sufficient explanation, for exam-

ple. of Samuel's conduct in the slaying of Agag, to say that he was jealous of Saul's alliance with foreign monarchs. It is in direct opposition to the whole of Samuel's character, as portrayed in the narrative, that such a deed should have been committed by him or commanded to be done, except under the supposition that he was thus directed to do by God, who, for purposes known to himself, had determined the destruction of the Amalekites, and chose the king of Israel as his instrument. It is no adequate reason to assign for the destruction of the descendants of Saul, when the kingly power of David was at its height, that it was jealousy of the remaining power of the former royal house. There is no evidence in the history that there was any popular attachment to the members of that family. Everything appears to the contrary. The whole previous treatment of the house by David lies against such a supposition. We are driven therefore to the conclusion, which is perfectly apparent in the account itself, that he felt himself in a peculiar relation to God as the executioner of his just judgments, upon the wicked members of a wicked race. We might bring other instances of this kind in the lives of the best kings and prophets, which are inexplicable on the supposition that they were subject only to the motives which ordinarily govern men, or if we deny the special interference of God by which he selected them as the agents of his purpose and righteous retribution. For it is always to be remembered, that in the requiring and authorizing such actions on the part of those whom he selects, God acts not purely as a sovereign (as our author seems to suppose,) but as a judge. And though he should appear sovereign to us, in those cases in which we cannot trace out the reasons of the judgment, it still proceeds in the mysterious depths of his own decree upon the grounds of justice. There are cases of an entirely different kind occurring throughout the period before us, which require the intervention of a special influence on the part of God to their harmonious explanation, to which we might fairly appeal, as proving that the relations of the divine and human mind are not always the same. But it is too clear to require any further illustration. The fundamental principle therefore of this criticism, without faith; that the Bible must be approached as a human book, and its investigation carried on by the application

of general rules of thought, though true in part, and safe in the hands of a spiritual and reverential man, is not true as these men apply it. And it follows clearly enough, that if this be so, the special objections and errors which spring from its application are likewise groundless and false.

A second point, which is fatal to this criticism, is that it does not seek truth as its end, and of course its theories or processes are not likely to be true. It carries upon its face indeed a deep and earnest love for the truth. Its very object, if we allow it to judge itself, is to save us from those doubts which arise out of the difficulties in Scripture; to remove the stains which it assumes to lie upon the pure and spotless character of God; to harmonize conflicting statements; to explain away the misinterpretations and glosses which in the course of ages have found a lodgement in the Bible. Its labour is professedly one of love. But some might prefer to be left in the gloom of doubt, and where they could not understand, still walk by faith and wait for the light hereafter, rather than be thrust forth into the utter darkness of unbelief, or where the light which shines around us, is but the last flickerings of a faith consumed, or the glare of the fires which have consumed it. It is not of course the part of any one to sit in judgment upon the motives of such writers. We would be unwilling to doubt their sincerity, except so far as the doubt is forced upon us by the course which they pursue. There may be many who are seeking the light with an honest purpose; who do not believe because they do not see sufficient evidence to convince; who find it hard to free themselves from the assertions and ideas of a false philosophy; whose doubts claim our respect, although it does not concern us the less to be on our guard against them. But there are some, who do not appear to be thus driven on to their ungracious work; to whom it seems not a necessity but a delight to unsettle if possible the faith of the Church; whose whole course compels us to believe, even in the exercise of the largest charity, that levity and malice mingle in their motives; who manifestly as far as actions can manifest motives, hate the truth; and who only profess an attachment to it, that they may injure it the more fatally and if possible destroy it.

To every well disposed mind, there is a solemnity attaching it-

self to all processes of investigation which have the truth for their end. Even where the results hoped for do not concern us practically as religious beings, there is still something about the truth itself which imparts a sacredness to all such investigations and forbids us to trifle while we study. No light-minded man, no one who allows any other end than the truth itself, to become his object, much less any one who disregards the truth or despises it, ever took a step in the progress of science. In a far higher degree is this true, when the line of our studies leads to those subjects which concern the destinies of our race and of ourselves. These problems reaching far over into eternity, which suggest themselves to every reflecting man, even aside from any revelation, and often force themselves upon his attention, and demand a solution, must ever rise into a majesty and grandeur, which commands the reverence of every spirit which ponders them. No one, it might seem, could trifle where he felt himself to be deeply concerned; and no one can fail to feel, or shake off the feeling at his pleasure, that he is concerned with problems like these. From the very condition of our nature, they take a hold upon us which we cannot escape. We cannot turn away from our own souls at will the seal and signature of our divine origin, and the end for which we were made. Reason teaches us, our nature compels us to believe that there is an awful truth somewhere in those questions, upon which the Scriptures profess to give us light, and we justly expect and require that those who treat of them should do it with an earnestness commensurate with their importance. We need not open the Scriptures to justify such a demand. It is an all sufficient reason that they speak of questions, which correspond to every man's wants, of man's relation to God, of the possibility of communion with him, and the methods by which we may now secure and maintain it, and of the world hereafter. No one who has reflected upon his condition and character; who has felt the painful conflicts and contradictions of his own nature, the earnest of his spirit, and yet felt that there was a truth lying beyond the reach of his own powers, which could explain the anomalies of the earth, and the conflicts of his own soul, and give him certain ground upon which to rest, needs any thing further to make him earnest and reverential in his enquiries, or to justify him in making the same demand upon

those who search and enquire for him. Under an influence like this, which a sincere love for the truth always imparts; there will appear a manifest effort to save rather than to destroy; difficulties will be forced upon the wise, not sought for or created; grounds upon which apparent contradictions may be reconciled will be brought out to the light, not concealed, and it will be confessed sometimes, that there is a propriety in waiting and believing, when we cannot perfectly explain. It would be scarcely possible for such a mind to array itself in opposition to the Scriptures. It would be a painful process by which open unbelief should be forced upon the soul. All along the path of these enquiries, light would arise and truth appear in her harmony and beauty. For it is true here, as in all other lines of study, that they who seek with the whole heart, and they alone, shall find. Truth does not reveal herself, or unveil her hidden glory, to those who have no earnest longing for her. It is given only to those who by patient continuance in search attain it, to stand upon the heights, and look over the broad fields and tracts, hitherto concealed from their view. The law that we shall reach results only by labour, and labour in the right spirit, holds in this as in all the departments of God's word. And if we violate that law in fact or intention, we necessarily reap disappointment for ourselves. Nor is it out of the analogy of God's requirements, nor inconsistent with the utmost impartiality to demand that all investigations should be prosecuted with a spirit thus conservative of the truth; and that consciously and purposely. To some indeed—in a world where truth at best is not intuitive, and does not force itself upon our convictions whether we choose to receive it or not, the maintaining of such a spirit, and a life of earnest search for the truth corresponding to it; may be (as Bishop Butler supposes) a large part of their discipline or trial. At all events, indifference to the truth, much less a secretly cherished opposition to it, is not impartiality. In hearts naturally prone to unbelief it is very far removed from it. As it concerns religious truth, it cannot exist at all. We must be for it or against it. The only other ground is absolute stupidity, and even that is a kind of lifeless opposition. When therefore it is professed it is consciously or unconsciously a mask for hatred. All investigations starting from such impartiality end in open opposition. The spirit of this

modern criticism has nothing of this love of truth. In the most charitable judgment it cannot even stand upon the assumed ground of indifference. The painful conviction forced upon us is that such inquiries labour only to destroy; that the restraints which religion imposes are odious, and the only way to escape from them is to loosen its hold upon the minds of men. It betrays throughout this desire to unsettle the foundations of all religious faith. There is a total want of the reverence which as we have seen, ever accompanies a truth-loving spirit, and which cannot be dispensed with in any Biblical investigation. Its strictures upon the characters and narratives and doctrines are reckless beyond belief. Its conjectures are purely arbitrary without the least evidence to support them, and oftentimes against the clearest evidence to the contrary. It deals with the books of Scripture, as no man would venture to do with the classics, who had the least regard for his reputation for learning or fairness. The strongest marks of unity, both in style and thought, are disregarded, and books which have come down to us as one, under the most unvarying tradition, and with the sanction of a well ascertained antiquity, are rent asunder, and the dismembered parts assigned to different authors, and at far distant intervals of time. No testimony however uniform has any weight against these conjectures. Every difficulty is held to be sufficient evidence either of ignorance or prejudice or deliberate fraud. Such criticism has no reference or regard even for any thing which has been done in the past. It proceeds as though nothing had yet been gained in the progress of theological learning or science, towards a consistent explanation. Old objections which have been answered a thousand times from the days of Celsus onward, are gathered up and repeated anew with all the assurance of fresh discoveries. Nor has it any faith in the future. The idea or the possibility that there may still be discoveries made, and new light gained in the progress of a patient criticism, that what appears dark to us, may be clear to the generations which come after us, never dawns upon their minds. So far as they are concerned, the world might have as well begun and ended with themselves. It is blind with looking at itself. It cuts itself off from all fellowship with those who have gone before, or those who may still come after them. It deals with the past only to rake among its rub-

bish for something upon which to support its own pretensions. It looks to the future only as the scene where its work shall be complete, and it can stand amidst the desolation it has made and glory over the shattered and broken fragments of a prostrate faith. Already we hear its shouts of exultation. It has not a single mark of those who are searching for the truth with honest hearts, and of course its vaunted conclusions are not only unreliable, but unworthy of serious regard.

A third remark is that so far as the criticism of the Old Testament is concerned, these writers take no notice of the results which have been reached in the criticism of the New. The Bible comes to us as a whole. The Old and New Testaments are the complements of each other. They cannot be rightly understood unless they are thus viewed. We must fall in with the manifest design of God's plan, and look forwards with the Jew and look backwards with the Christian church, or we shall fail to comprehend either its doctrines or its history. For as the ceremonies of the Jewish church, were but the types of Christian truth, and are only rightly understood when thus interpreted, so it is true that the history of the Jews has its significance in its relations to the Christian church. In its relations to the nations around, and to the truth of God entrusted to it, it pointed forward to the time when it should give way to the spiritual church, which should in a far higher sense and on a grander scale, sustain the same relations. At the same time, it was an example of the modes in which God carries on the world, in its relations to the church, to the accomplishment of his designs. It is vain therefore to attempt a separation of these in the processes of our criticism. There are doubtless some things recorded for the church then existing, which have answered their immediate purpose and are less important to us, and which can be best understood in the records which contain their fulfilment.

As it concerns the question of the genuineness of the historical books of the Old Testament, with which the work before us mainly deals, it is very much decided by the decision of the question as to the genuineness and authenticity of the New. The latter must in the order of things come up for determination first. It is nearer to us. There are contemporary

historians who may confirm or refute its statements. All the conditions to a fair settlement of an historical question are at hand; whereas the other can be determined only from an examination of the books themselves. They relate mainly to a period of time of which we have no contemporary history. It is therefore a much more difficult question to solve. But the decision of the one includes the other. The books are inseparable, and must stand or fall together. The New refers to the Old as containing a true history. It makes use of its facts; it refers to its actors and events; it borrows its genealogies; it adopts the same chronology; and unless therefore it can be shown that the writers of the New quote fables as history, we must believe that the authors of the Old were reliable and authentic. This presumption is greatly strengthened by the manner in which the Old Testament is quoted by the New, as the Scripture, including all the present canon, under the three-fold division which had long been recognised among the Jews. Coming now with this presumption in their favour, we find nothing, on an examination of their records, in their style or spirit, which casts discredit upon their genuineness and authenticity; nothing which forbids their being held as a part of that truth which God has guaranteed to us by his own witness and seal; which is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, and which is able through faith to make men wise unto salvation. There are doubtless some inaccuracies in figures, some verbal contradictions, which have crept into the text, in its descent through a long succession of ages, and almost numberless transcriptions. Most of these will no doubt disappear in the progress of further criticism; and should they remain as they now are, they could never be fairly urged as an impeachment of their veracity, or even seriously trouble the faith of an intelligent believer. And there is evidence enough in their essential agreement with each other, in the use of credible sources, and in the scrupulous care with which they have been guarded by the Jews, to confirm and place beyond cavil, this result of the study of the narrative. A full enumeration of the objections would show how trifling and arbitrary most of them are. Indeed it requires the diseased vision of this morbidly sensitive

criticism to discover them at all. But we have not the space for such a catalogue, and it would not be necessary to form one if we had. The book will work out its own remedy. It may at first shock the reader who has not become accustomed to the most irreverent use of Scripture; but in its progress it becomes so sweeping in its assertions, so reckless in its spirit, and so bold in its assurance, that his fears will give way to indignation, and this in turn to wonder and contempt.

- ART. III.—1. *Ancient Egypt, her testimony to the truth of the Bible. Being an interpretation of the inscriptions and pictures which remain upon her tombs and temples; illustrated by very numerous engravings and coloured plates.* By Wm. Osburn, Junior, Member of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature. London; Bagster & Sons, Paternoster Row. 1846, pp. 242, 8vo.
2. *The Monuments of Egypt; or, Egypt a Witness for the Bible.* By Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D. With Notes of a Voyage up the Nile; By an American. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. London: John Murray. 1850, pp. 412, 8vo.
3. *Egypt and the Books of Moses; or, The Books of Moses illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt: With an Appendix.* By Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, Professor of Theol. at Berlin. From the German, by R. D. C. Robbins, Abbot Resident, Theol. Sem., Andover. New York: Robt. Carter & Brothers. 1850, pp. 300, 12mo.
4. *Nineveh and its Remains; with an account of a visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers; and an inquiry into the manners and arts of the ancient Assyrians.* By Austen Henry Layard, Esq., D. C. L. New York: George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. 1840, 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 326 and 373.

We have grouped together the works that stand at the head of this article, not merely on account of their nearly contem-

poraneous publication and their interesting contents, but chiefly on account of a certain connexion between the subjects of which they treat.

Egypt and Assyria were the oldest and most magnificent of the early nations. Of the first we have obtained remarkably copious and minute information. To our stock of knowledge Mr. Gliddon has greatly contributed; and his zeal, his lectures, his pamphlets, his beautiful panorama, and his extensive pictorial apparatus, have awakened a wide-spread interest in the antiquities of Egypt.

The work of Hengstenberg is intended as a complete thesaurus for the student and antiquary, a sort of modern Witsius's *Ægyptiaca*. It displays characteristic erudition and research.

Osburn's work has not been reprinted in the United States. It is a beautiful specimen of typography, and its brilliantly coloured plates give a vivid idea of the costumes, furniture, and other objects which they are intended to represent. The author's purpose was to furnish a coup d'œil of the evidence afforded from the inscriptions on the tombs and temples of ancient Egypt in favour of the Scriptures. The proofs are every where apparent of a thorough exploration and an accurate scholarship, although some of his conjectures may be considered rather fanciful.

Dr. Hawks has the same object in view, and has largely borrowed from Osburn. His work does not pretend to be original, but is a compilation from the best writers on the subject. He frankly disclaims the merit of authorship, and aspires to nothing more than the humble office of a compiler. But he has done his work in a creditable manner, and has succeeded in producing, as he intended, not a profound but a popular book. His arrangement is lucid, and his style flowing and agreeable. On some points we could have wished him more diffuse, even at the expense of the omission of the vivacious and anonymous journal, which swells the bulk of the volume one-third. It is indeed not a little remarkable that on the subject of circumcision both Hawks and Hengstenberg are silent. It has been alleged that this rite was borrowed by

Moses from the Egyptians. This was Warburton's opinion; while Witsius was satisfied that it was the Egyptians who borrowed from the Israelites. Others have supposed that every difficulty is met by the restriction of the rite to certain classes of the priesthood only, while it was not the general practice of the people. The absence of all pictorial representations of a religious ceremony so important seems rather at variance with the statements of Herodotus, respecting the universality of circumcision and the punctilious distinction attached to it.

It strikes us indeed as not a little surprising that neither of the authors we are reviewing has said a word on this subject. The silence of Hengstenberg in a work meant for a thesaurus is very remarkable; unless we can perceive a reason for it in the following sentence: "We satisfy ourselves with the statement of the *really tenable* Egyptian references," p. 153. Dr. Hawks remarks as follows on the Hebrew ritual: "In fact, the whole Hebrew ritual appears to have been framed on the principle of embodying Egyptian ceremonies, carefully guarded, modified and expurgated, and applying them to the worship of the true God. We are aware that in the opinion of some excellent men, this seems to detract from the Jewish ritual, as being but a modification of idolatry. We are unable to see this. It was a modification of idolatrous *ceremonies*, but it involved no recognition of idolatrous *worship*. It acknowledged no false god; on the contrary, it was so changed as to make the ceremonies retained, appropriate only in the worship of the true God. As well might it be said that retaining, as we do at this day, the heathen names of the days of the week, proves that he who only says 'Thursday' is an idolatrous worshipper of the northern Thor." p. 233. He goes on at some length to specify certain resemblances; as the naked feet of the ministering priests; their frequent bathing; their linen vestments; the ephod, girdle, breastplate, Urim and Thummim; the inscriptions on the doorposts; and the use of an ark. He next specifies certain points of contrast; as the prohibition of the worship of the heavenly bodies, or statues of men and animals; wounding their flesh; placing food near the dead; and planting trees round the place of worship. But in these

lists we look in vain for a syllable on the distinctive rite of circumcision.

There are some things which may be considered as settled at present beyond dispute; for instance, that the authentic records of Egypt do not mount to that high antiquity which was formerly claimed for them; that there has been no diminution of the human stature or of man's physical strength in the lapse of ages; that the pyramids were constructed for royal tombs; that the hieroglyphics were not a priestly device to conceal knowledge, but were a real written language as much as the enchorial or demotic; and that the antiquities of Egypt greatly illustrate and corroborate the books of holy scripture. The closing paragraph of Dr. Hawks's work sets this last subject in a clear light. While affirming that the Bible is independent of the incidental confirmations derived from the monuments of Egypt, he adds, "It has been too much the fashion of a certain class of men, infidel in principle, but claiming (and in some instances justly) to be scientific, dexterously to insinuate, rather than positively to assert, that Egypt was making to them wondrous revelations at the expense of the truth and scripture. The characters and claims of these men have, perhaps with a class, given weight to their insinuations when there was neither the ability nor the means to test their boasted science, or sift their artful insinuations. It was for this class principally that the present writer assumed the pen. Purposely avoiding all perplexing questions of mere science, it occurred to him that it might be useful to plain Christians of honest hearts and common sense, if from the labours of men as good and as learned as the self-styled scientific, there should be gathered into one body and plainly presented, evidence from Egypt, intelligible to ordinary faculties, tending to show that the Bible found there *some* support at least; and that unhesitatingly to reject it, on the ground of any supposed discoveries yet made there, indicated a disease of the *heart* quite as much as a fault of the *head*."

The divine wisdom employs divers methods of affecting men, according to their peculiar dispositions or circumstances. For an age of the world that was governed by the senses, God provided miracles; for the Jews just emerged from bondage and

surrounded by the pomp of heathen worship, he ordained a gorgeous ritual and a worldly sanctuary; for the Orientals, addicted to astronomical observations, he prepared a star as their guide to the Saviour; and we do not think it superstitious to suppose that for the reflecting and inquisitive mind of the present day, he provided prophecy in advance, together with an apparatus of proofs of its due fulfilment, to be brought to light at the proper time. The lettered monuments of Egypt, the rock-carvings of Petra, the sullen surf of the Dead Sea, the exhumed sculptures of buried Nineveh, all contribute, as by providential foresight, their quota of evidence in favour of the Scriptures. Is it too much to believe that the Great Disposer of all things will overrule the skeptical and inquiring spirit of this age for the final and triumphant establishment of his own revealed truth; as upon the burning prairies of the West, the raging element is converted into the means of its own defeat and subjugation? Of one thing we may feel well assured, that Christianity has nothing to fear from investigation. The furthest planet detected by the Tuscan tube, the spadeful thrown up from the earth's centre, the electro-magnetic experiments of the laboratory, the baring of the fibrous convolutions of the brain beneath the scalpel, the most subtle speculations of metaphysical acumen, the most thorough explorations of the curious traveller, will in the end promote, and not hinder, the majestic march of truth, and range themselves in the ever widening circle of superb and incontestable evidences of the inspiration of the Scriptures.

While the laborious German Professor, by an extensive induction of both a negative and positive kind, shows that Egyptian antiquity furnishes not only no evidence against the Books of Moses, but on the contrary weighty evidence in their favour; the English labourer in the same field ransacks tombs and temples for wall-paintings and inscriptions and deciphers the names of foreign nations brought into contact with Egypt; Canaanites, Hebrews, Arvadites, Hermonites, Zuzim, Jebusites, Hittites, Amorites, Philistines, and Syrians. Of these names, he has collected, in his *Onomasticon*, a catalogue of eighty-eight, among which we readily identify Amalek, Hermon, Rabbah, Ekron, Tyre, Sidon, Kadesh, Mahanaim, Canaan,

Megiddo, Hebron, Petra, the kingdom of Judah, and the valley of Hinnom.

Among these collaborators, amidst the dust of buried ages, while there is an essential agreement, we find an occasional difference of opinion; but it is gratifying to observe the perfect good temper with which each maintains his own position. Manetho's story of the expulsion of the Israelites as lepers, and their calling in the aid of the Assyrians or Canaanites, is an instance. Dr. Hawks is content to question the account as an interpolation. Professor Hengstenberg throws discredit on the whole work of Manetho as spurious, and considers it as the production of an individual who dishonestly appropriated the name. He convicts the author of being unworthy the repute of a learned priest of Heliopolis, from numerous philological and geographical errors. Mr. Gliddon, however, considers the tale of Manetho confirmed by the sculptures.

Hengstenberg is disposed also to doubt the existence of such a dynasty as the Shepherd-kings. But to other investigators no fact appears better established than this. Hawks regards it as the most satisfactory explanation of different passages in Genesis, that every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians, &c. He supposes Abraham to have visited Egypt under the reign of one of the Hyksos, and that they were expelled just before the arrival of Joseph in Egypt. Others have been disposed to consider the king who knew not Joseph as the founder of a new dynasty succeeding the Shepherd-kings, and subsequent to the death of Joseph. Mr. Gliddon makes the Hyksos contemporaneous with the 17th Theban dynasty of Upper Egypt, who expelled the alien race. This Theban king might then be the king who knew not Joseph. Osburn thinks there were two invasions of the Shepherd-kings. The Canaanites were called Shepherds, as appears from the wall-paintings. Amenophis was entitled the Smiter of the Shepherds. Sethis and Sesostris are represented as fighting with them. He supposes that, after their first expulsion, the Canaanites, Hyksos or Zuzim, took advantage of the mishap and confusion resulting from the escape of the Israelites and the drowning of Pharaoh, or Si-phtha, to invade Egypt a second time. After the lapse of thirteen years they

were finally expelled by Remesses, the son of Si-phtha. Thus he explains the allusion of Manetho to the Israelites receiving aid from the Canaanites. He inclines to the opinion that the Osarsiph (Moses) of Manetho may have been a stranger and usurper, of the name of Remerri, of Heliopolis, himself of the blood-royal. He tells us that this Remerri effaced the names of Si-phtha and his wife from the tomb near Thebes, and on the fresh plaister, he inscribed his own. p. 94.

The subject of the Shepherd-kings is a vexed and intricate one. There are other illustrations of the Scripture history which are more clear and satisfactory. Of these Dr. Hawks has prepared a luminous series.

Beginning with Abraham, he shows the entire probability of the narrative in Genesis. At the time of the patriarch's visit, Egypt was a powerful, rich and civilized nation. Lower Egypt was then dry, and not marshy, as the disciples of Voltaire have pretended; Zoan in the Delta, being built seven years after Hebron. The kings of Egypt were called PHARAOH. The royal cartouches bear the hieroglyphic of the *Sun*, which in the Coptic, or old Egyptian, is PHRE or PHRA; *Pi* being the article. Domestic servitude then existed in Egypt, and the monuments display some examples of its rigorous character. Sarah wore no veil, because the manners of the female sex at that time were as free and unfettered as in our own country. Indeed the license they indulged in was carried to the utmost bounds; as some of the paintings represent ladies at entertainments indulging to excess in wine, and servants hurrying to their assistance with basins for no equivocal purpose. The loose manners that prevailed are seen in the despot's carrying away Sarah to his harem; a proceeding which is in perfect keeping with the habits of the East to this day. There was no dislike shown to Abraham's pastoral occupation. The gifts made him were appropriate, and Abraham accepted them without reluctance.

Joseph was sold to a caravan, such as, it is highly probable, then as since traversed the desert, for twenty pieces of silver, bullion, not of coin. He was sold for a household slave to the captain of the executioners or chief-marshal, a high court officer. As overseer of the house, he took account of every

thing, as the steward does in the tomb-paintings. As there was no restriction on the intercourse of the sexes, the German critics are mistaken in supposing that Joseph would not have been permitted to come into the presence of his master's wife. The story of the baker and butler is illustrated, and also the existence of the vine established, which Herodotus denied. The Egyptians are depicted without beards; and accordingly Joseph shaved himself before coming into the presence of the king. The luxuriant wheat of seven ears is fully substantiated as a peculiar product of the country. The elevation of Joseph, his vice-royalty, his seal, his naturalization, his marriage, &c., are all in accordance with probability. The possibility of a famine, though denied by Van Bohlen, has been abundantly proved. The refusal of the Egyptians to eat with foreigners; the wagons sent for Jacob; the settlement in Goshen; the embalming of Joseph, and putting him into a coffin; need not be dilated on.

The bondage of the Hebrews is another probable event. Brickmakers are seen in the paintings, with taskmasters over them. The treasure-cities, the use of straw, the making of boats of bulrushes cemented with slime, are all illustrated with vivid accuracy.

The handling of serpents by the Psylli to this day, and their making the reptile stiff and motionless like a rod, resemble the tricks of the magicians. But when the rods of Jannes and Jambres were swallowed up by that of Moses, we see a miraculous intervention. In the account of the Ten Plagues, nothing is found that does not harmonize with what we know of the country. The plagues fell on those things which were objects of worship, and thus converted them into instruments of punishment; or they were strikingly calculated to evince the supreme control and jurisdiction of Him who proclaimed himself as the Self-existent and Independent One. In regard to Moses, Dr. Hawks judiciously observes, that whether the account of Manetho were drawn from ancient records or from tradition, it must be conceded as a fact, independent of the Bible, that "there was a man called Moses, of a different race from the Egyptians; that he lived in Egypt; that he taught his countrymen to shun idolatry; and that finally, he and they

left Egypt together. Leper or no leper, these facts at least are distinctly and unequivocally recorded; and thus *the ancient Egyptian records bear testimony to the truth of the Bible.*" p. 117.

The worship of a golden calf, obviously in imitation of the sacred bull Apis, and the dancing round it, derive illustration from the manners of the Egyptians; and the narration in the Pentateuch displays his familiarity with the idolatrous system.

It has been objected that the Israelites were too rude and unskilful to do the exquisite mechanical work of the tabernacle. But the writers before us have shown with abundance of detail the existence of a high state of art among the Egyptians, and the consequent probability of the Israelites who resided so long among them becoming proficient in the arts. The wall-paintings of the tombs exhibit various handicrafts, with a variety of tools, some of them similar to those employed in modern times. They knew how to make leather, how to weave costly stuffs, how to engrave gems, and how to work in gold and silver.

The countless incidental illustrations of the Mosaic narrative thus indisputably indicate an author acquainted with all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and familiar with the scenes he describes. Nor was it ever doubted that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch till the 11th century of the Christian Era.

There is yet one more noteworthy evidence mentioned by Dr. Hawks, taken from the history of Shishak or Sesonchis. It was foretold to Rehoboam, king of Judah, that while his humble penitence would avert total destruction, yet he should not be exempted from punishment altogether, and that he should become a tributary of the Egyptian monarch. The younger Champollion was so acute as not only to discover the cartouche bearing the name of Sesonchis, but to read the indisputable proof of his conquest. "On his passage up the Nile, Champollion landed for an hour or two, about sunset, to snatch a hasty view of the ruins of Karnac; and on entering one of the halls, he found a picture representing a triumph, in which he instantly pointed out in the third line of a row of sixty-three prisoners (each indicating a city, nation or tribe,) presented

by Sheshonk to Amun-ra, the figure on the opposite page, and translated it, *Judah Melek kah*, "king of the country of Judah." p. 247.

A remark is subjoined by Dr. Hawks, not very complimentary to the *savans* of Europe. "But of the numerous captives that were once represented on that picture, why is it that now, but three remain? for such, we believe, is the fact. Those who defaced or removed some of them are known. They are Europeans, and profess to be scholars seeking for the truth. Is the suspicion well-founded that the mutilation is the work of those who deem it more honourable to be deemed scientific neologists, than it is to sustain Scriptural truth? We would fain hope that the destruction may have been accidental. Fortunately for truth, many copies of the picture had been made before its mutilation. It is the more to be lamented that this picture has been defaced, because the sculptured memorials of the Jews in Egypt, as we have already intimated, were not likely to be very common. The Egyptians could not but be humbled by that portion of their history which connected them with the Hebrews; they never, as we have stated, perpetuated their own shame in sculpture." p. 248.

From old Memphis and the Nile, and palace-temples with their forests of gigantic columns, let us now seek the banks of the arrowy Tigris, and survey the remains of Nineveh, "that great city."

While every smatterer knows something of Egypt and its history, Nineveh had been completely lost to the world. Of Assyria we knew next to nothing. Fables and obscurity involve her earliest annals, and thirty generations of monarchs are passed over by the historian as inglorious and unknown. The very site of Nineveh had been forgotten. Malte-Brun assured his readers that all traces of the city were irrecoverably lost. Xenophon and his Ten Thousand on their famous retreat found nothing but mounds of a ruined city called Larissa. The name of Nineveh does not seem to have reached their ears. From that period the silence of the grave again hung over the spot for centuries, broken only at rare intervals by the conjectures of Benjamin of Tudela, Abulfeda, and Niebuhr. In 1820 Mr. Rich possessed himself of a few kiln-

dried bricks; and in 1843 M. Botta, the French Consul, excavated a mound opposite Mosul, and another at Khorsabad, and brought to light some sculptures, magnificent engravings of which were published at the expense of the French Government.

But it was reserved for English enterprise to achieve the most signal triumph, to bring the modern world face to face with the relics of a forgotten antiquity, and to place us in startling proximity with the times immediately succeeding the flood. Disentombed from the long sleep of nearly three thousand years, the stupendous monuments of Assyrian greatness meet our eye, coeval with those of Egypt.

The unity of this article, and the necessity of economizing our space, preclude us from noticing Dr. Layard's interesting digressions. He made a visit to the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers, and witnessed their romantic nocturnal procession. Recent reports say, that on a second visit since he has been admitted to ocular inspection of the precious symbol, the Melek Taous, or King Peacock, whose existence some persons had affected to doubt. We must omit also the examination of his chapter on the Nestorians, and his error in laying at the door of the American missionaries the responsibility of the massacre of those mountaineers. For the correction of this error, the reader is referred to Dr. Robinson's introductory note, and to Dr. Grant's exculpatory letter in the *Missionary Herald* for March, 1844, p. 82.

Dr. Layard seems to have been admirably fitted for his task. A man of few wants; capable of easily accommodating himself to circumstances; of a buoyant, genial disposition; and possessing wonderful tact in managing men of all sorts; he reminds us of Ledyard, and Burnes, and Borrow, and Stephens, and Fremont. His simple and easy style of travelling is described in his opening paragraph.

"During the autumn of 1839 and winter of 1840, I had been wandering through Asia Minor and Syria, scarcely leaving untrod one spot hallowed by tradition, or unvisited one ruin consecrated by history. I was accompanied by one no less curious and enthusiastic than myself. We were both equally careless of comfort and unmindful of danger. We

rode alone: our arms were our only protection; a valise behind our saddles was our wardrobe, and we tended our own horses, except when relieved from the duty by the hospitable inhabitants of a Turcoman village or an Arab tent. Thus unembarrassed by needless luxuries, and uninfluenced by the opinions and prejudices of others, we mixed among the people, acquired without effort their manners, and enjoyed without alloy those emotions which scenes so novel, and spots so rich in varied association, cannot fail to produce." p. 25.

Leaving the graceful architectural ruins of Asia Minor, half hidden by the myrtle, the ilex, and the oleander, he bent his steps to the ancient Mesopotamia, where nothing but wide masses of denuded brickwork, shapeless mounds, and perpetual desolation meet the eye. Satisfied with the result of his own observations, and encouraged by the success of Mr. Botta at Khorsabad, Mr. Layard sought and obtained from Sir Stratford Canning, the British Government's representative at Constantinople, and from the British Museum, the means to prosecute excavations at the ruin of Nimroud, some miles below Mosul. It was on the 9th day of November, 1845, when he commenced his search, and immediately he found his perseverance richly rewarded. The traditions of the place, communicated by the Arab superintendent of his workmen, are not without interest. "The palace, said he, was built by Athur, the kiayah, or lieutenant of Nimrod. Here the holy Abraham, peace be with him! cast down and brake in pieces the idols which were worshipped by the unbelievers. The impious Nimrod, enraged at the destruction of his gods, sought to slay Abraham, and waged war against him. But the prophet prayed to God, and said, 'Deliver me, O God, from this man who worships stones, and boasts himself to be the lord of all beings,' and God said to him, 'How shall I punish him?' And the prophet answered, 'To thee armies are as nothing, and the strength and power of men likewise. Before the smallest of thy creatures will they perish.' And God was pleased at the faith of the prophet, and he sent a gnat, which vexed Nimrod night and day, so that he built himself a room of glass in yonder palace, that he might dwell therein, and shut out the insect. But the gnat entered also, and passed by his ear into

his brain, upon which it fed, and increased in size day by day, so that the servants of Nimrod beat his head with a hammer continually, that he might have some ease from his pain; but he died after suffering these torments for four hundred years." Vol. i. p. 42.

The wonder of the simple Arabs when Layard succeeded in disemtombing a colossal statue, is highly amusing: "Hasten, O Bey, exclaimed one of them, "hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true; we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God! It was sometime before the Sheikh could be prevailed upon to descend into the pit, and convince himself that the image he saw was of stone. "This is not the work of men's hands," exclaimed he, "but of those infidel giants of whom the prophet, peace be with him! has said, that that they were higher than the tallest date tree; this is one of the idols which Noah, peace be with him! cursed before the flood." In this opinion, the result of a careful examination, all the bystanders concurred. vol. i. p. 73.

These excavations brought to light the site of three palace temples of large dimensions, whose walls were lined, or wainscotted, with slabs of alabaster, covered with a variety of well-executed sculptures. The method pursued was to dig down several feet till a wall was reached, along the line of which a deep trench was sunk, turning with the angles of the hall, and ascertaining the entire outline. The earth in the centre was generally left undisturbed. Mr. Layard met with repeated interruptions in his work, from the ignorant bigotry of the natives, and from the jealous interference of Europeans, of which last he bitterly complains; nor was he suffered to go on without molestation till he received a ferman from the Sultan through the intervention of Sir Stratford Canning. It was during the intervals of suspension of his labour that he visited the Yezidis and the Nestorians, and the ruins of Al Hather and Kalch Shergat.

The excavations covered a quadrangle more than six hundred yards long by about three hundred in width; and they comprised, besides the high pyramidal mound seen by Xenophon, and which the author conjectures may be the "*Busta*

Nini" of Ovid, three palaces, together with an edifice in the South-east corner, filled with tombs. The palaces are named after their position, the North-west palace, the North-east palace and the Central palace. It is to be regretted that sufficient care has not been taken with the plates which present the ground plans, in consequence of which one who attempts to trace the descriptions in the text, is sometimes not a little perplexed. In one plate the North points to the right, in another to the left, and in a third to the top of the page. In the plan of the South-west palace, the letter *c* is three times used for reference, the letter *f* as often, and the letter *l* is wanting. In the plan of the North-west palace the letter *y*, which is frequently referred to, is wanting.

The palaces were subdivided into numerous chambers, of various sizes. The smaller ones were walled with bricks, plastered, and covered with paintings, and seemed to serve only as corridors of communication. The larger chambers were faced with slabs ten feet high, of alabaster or gypsum, (such as abounds near Mosul and is easily wrought,) above which were high brick walls; of a like height, plastered and covered with paintings which it was found impossible to preserve. These slabs were set in bitumen. Upon them were carved bas-reliefs differing in different apartments. In some there were alternations of kings and winged figures, eagle-headed, or holding a fir-cone. In others there were complete series or processions representing lion-hunts, battles, sieges, victories and triumphs. The king is drawn in his chariot, with armed troops and military engines. There are seen sculptured the mountains of Armenia and the castellated sea-coast of Tyre. The entrances are guarded by gigantic human-headed lions or bulls with wings of yellow limestone, twelve feet in height; thirteen pairs of which have been discovered.

While there is a resemblance to Egypt in the custom of covering the walls with bas-reliefs and paintings, there is this difference, that all the scenes are of a public character, there are no figures illustrative of the manners of private life. There is also a striking want of those vast and numerous columns, which abound in Egypt. The temple of Karnac boasts no fewer than three hundred and sixty, of stupendous size. But not a single column has been discovered in the excavations of Nimroud,

although both pillars and arches have been found in the paintings. To support the beams of the ceiling, clumsy masses of brick were reared along the middle of the hall. Remains of beams were frequently found, but soon crumbled on exposure.

The execution of the bas-reliefs was in a superior style. The finish was elaborate, the development of the muscles strongly delineated, and the anatomy correct. There was none of that lank, splay-footed, stiff, conventional style peculiar to Egypt. And although the figures were in profile, they were not, like the Egyptian, drawn with a front view of the shoulder, and a side view of the legs. All the delineations both of men, horses, and lions, appear to have been taken from nature; and if we may depend upon their truthfulness, the Assyrians were a stoutly built, and muscular race. Some of the human-headed lions, however, betrayed a clumsy contrivance to suit the spectator's position, in being furnished with five legs. The same deficiency is found in perspective that is observable in both the Egyptian and Chinese, and we may add, the Mediaeval drawings. The bas-reliefs appear to have borne partial marks of paint, and were probably also gilded. The colours employed on the walls were the three primitive ones, blue, red and yellow. Of green there are no traces, except at Khorsabad.

The Assyrian method of building was first to raise a mound thirty feet high, then lay a pavement of adobes or sun-dried bricks, and upon that erect their structures. Although the apartments were furnished with drains, there were no perforations in the walls for windows. Whether they were roofless, or had sky-lights, is a matter of conjecture only. The exterior, Mr. Layard supposes to have been cased with slabs, which have become loosened and fallen to the bottom among the rubbish. The façade may have been sculptured or painted like the walls of Babylon, with the exploits of the "mighty Hunter."

The Central and North-west palaces exhibit no signs of fire, and it is to the falling in of the upper walls of unburnt bricks that the preservation of the sculptures is owing. The South-west palace has evidently been subject to the action of fire, from the calcined appearance of the alabaster, and the masses of charcoal. Of the destruction of Nineveh by fire ancient history informs us; but amid the uncertainty of historical details we are presented with the account of two kings who at different times

burned themselves in their own palaces to deprive an enemy of the expected triumph. Different dates are assigned to the destruction of Nineveh; but it is certain that these ruins cannot be less than 2500 or 3000 years old. In the second volume our authors brings forward a great display of erudition, to which we must refer the reader.

Mr. Layard is of opinion that in times not now ascertainable the original people were conquered, and the victorious enemy introduced a new religion, that of fire-worship, to supplant the ancient Sabdeanism. This he infers from the structure of the South-west palace, it being evidently later, and adorned with slabs brought from the older and deserted palaces. The slabs were turned with their sculptured faces to the wall, and prepared for the reception of new sculptures and inscriptions, as it was the custom not to engrave them till after they were set up.

To go into details upon such a subject as this would be to transcribe the two volumes: we will, therefore, let the author present us with a succinct reproduction of one of these palace-temples in its palmy days.

"The interior of the Assyrian palace must have been as magnificent as imposing. I have led the reader through its ruins, and he may judge of the impression its halls were calculated to make upon the stranger who, in the days of old, entered for the first time the abode of the Assyrian kings. He was ushered in through the portal guarded by the colossal lions or bulls of white alabaster. In the first hall he found himself surrounded by the sculptured records of the empire. Battles, sieges, triumphs, the exploits of the chase, the ceremonies of religion, were portrayed on the walls. Under each picture were engraved, in characters filled up with bright copper, inscriptions describing the scenes represented. Above the sculptures were painted other events—the king, attended by the eunuchs and warriors, receiving his prisoners, entering into alliances with other monarchs, or performing some sacred duty. These representations were inclosed in coloured borders, of elaborate and elegant design. The emblematic tree, winged bulls, and monstrous animals, were conspicuous amongst the ornaments. At the upper end of the hall was the colossal

figure of the king in adoration before the supreme deity, or receiving from his eunuch the holy cap. He was attended by warriors bearing his arms, and by the priests or presiding divinities. His robes, and those of his followers were adorned with groups of figures, animals and flowers, all painted with brilliant colours.

"The stranger trod upon alabaster slabs, each bearing an inscription, recording the titles, genealogy, and achievements of the great king. Several doorways, formed by gigantic winged lions or bulls, or by the figures of guardian deities, led into other departments, which again opened into more distant halls. In each were new sculptures. On the walls of some were processions of colossal figures—armed men and eunuchs following the king, warriors laden with spoil, leading prisoners, or bearing presents and offerings to the gods. On the walls of others were portrayed the winged priests, or presiding divinities, standing before the sacred trees.

"The ceilings above him were divided into square compartments, painted with flowers, or with the figures of animals. Some were inlaid with ivory, each compartment being surrounded by elegant borders and mouldings. The beams, as well as the sides of the chambers, may have been gilded, or even plated, with gold and silver; and the rarest woods, in which the cedar was conspicuous, were used for the woodwork. Square openings in the ceilings of the chambers admitted the light of day. A pleasing shadow was thrown over the sculptured walls, and gave a majestic expression to the human features of the colossal forms which guarded the entrances. Through these apertures was seen the bright blue of an eastern sky, inclosed in a frame on which were painted in vivid colours, the winged circle, in the midst of elegant ornaments, and the graceful forms of ideal animals.

"These edifices, as it has been shown, were great national monuments, upon the walls of which were represented in sculpture, or inscribed in alphabetic characters, the chronicles of the empire. He who entered them might thus read the history, and learn the glory and triumphs of the nation. They served, at the same time, to bring continually to the remembrance of those who assembled within them on festive occasions, or for the cele-

bration of religious ceremonies, the deeds of their ancestors, and the power and majesty of their gods." ii. p. 207—209.

As yet but small progress has been made in deciphering the cuneiform characters. Major Ronaldson has mastered the names of some fifteen kings. But no Rosetta Stone has been found to facilitate the translation of the ancient language. The hope is cherished that from a comparison of various trilingual inscriptions found in Persepolis, Behistun, and other parts of Persia, the contents of these ancient Assyrian records may be satisfactorily ascertained. Mr. Layard calculates from the names discovered in Nimroud, that the first palace could not have been founded later than about 900 years before Christ. He supposes that the most recent palace, the South-western, and Khorsabad, and Kouyunjik, were all contemporaneous edifices, and were destroyed by fire by Arbaces and the Medes.

The connexion subsisting between Egypt and Assyria is expected to shed some light on the perplexed subject of these dates. On a small ivory tablet is a cartouche with sitting figures, manifestly Egyptian: and it is highly probable that considerable intercourse prevailed between the two countries about the time of Solomon. Articles of Egyptian manufacture were then introduced into the Assyrian cities. Egyptian names, Sethos and Horus, appear in the list of Assyrian kings; while on the other hand the names of Nimrot, Sargon, (Osorchon,) and Tiglath, (Takilutha,) occur among the Egyptian monarchs of the 22d dynasty. Whether there was an alliance, or an actual Assyrian occupation of Egypt, is a point yet to be ascertained. In the later monuments of Nineveh, are found the sphynx, the lotus and the obelisk. Manetho says, that the first shepherd-kings were very much afraid of an invasion from the Assyrians. And it coincides with such an apprehension, that at that period the Assyrians had extended their rule westward of the Euphrates, and had conquered not only Palestine but Tyre, if we may trust the monuments. (See Hawks's Egypt, p. 118.)

However, this question may be disposed of, we cannot doubt that Mr. Layard has identified the true site and boundaries of ancient Nineveh.

"If we take the four great mounds of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles, as the corners of a square, it will be found that its four sides correspond pretty accurately with the

480 stadia or 60 miles of the geographer, which make the three days' journey of the prophet. Within this space there are many large mounds, including the principal ruins in Assyria, such as Karakush, Baasheikha, Baazani, Husseini, Tel-Yara, &c. &c.; and the face of the country is strewn with the remains of pottery, bricks, and other fragments. The space between the great public edifices was probably occupied by private houses, standing in the midst of gardens, and built at distances from each other; or forming streets which inclosed gardens of considerable extent, and even arable land.

"From the northern extremity of Kouyunjik [opposite Mosul,] to Nimroud, [on the Tigris,] is about 18 miles; the distance from Nimroud to Karamles, about 12: the opposite sides of the square the same; these measurements correspond accurately with the elongated quadrangle of Diodorus. Twenty miles is the day's journey of the East, and we have consequently the three days' journey of Jonah for the circumference of the city. The agreement of these measurements is remarkable." Layard, ii. p. 194, 196.

The incidental confirmation of the book of Jonah; the prominence of the chase; the finding of the name of Nebuchadnezzar or Nabokhodrossor, the son of Nabonidas, in the ruins of Hillah, (Layard, ii. p. 141); the manifest destruction of the palaces by fire, ("there shall the *fire* devour thee," Nahum, 3, 15.); and the numerous illustrations of circumstantial allusions in the prophetic writings, respecting the magnificence of the Assyrian apparel, the luxury of their manners, their mode of waging war, their extensive commerce, their suspending the *shields* of the warriors on walls and ships, ("they hanged their *shields* upon thy *walls*," Ezek. 27, 11); all these things tend to corroborate the authority and credibility of the Holy Scriptures. Such will be the effect of the further prosecution of the researches in which Mr. Layard is still engaged. We shall look with interest for future communications from him.

When the ruined temples and monoliths of Central America were unexpectedly brought to light, there were not wanting those who fancied a resemblance between them and the monuments of the old world. But however confidently this opinion may have been expressed, a careful comparison will lead to a very different conclusion. There are indeed a few striking

resemblances: but there are also irreconcilable variations. The partiality for pyramidal forms, or rather for the truncated pyramid, the covering of the walls with sculptures and paintings, and the drawing in profile, are coincidences undoubtedly worthy of attention. But on the contrary, as Mr. Stephens has judiciously observed, the pyramid is a natural form, easily suggested as affording the firmest base, and its use is therefore not a sufficient reason for predicated a common origin. The pyramids of Copan and Uxmal, are high elevations or terraces, solid, serving as foundations for superstructures, and provided with flights of steps in front or rear, for the purpose of ascent; neither do the sides form a complete square. The pyramids of Egypt, on the contrary, are square, perforated with chambers, cased with stone on the outside, and complete in themselves without any additional superstructure. Steps on the exterior formed no part of the plan.

There is also a marked absence of those forests of stupendous columns in which the Egyptians delighted. There is not a column to be found in Central America. The dromos, prodromos and adytum are also wanting. In these respects there is a much nearer resemblance to the temple-palaces of Nimroud. The sculptures also bear a closer affinity to Nineveh than to Egypt. They neither resemble the hideous and many-limbed monsters of the Hindoo mythology, nor the lauk and ungainly figures of the Egyptians. They exhibit the same rounded proportions and the same truth to nature, that we find in the Assyrian bas-reliefs. Although both of these are drawn in profile, neither presents the awkward arrangement of the Egyptians, who gave a front view of shoulders, but a side view of the lower extremities.

The cuneiform characters of Assyria are radically unlike those either of Egypt or Central America, which forbids the direct tracing of the latter to the nations of the Old World. Neither can the ruins of Copan, Uxmal, Dairigua, and Palenque pretend to vie in antiquity with which we have been contemplating; for while in Egypt and Nineveh wood has been found 3000 years old, the hot and rainy climate of Central America would prevent the duration of timber for any thing like that time. The perfect preservation of the ruins of Uxmal is therefore an argument against their ascending to a remote antiquity.

ART. IV.—*Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie*, Missionary to China. Written by his Father. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1849.

The American Churches have probably sent out no missionary to the foreign field of higher qualifications or greater promise than Walter M. Lowrie. His piety was enlightened, calm and profound. His disposition was cheerful and amiable. His physical constitution was good. His talents were of a high order, especially for the acquisition of languages; and his executive ability was not less remarkable. He was wise and prudent, as well as energetic. He was distinguished for his habits of order and for his untiring industry. He was early accustomed to make great use of his pen. While a member of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, though always maintaining the highest position in his class, he performed the laborious task of preparing a two-fold catalogue of the pamphlets contained in near a thousand volumes, the munificent gift of the Rev. Dr. Sprague of Albany. The volume before us, which contains abundant evidence of all the traits which we have attributed to him, bears full testimony to the importance of this facility in writing. No reader of his memoirs can fail to feel surprise that he was able to write so much, in the midst of his pressing duties and constant distractions.

Mr. Lowrie was born February 18th, 1819, in Butler, Penn. The principal part of his early training, owing to the public duties of his father, devolved on his excellent mother. After the usual course of academic instruction, he entered the Freshman class in Jefferson College in October, 1833, before he had completed his fourteenth year. His standing in all respects in college was high. When he graduated, September 1837, he received from the President the following certificate as to scholarship. Languages, grade 1. Moral Science, 1. Natural Science, 1. Mathematics, 1. His early education had been of course religious. He was well instructed in the

doctrines of the Bible, and went to college a consecrated youth; consecrated in baptism, and by the prayers and faith of his parents. While there he was led, during a season of revival, to embrace the offers of the gospel and to consecrate himself to the service of God. His first communion was on March 8th, 1835. As soon as this great question was decided, his mind turned towards the ministry. Under date of August 10th, 1835, he writes to his father: "I profess to be, and hope I am, a servant of Christ. The command is, 'Go work in my vineyard.' After having decided how I shall work—whether as a minister or otherwise, the next question will be, where?" On the 31st of the same month he wrote; "I have been engaged in the examination of the subject of the gospel ministry, and have at length been enabled to decide, at least from present views and feelings, and with prayer, that it is my duty to devote myself to the service of God in that manner." In November, 1835, he wrote to his mother an account of an address which he had heard with much interest, from an agent of the American Board of Missions, and adds: "If I ever desired to be a minister or missionary, I did last night. Such a glorious object! so worthy all the talents, feelings and affections of every reasonable creature, that it seems impossible, almost not to desire it. However, though it may be the duty of others to decide this matter while at college, I hardly think it can be mine, at least for a year to come." In a letter to his father, dated Jefferson College, February 7th, 1837, he says: "The question of personal devotion to the missionary cause, has, as you are aware, long been before my mind. When I first experienced a hope of salvation, this subject presented itself to my mind. This feeling has continued in almost every time and place. This session I felt it to be important to know what I should do, and what time I could spare was devoted to the examination of the question. I never found any particular difficulties, except as to my piety. At our last communion I was enabled to decide to be, by the grace of God, a missionary. It was like throwing a heavy burden off from my mind, and I have not since experienced one moment of regret at the decision. Sometimes, indeed, it seems hard,—O, very hard—to think of parting

with near and dear friends; but what are all these, or life itself, to the advancement of the Saviour's cause, to which, two years ago, I consecrated myself?"

Time alone can determine the nature of such decisions. Hundreds of young men, in the first ardour of their Christian love, have formed the purpose to be missionaries. But a change of circumstances or of feeling has led to its being soon abandoned. But where the purpose thus early formed is perseveringly cherished, and ultimately executed, it furnishes very strong evidence that it was the work of the Holy Spirit. It is therefore one of the many interesting features in the religious life of Mr. Lowrie, that he determined on devoting himself to the missionary work before he was eighteen years old, and never afterwards wavered for a moment. He had thus time to mature. He was constantly increasing in fitness for his high vocation, by the constant contemplation of his destined work. We have seen in other cases the healthful influence of this early consecration. In some, indeed, it was but a means of ripening the soul for heaven; death coming just at the close of a long course of preparation for a missionary life. But in others, the effect was, as in the case of Mr. Lowrie, a more intelligent, as well as more devoted consecration of the whole man to his chosen work.

After leaving college, Mr. Lowrie spent the winter in New York with his father, and entered the Theological Seminary in Princeton, May 1838, but joined the class formed at the commencement of the academic year in September following. He continued three years in the Seminary, leaving the Institution in May, 1841. During his course in the Seminary, he exhibited all those intellectual and moral traits of character to which we have already referred, and which were so conspicuously manifested in his subsequent career.

In a letter to his friend, Mr. John Lloyd, dated Princeton, August 21st, 1839, he says: "Let me whisper in your ear, for I don't want it known, that I look to a field nearer home than China, or even Northern India. Don't hold up your hands in astonishment at this—I mean Western Africa, the white man's grave. There has been a great change of feeling in the Seminary, in regard to this field, since I came here. Last summer, at

the first part of the session, there was not one student who even thought of Western Africa as a missionary field. But during the course of last winter, one, and then another of the brethren determined to go to Western Africa, and they have now gone." In his letter to the Executive Committee of the Board of Foreign Missions, offering himself as a missionary, dated December 10th, 1840, he says: "In making you this offer of my services, I shall leave it to the Committee to decide on my field of labour. My own preferences, however, are strongly towards Western Africa, and I am perfectly willing to take on myself the responsibility of going to that field. It has been before my mind distinctly for two years and a half, and before either of your present missionaries to that field decided on going there. Still, if it be probable that my usefulness would be greater elsewhere, I shall willingly go to any other field." No objections to his preference for Africa were made by his friends, and for several months the question of his field of labour was considered as fully settled. The peculiar exigences of the China Mission during the spring and summer of 1841, induced the Committee to reconsider the question. That mission was then in its infancy. It was one of special difficulty and importance. It had also been severely tried. Mr. Mitchell had been removed by death; Mr. Orr by the failure of his health; Mr. McBryde was, after a year's service, rapidly declining, so that the prospect was that I. C. Hepburn, M. D., would soon be left alone in that mission. Under these circumstances, and in view of the peculiar qualifications of Mr. Lowrie, the Committee were decided and unanimous in the opinion that he ought to go to China instead of Africa. To this decision he reluctantly consented, and it is evident from his letters, that even when in China, he often looked towards Africa with a kind of fond regret.

He was licensed to preach the gospel on the 5th of April 1841, and after leaving the Seminary he was sent to Michigan in the service of the Board. On his return he spent some time among the churches in Western New York. On the 9th of November he was ordained, but no opportunity for sailing to his destined field offered until the following January. The interval was chiefly spent at home. Several of his most inter-

esting letters belong to this period. We give the following extract from a communication to his friend Mr. Lloyd, as characteristic of his piety. It shows how religion in his case was rapidly maturing into a controlling principle. "Another thing that makes me say less about them (i. e. his feelings) is, that I have learned not to rely upon them so much as once I did; and indeed, I so often find it necessary to act without, and even against feelings, from a sense of duty, that this makes me less careful about them. They are certainly important; when we are in a proper 'frame,' and our 'feelings' are urged on by a favorable impulse, there is a great deal of pleasure connected with them. But too much dependence upon them will often unfit us for duty. A man's feelings may take their colour from many things besides his religious state. He may be melancholy, from a low state of health, when he thinks it is a sense of sin that makes him sad. He may be cheerful and feel very grateful, as he supposes, from a sense of God's favour; and yet the greater part of his joy shall be caused by the mere flow of animal spirits. Our feelings arise very often, indeed, from something in ourselves; but our standard of duty is not anything in ourselves, but the eternal word of God. That is liable to no changes, and does not fluctuate with the ever-varying tide of human passion, but flows on ever the same. I do not undervalue the importance of feelings; they are like the perfumes that sweeten the gales which waft us on our course; and at times they may even be compared to the gales that assist the galley-slave, as he toils at his oars. But we are rowing up stream, and it will not do for us to lie on our oars, every time the breeze lulls. 'Time and tide wait for no man,' and we, on the other hand, in our heavenly course, must toil on without waiting for time or tide, or wind or wave. 'Faint, yet pursuing.' As John Bunyan says of religion among men, so may it be said of religion in the heart, "We must own religion in his rags, as well as when in his silver slippers, and stand by him too when bound in irons, as well as when he walketh the streets, with applause."

On the eve of sailing he writes to his cousin, Mr. John M. Lowrie: "After long delay the Huntress is to sail to-morrow. We are all well here, and I believe all in good spirits. Very

seldom have I found my mind so perfectly calm and peaceful, and it has been since last Friday. The Sabbath was to me one of my bright days, or rather, as I seldom have bright, dazzling days, it was one of those calm, peaceful days, when the soul rises insensibly above the world, and dwells with the assurance of faith on unseen realities." This was the state of mind in which he bade a final farewell to home and country.

He sailed from New York, January 19, 1842, and after a prosperous voyage landed at Macao on the 27th of the following May. At the time of his arrival hostilities still existed between Great Britain and China, the five ports had not yet been opened, and the question whether Singapore should continue the chief seat of missionary operation for China was still undecided. Under these circumstances it was deemed important that Mr. Lowrie should proceed as soon as possible to Singapore to consult with the brethren then at that station. He accordingly took passage in a British vessel, manned with Lascars, the officers only being English. His accommodations on board this ship were very uncomfortable, and he suffered all sorts of annoyances while contending against the Southwest monsoon. From July 10th to August 11th, they gained but one hundred miles. He writes to Mr. McBryde informing him that "after beating about for thirty-one days, we found our wood, water and provisions growing short, and as the current was now so strong that we could make no progress against it, we very reluctantly turned about, August 11th, and shaped our course for Manilla, meaning there to refit. But our troubles were not over yet. The wind, which had been directly in our teeth, when we tried to go to Singapore, now, when we wanted to go the other way, first veered about to S. E. and then fell a dead calm." However on the 23d of August he reached Manilla in safety, sixty-six days after leaving Macao. "I arrived," he says, writing to his brother, "at Manilla a perfect stranger, not knowing even the name of a single person here. There were no Protestant missionaries in the Philippine Islands, and Manilla is almost the only port, from Chusan in China to Calcutta in India, where I could not have found persons whom I knew, or with whom, from similarity of pursuits, I could not speedily have formed an acquaintance. Yet

I had not been on shore an hour, before I found myself most perfectly at home in the house of Mr. Moore, a merchant from Boston, and at present acting as United States vice consul."

On the 18th September he embarked on board the *Harmony*, counted one of the fastest sailing British merchantmen in the Chinese waters, bound for Singapore. The first week of the voyage was on the whole favourable; but on September 25th, about one o'clock P. M., while sailing at the rate of five or six miles an hour, "the ship struck against some obstacle with tremendous violence. It impeded her onward motion in a moment. We started to our feet; again she struck, and again she reeled like a drunken man. The deck quivered beneath our feet; and on going out we found the men running about, the officers giving their orders, and the terrified steward groaning and wringing his hands at the cabin door. The ship soon struck again with increased violence, knocking off large pieces of her keel, and completely breaking her back. It was an awful time; a strong wind, a heavy rain falling, and an unquiet and restless sea; yet there were no breakers and no discoloured waters—the usual signs of a shoal—and although in the intervals of rain we could see at least ten miles on every side, yet there was neither island, rock, nor breakers in sight; nor any other sign of danger. . . . As you may well imagine, I was on my knees more than once. It was a solemn time; but my mind was kept in a calm and composed frame. We struck about half past one P. M. In less than an hour we had three feet water in the hold. In two hours more it had increased to six feet, in less than another hour there was seven, and in twenty minutes more, seven feet and six inches; and this though the four pumps were kept constantly going, and all drawing well. It was now near five o'clock, P. M., and it being evident that the ship must sink, the pumps were abandoned and the boats got ready. . . . It was arranged that twenty-one, including the captain and passengers, should go in the long boat, and the mate and seven men in the jolly boat. We managed to get in about seven o'clock, and pushed off from the ship. She was then settling fast in the water, which was already nearly on a level with her decks. . . . A heavy rain fell almost constantly till mid-

night from which we could have no protection, and in a few minutes we were drenched with the rain and the spray. The boat, with so many persons in, was very deep in the water; and to add to our discomfort and apprehensions, leaked a good deal, so that one person was constantly employed in bailing her out. . . . On Monday we rigged a couple of masts, and with a royal studding-sail, and main-try-sail, which had been thrown into the boat, we mustered a very respectable fore-sail and main-sail, using our whole oar, and one of the broken oars for yards. . . . A man and a boy were taken in from the jolly boat, which made our whole number nineteen men and four boys; a large number for a boat only twenty-one feet long, and eight feet broad. The provisions were then examined, and we found there was bread enough to last a week or ten days, but that we had a very small quantity of water. There could not have been more than eight or ten gallons. This was a cause of no little anxiety, for by our calculations we could not be less than four hundred miles from Manilla (whither we now directed our course), and at that season of the year, calms, and even head winds, which would make our passage long, were not unlikely to occur. Accordingly all hands were put on an allowance of half a pint of water daily, and bread in moderation. . . . Tuesday was a terrible day. Not a cloud in the sky; scarcely a breath of wind, and the hot sun of the torrid zone beating down upon us. . . . On Wednesday the breeze became stronger, with a heavy sea. We went rapidly on, and in our lonely course found amusement in watching the large flocks of boobies that in some places nearly covered the sea. . . . Thursday morning commenced with rain which soon wet us to the skin; but we did not mind that, for we caught several buckets full of water, which, in the low ebb of our water-cask, gave us great joy; and we ate our breakfast in high spirits. About ten o'clock the wind rose, the sea ran very high, and frequent squalls of wind and rain darkened the heavens and drenched us to the skin. The captain sent the best helmsman to the tiller, and sat down himself by the compass, and for eight long hours he did not move from his seat. Conversation ceased; and scarcely a word was uttered in all that time, except the orders from the captain to the

helmsman, "Port! Port your helm, quick! Hard a-port! Starboard now! Mind your port helm," &c. Many a longing anxious look did we cast before us to see if there were any signs of land; but still more to the west, to see if the gale gave signs of abating. But no! Darker and darker grew the heavens over us; higher and higher rose the sea; louder and louder still roared the waves as they rushed past our little boat, and faster fell the rain. If a single one of those waves had come over the boat's side, it would have overwhelmed and swallowed up the boat, and every one on board; and it was only by the utmost care and skill that she was kept before them.

"Death never seemed so near before. An emotion of sorrow passed through my mind, as I thought of my friends at home who would, probably, be long in suspense in regard to my fate; and of regret, as I thought of the work for which I had come; but for myself, my mind was kept in peace. I knew in whom I had believed, and felt that he was able to save; and though solemn is the near prospect of eternity, I felt no fear, and had no regret that I had perilled my life in such a cause.

"Thus the day wore away, and night approached without any signs of more moderate weather. The wind was now so strong, and the sea so high, that it was with the utmost danger that we could hold on our course. Everything was wet, and we tried in vain to get a light for the compass; besides, by our calculations, we could not be more than thirty or forty miles from land; and at the rate we were going, should reach it about midnight; but to attempt to land in such a sea, in the dark, would be madness itself. What could we do? Backwards, or sideways, we could not go, on account of the sea; to go forward was to throw our lives away; to remain where we were, *even if it were possible*, seemed to be remaining in the very jaws of death. It was, however, our only hope, if hope it could be called, and accordingly preparations were made for heaving the boat to. The foresail was taken down, and securely fastened to the yard; the largest cord we could muster (about thirty fathoms) attached to this and to the boat. The mainsail was then lowered, and watching our opportunity, the foresail was thrown overboard, cord paid out, and the boat's

head turned to the wind. This last was a most perilous operation; for had a wave struck her while her broadside was exposed to it, all would have been over with us. The plan, however, succeeded admirably. The little foresail being between the wind and the boat, it served to break the force of the waves; and as it lay flat on the water, it was not acted on by the wind; and thus served also as an anchor to keep the boat's head to the wind. We then had the mainsail hoisted up in the form of a staysail, to keep the boat steady, and thus we were hove to.

“For a while, the result was very uncertain. The wind howled past us with a force which made every plank in the boat quiver; the rain fell in torrents, with the violence of small hail-stones, nearly all the night; and we could hear the great waves as they formed and rose away ahead of us, and then rushed toward us, with a sound like the whizzing of an immense racket. Sometimes they would strike us as if with a heavy hammer, causing the boat to jump bodily away; and then again, their white, foaming, phosphorescent crests would be piled up by our sides, as if, the next moment, they would dash in and overwhelm us in an instant. There we lay, packed together so closely that we could scarcely move; while every now and then, a dash of spray came over us, covering us with pale phosphoric sparks that shed a dim and fearful light for a few inches around. Oh, it was a dreadful night! There was distress and perplexity, the sea and the waves roaring, and men's hearts failing them for fear.

“Not one of our company, I will venture to say, had any expectation of seeing the light of another day. For myself, I thought deliberately of each and every member of our family, and breathed a silent farewell to each: of many of my friends by name, of former scenes and seasons: of various missionary fields, and offered prayers for each and all: of my own past life, and of the certainty, for so it then seemed to me, that in a few hours I should enter on the untried realities of which I had so often thought. I know not that my mind was ever in a calmer state, or that I could more deliberately reflect on what I wished to fix my thoughts upon: and though I could not feel those clear convictions of my safety I have sometimes

felt, yet my faith was fixed on the Rock of Ages, and death seemed to have but few terrors for me. In such a night, and with such expectations, it was wrong to sleep; and though benumbed with rain and cold, and almost exhausted for want of rest, I did not close my eyes during the whole time. Many precious Scripture truths passed through my mind; such as—“When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee,” which I applied to myself in a spiritual manner; for, situated as we were, I could scarcely expect to have them literally fulfilled. I know not when I felt more strongly the delightful sublimity of the expression, “He holdeth the waters in the hollow of his hand,” or the feeling of security even for the body, which for a moment it gave me.

“As you may suppose, there were few words spoken, and the only sound we heard, besides the wind and rain and the roaring sea, was that of the boys bailing out the water. Towards two or three o’clock in the morning, (by our conjectures, for we had no light to see with), the wind and sea seemed to abate, and finding we shipped very little water, we began to hope that our lives might yet be spared. The morning slowly dawned, but as it dawned the wind and sea increased. As soon as we could see, the foresail was hauled in and hoisted to the wind, and the mainsail spread, and we commenced again our perilous course. Soon the cry, “Land ho!” was raised, and when the morning had fairly dawned, we saw it stretching along right before us, about ten miles off. We must have been driven many miles during the night to be so near it. Soon our hopes were greatly excited, for the land had the appearance precisely of that about the entrance of Manilla Bay. We could see what we took to be Point Hornos, Mount Mari-veles, the island Corregidor, and the Lora Mountains; and we were filled with joy at the prospect of so soon ending our voyage.

“We steered directly for the land, meaning to get behind some projecting point, and wait till the sea became calm. Meanwhile, however, the wind and sea rose again; the heavens became black behind us, and there was a great rain. To our sorrow, also, we found that we had mistaken the land, for

none of us had ever seen it before. But it was too late to go back, the squall was upon us: and though the rain fell so fast that we could not see more than twenty yards, yet on we must go. There was a little island on the right, and the captain was on the point of steering the boat so as to get round under its lee, when we saw heavy breakers right ahead. We turned off to the left, though at an imminent risk, for this brought our broadside to the sea, and several light waves dashed over us. There were breakers on the left too, but we were directed in a channel between them, and rounding a projecting point of rocks, we saw a little cove sheltered from the wind, and as smooth as an inland lake. Soon our boat touched the bottom, only a few yards from the shore. We jumped overboard, secured her by ropes to two or three trees, and we were safe! It was a time of joy. With one consent, we gathered together under the trees, and offered up our thanksgiving and praises to God, with prayers for future assistance and protection. It was a scene worthy of a painter's skill,—our little boat fastened to the trees, our scanty baggage piled upon the shore, and ourselves under the custard-apple trees, standing with upturned faces, while the rain dropped upon our bare heads, as we lifted up our voices, and I trust our hearts also to that God who had held the winds in his fist, and the waters in the hollow of his hand, and had brought us through dangers which we never expected to survive. It was well we came in when we did, for it was then high tide, and a few hours later the channel through which we had passed, was itself one mass of breakers. Our boat would inevitably have been dashed to pieces there, and some, if not all of us, would have perished among the waves."

We have given this interesting narrative in some detail, for the escape is one of the most remarkable on record. The gale which was successfully weathered by an open boat loaded nearly to the water line, proved destructive to large ships; some dragging their anchors even in the harbour of Manilla; others driven on shore or foundering at sea. They landed on the island of Luban, September 30th; and on October 3d, reached Manilla in safety. He was received with great kindness and sympathy by Mr. and Mrs. Moore, and Mr. Edgar,

the brother of the latter, who gave him a free passage for Hong Kong; for which place he embarked October 10th, and arrived after a rough passage on the 17th of the same month, just four months after he had left Macao for Singapore.

From Hong Kong he proceeded to Macao, where he remained until August, 1843, engaged in studying the language, preaching regularly on the sabbath to the American and European residents, and waiting for the expected reinforcement of the mission from America. As it was important that some member of the mission should visit the northern ports of China, recently opened by the treaty with Great Britain to foreign commerce, Mr. Lowrie in the latter end of August left Macao for Amoy and Chusan, calling in his way at Hong Kong. This is a small, irregular-shaped island. Its entire circumference is about twenty-seven miles, and so hilly and rocky that it is only by cutting down hills and levelling the ground, that suitable building sites can be obtained. Its great recommendation is its position and its fine harbour. It was taken possession of by the English in January, 1841, and received as a dependency of the British crown in June, 1843. Its population in 1841 was about four thousand, but in 1843 it amounted to twenty thousand. During the voyage from Hong Kong to Amoy, he passed in sight of the three great opium depots along the coast, at these places. The opium dealers in Canton and Macao, have ships constantly stationed to supply the smaller vessels, which carry opium to different parts of the coast. The number of vessels employed in this traffic is very great. A single mercantile house in Canton and Macao has about fifty vessels, ships, barks, brigs and schooners, while another house has thirty or more. The laws of China which forbid the introduction of opium are a dead letter. The Chinese officers connive at the traffic. One of the greatest difficulties in the way of Christian missions in China, arises from the prevalence of the use of this intoxicating drug. When a man acquires a taste for opium, there is nothing he will not do to gratify it; and its use is most deleterious. It injures the health, stupefies the mind, and deadens the moral feelings. When it is once confirmed, it is almost impossible to abandon

it. The fondness of opium is one of the strongest chains in which Satan has bound this great people.

Mr. Lowrie arrived at Amoy September 5th. "Multitudes, multitudes," he says, was the impression fastened upon him in walking through the crowded streets, and looking over the close-built environs of the city. The suburbs are much larger than the city itself. Each street is closed at either end by gates every night; all are narrow and dirty. It is hardly possible for foreigners to live in the close filthy quarters generally occupied by the Chinese. The country around Amoy consists almost entirely of bleak, stony hills. Its population is generally estimated at two hundred thousand. The residence of the missionaries was on the island of Kulangsu, near the city. This island is about three miles long and not quite one mile broad, and is exceedingly beautiful. Full three hundred thousand souls are accessible from this spot, whom a missionary might reach without spending a night from home. The use of opium is very common. Mr. Lowrie says he was informed on good authority, that every man in Amoy who could afford to buy it, was more or less addicted to its use. Infanticide also prevails to a fearful extent throughout the province. It is supposed that one-fifth or one-sixth of the children in the district around Amoy perish by the hands of their parents.

Mr. L. left Amoy September 7th, for Chusan. From Hong Kong to Amoy, three hundred miles, the coast is rocky, bold, and mountainous; but after passing the former place, it is level, with gentle elevations and depressions, for about two hundred miles, when it again becomes rocky. When within one hundred and twenty miles of Chusan, the monsoon changed, and after vainly contending with it for some time, the vessel was obliged to return to Amoy, which they reached September 26th. Early in October, he and Mr. Abeel made a visit to the neighbouring city of Chang-Chow. He closes his journal, kept during his sojourn in the neighbourhood of Amoy, by remarking on the denseness of the population. "If," says he, "the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore were situated in a valley forty miles long and ten or fifteen broad, and the whole intervening country were so thickly covered with villages that a man should never be out

of sight of one or more of them, still the population of that valley would not be as great as is the population of that part of China of which the preceding pages speak. At seven o'clock in the morning we were at Amoy; by two o'clock P. M. we had passed Haeteng and Cho-bey, and were anchored at Chang-chow. Here were four cities, any one of which would be a city of the first size in the United States, and around these four cities there must be at least two hundred villages and towns; and this is not all, for within thirty miles of Amoy in another direction, is the city of Tung-an, said to be twice as large as Amoy, with I know not how many towns and villages in its neighbourhood. . . . I am astonished and confounded, and even after what I have seen, can scarcely believe the half of what must be true, respecting the multitudes who live in China, and the multitudes who are perfectly accessible to the efforts of the missionary. . . . Two years ago, the Protestant missionaries were confined to Canton and Macao, and in neither of those places were they allowed free access to the people, or those opportunities of social intercourse with them, that are indispensable to the full success of the missionary work. Now, how changed the scene! Here are four large cities with innumerable villages around them, where we have free access to the people, without encountering the prejudices which so long hindered us at Canton and Macao.

. . . . It has been strongly impressed on my mind, from what I have lately seen, that to no country will the Saviour's words 'to the poor the gospel is preached,' be found so applicable as to China. . . . The great mass of the people are poor in the strictest sense of the term. . . . You see it in the coarse clothing they wear, the food they eat, the homes they inhabit, the furniture they use, and the wages they receive. You see it in the fact that their only coined money is so small that it requires twelve hundred to make a dollar; and happy is he who receives two hundred of these for his day's labour. Let the missionary who comes to China, bear this in mind. The highest talents are needed in preaching to the poor, but especially will he need the graces of humility and self-denial, of faith and of patience, in his intercourse with this people, and his efforts to instruct them."

On returning from Amoy to Hong-Kong, he was again in great danger. He had embarked in a little vessel of some thirty tons burden, manned by three Englishmen and four Chinese. The weather proved stormy, and the day after getting to sea the rudder broke, and rendered them perfectly helpless. Happily the wind and current drifted them on their course, and after several days they got the rudder so repaired as to control the motions of the vessel, just in time to prevent their being drifted out on the China Sea, where their only chance of safety would be to be picked up by some passing vessel. The gale in which the little *Lordra* broke her rudder, was very violent further south. The ship in which Dr. Hepburn and his wife had embarked from Hong Kong to Amoy was obliged to return with the loss of spars, sails &c., and that in which Mr. Medhurst and Mr. Milne were proceeding to Chusan, lost her top-mast, had her captain swept overboard and drowned, and was finally obliged to put into Manilla in distress.

Before the end of the month of October, Mr. Lowrie went from Hong-Kong to Macao, which for the present he considered his home. In a letter to his father, dated Macao, Oct. 26, 1843, he expresses at length his opinion of Dr. Morrison's translation of the Bible. He had previously characterised it as very imperfect and unintelligible to the Chinese. To account for this, he remarks that Dr. Morrison was the first protestant missionary who commenced the study of Chinese. He had to make his own grammar and his own dictionary. He could not be expected to master the most difficult of all languages in a few years, under such disadvantages. Being in the service of the East India Company, he was necessarily conversant chiefly with phrases and idioms of use in mercantile transactions, and his time was so much taken up in other duties, that he could not devote sufficient attention to so important a work as the translation of the Scriptures. Besides all this, his version was made when he was yet learning the language, and not in the maturity of his knowledge. He commenced it in less than five years after he began to study Chinese; finished the Acts in 1810, only three years after his arrival in China; prosecuted his translations, as he says him-

self, 'with many an aching head' from his duties as translator to the Company, and finished in 1819. His subsequent revision and corrections, were very, very slight indeed." The wonder is that under such circumstances so much was accomplished. A plan, he adds, was formed in a convention of the protestant missionaries, to make a new translation. "The plan is, to take the New Testament first; divide it into five portions, and assign one to each station where there are missionaries competent to the task. After each station has finished its portion, it is to send a copy to every other station. After they have all revised each other's work, one person is to be selected from each station; these are to meet together and revise and publish the whole." "In regard to the tracts, many of the same remarks made on the other translation of Morrison's Bible, are equally applicable to them. They have been made in the early stage of the missionaries' studies. One or two of Medhurst's are very good, and one or two of Milne's. The Two Friends, by the latter, is perhaps the best Chinese tract we have, and is generally understood. . . . There is no foreigner living perfectly acquainted with the language; and even those who speak it really very well, often make mistakes in writing it, and use phrases and idioms that a Chinese never uses and does not understand. A learned man among the Chinese may be able to pick some sense out of their writings; but a common man, and the mass of Chinese readers are and will be common men, are often at a loss to find the sense."

The year 1844 was spent by Mr. Lowrie in the laborious prosecution of his studies, and in attending to the general concerns of the mission. During this year a considerable accession was received to the Missionary corps; and after prayerful consultation it was decided that Mr. Happer and Mr. Cole, printer, should remain at Canton, with the press; that Mr. Lloyd and Dr. Hepburn should go to Amoy, to be joined by Mr. Hugh A. Brown, when he should arrive; Mr. Lowrie, Mr. Way, Mr. Culbertson, Mr. Loomis and Dr. McCartee were to go to Ningpo.

The printing press and the matrixes for Chinese type were received in February. Printing Chinese with movable metal

type was a new enterprise, of great difficulty. The type were to be cast, and four thousand different characters were to be arranged in cases for composition. Mr. Cole was experienced in English printing, but he had no knowledge of Chinese, and the entire arrangement of the Chinese characters devolved on Mr. Lowrie. After months of labour all difficulties were surmounted and the press went into operation in June. Besides this, much of his time was required on behalf of the other missionaries. As he was in a measure at home, and they in a strange land, their business affairs naturally fell to his share. These various duties, together with his correspondence with the Mission House, and the preparation of several important articles for the press, fully occupied his time.

On January 21st, 1845, he left Macao and turned his face towards the North. As few vessels sail for the northern parts of China during the North-East monsoon he was detained nearly a month at Hong-Kong. At length he obtained a berth on board the *Rob Roy*, a clipper bark, the captain and mates being English, and her crew a motley mixture of Bengalis, Malays, Manila-men, with one or two Arabs, two Chinese, and a Portuguese from Goa, the blackest man on board. They left Hong-Kong on the 16th of February, and in sixteen days were in the latitude of the Chusan Islands. The latter part of the voyage was not so speedy. Though they had less than two hundred miles to run, it was not until March 11th, they cast anchor at Woosung, about fourteen miles from Shanghai. The whole country around the latter city is perfectly level. The soil is rich. There are no stones, not even pebbles. Farm houses and villages dot the country in every direction, and clumps of bamboos, with orchards of peaches and plum trees, and willows by the water courses relieve the sameness of the ground. Two crops, one of wheat, and the other of cotton, are raised every year, and in some parts a third crop of rice is also procured. The city is of a circular form, surrounded by walls, about fifteen feet high, and nearly four miles in circumference. The population is about two hundred thousand. By the Woosung river it is connected with the city of Loochow, the capital of the province, and one of the most luxurious and wealthy in the

empire, and also with the Grand Canal which reaches Peking. Hence its situation is one of great importance, and its trade is immense. Every foreigner who has visited Shanghai gives the inhabitants a much higher character than those of Canton. They are rather taller, and of a more ruddy complexion, and much more civil and well disposed than their southern countrymen. In passing through the streets one is rarely insulted, and the opprobrious epithets so common in Canton and Macao are scarcely ever heard. The appearance of the city however, is not very prepossessing, and among the Chinese themselves it is pre-eminent among the dirty cities of the empire.

Tuesday, April 1st, he reached Chusan and was rejoiced to find his associates Messrs. Loomis and Culbertson had already arrived. Much of his baggage and his books were sent by the ship which brought his colleagues from Hong-Kong. On opening the boxes, they found his books sadly injured, some utterly ruined, three-fourths defaced or seriously damaged. This to a missionary far from libraries was a severe loss.

April 11th. he passed over to Ningpo which was to be the seat of his missionary labours. Ningpo lies in the centre of a large plain, surrounded on all sides by mountains, and intersected by innumerable canals, which serve the double purpose of irrigation and travelling. A covered boat and boatman can be had for a whole day for twenty-five cents. The plain is at least twenty miles in its narrowest part, and much wider in other places. The whole of this great amphitheatre is thickly studded over with villages and farm houses, and has two or three large cities besides Ningpo. The foreign trade of this port is not so great as it once was. When the treaty was formed in 1842 it was supposed that Ningpo would be the most important of the five ports. The vicinity of Shanghai to the city of Loochow and the great canal gives it great advantages.

Having devoted his attention while at Macao to the study of the Mandarin dialect, from which that of Ningpo is said to differ as much as French from Spanish, he was obliged to begin anew, so far as the spoken language was concerned. This with the necessary attention he was called upon to devote to

correcting the press, and other similar duties, somewhat retarded his progress in learning to speak, while he was only the more rapidly increasing in his knowledge of the written language. Under date of April 21st, 1846, he says to Mr. Lloyd at Amoy, speaking on this subject: "I find it a very serious drawback in my studies and acquirement of the language, that so much of the best part of my missionary life, was spent where the dialect I was studying was not spoken. Although I know more of books than any other here, yet McCartee speaks incomparably better than I do, and both Culbertson and Loomis will probably be preaching before me. What in the world should I do among the 'tones' of your delightful dialect." In the same letter, however, he says that he had already tried preaching, once or twice, though "like the man who tried to swim before he had been in the water," he did not succeed much to his satisfaction. By October of this year he had obtained sufficient command of the spoken language, to enable him to preach regularly. He says in his journal Oct. 4, 1846, "To-day commenced a Chinese service in my house. Put up a notice at the door, inviting *choo pang yew*, 'all the friends', to come and hear; prepared seats for about forty; and about the hour my servant went to the door and invited the passers-by to come in. . . . Some came in with their burdens; some looking half afraid; some ran right out again; some stood up; some sat down; some smoked their pipes; some said what is the use of staying, he is a foreigner, and we do not understand foreign talk. The attention was none of the best, for it required all my courage and presence of mind to keep going, and the people feeling quite free to talk and make remarks, I got along no better than I anticipated. I am not discouraged, though by no means flattered by the result of this day's experiment. There were some forty persons present." It must require almost a faith that can remove mountains, to enable a man to preach the gospel hopefully in such circumstances. He informs his father, under date of Dec. 31st, 1846, of his manner of preparing his sermons. "I write," he says, "a sermon in Chinese every week; about eight pages; not so large as a letter-paper sheet. This I look over several times, especially on Sunday; put up a notice on

my doors, that in the afternoon there will be preaching, and open my doors shortly after dinner—say half-past two. One of my servants, or my teacher, stands at the door and invites passers-by to come in. The great difficulty is to get an audience to begin with. . . . I commonly commence as soon as there are five or six persons present, and if the weather be at all fair, I am pretty sure in five or ten minutes to have from fifteen to forty persons.” But as the people continue coming and going he often would preach the same sermon over again the same afternoon, to a new audience; and thus frequently had the opportunity of presenting the gospel to fifty or a hundred persons on a Sabbath.

Thus ended the year 1846. During the early months of 1847, the same course of labour was continued. Having been appointed one of the delegates for the revision of the translation of the Bible, he went to Shanghai in the early part of June. He expected the convention would not sit more than six or seven weeks, but it was soon found that a much longer time would be necessary. The other members of the convention were Drs. Medhurst, Boone, Bridgeman, and Mr. J. Stronach. They were soon arrested in their labours by the question; what is the proper word for God in Chinese? Morrison and Milne had adopted the word *Shin*, as meaning God, or Divinity in general. Mr. Medhurst for many years did the same, but afterwards, used the expression *Shang Te*, Supreme Ruler. Mr. Gutschlaff did the same, and under the influence of these two gentlemen, the most experienced Chinese scholars in the field, most of the missionaries adopted the expression. Of late years much had been said on the subject. It was objected to the use of *Shang Te*, that it is a distinctive title of the national deity of China; and secondly, that it is not a generic term, and cannot be used in translating such passages as “Jehovah our God,” “The unknown God him I declare unto you,” and the like. Dr. Medhurst, and Mr. Stronach were decidedly in favour of the designation last mentioned; Dr. Bridgman, Bishop Boone, and Mr. Lowrie were as decided in their preference for the word *Shin*. The result of this discussion is not stated in this memoir.

Mr. Lowrie had now been rather more than five years in

China. During this time he had accomplished a great deal notwithstanding the interruptions occasioned by his numerous voyages, and the attention he was obliged to give to the business concerns of the mission. In a letter to his father dated December 5th, 1845, he says, "After a good deal of thought, I am about settling down to the opinion, that I ought to aim at a pretty full knowledge of books and writings in Chinese. In a mission so large as ours, and where we have a press, there must be some one tolerably at home on some points. Now, I have been so circumstanced, as to be obliged to turn my thoughts much that way, somewhat to the disadvantage of my speaking fluently, and I am so still. I have laid such a foundation of acquaintance with the written language, as enables me to go on with some ease, and such as the other brethren can hardly be expected to do in some time. They are accordingly outstripping me in the colloquial, though I have the advantage in books, and can easily keep it up. My education and previous habits are also such as fit me more for this than mingling with men, unless actually obliged to do so. I propose therefore not to neglect the colloquial, but to lay out a good portion of my strength on reading and writing Chinese; keeping in view chiefly the translation of the Scriptures, and works explanatory of them, and perhaps the preparation of elementary books, and it may be a dictionary, a thing greatly needed. What do you think of this plan? You will not think I mean to neglect the great work of preaching, for I trust to be able next year to undertake regular services. I might do it now, if I had no accounts to keep, letters to write, and advice to give to others, especially in the printing office. That you may see how much I have been hindered one way and another, since coming to China, I may say that, though it is nearly four years since I left you, yet I have had a teacher, and by consequence, have been studying the language effectively, only twenty three months, and of those, three are hardly worth counting from the interruptions I met." There can hardly be a doubt that this purpose to devote his attention principally to the written language was wise. The principle of the division of labour is as important in the missionary work as elsewhere. There should always

be some men, who from their talents, habits and providential circumstances are led to cultivate learning. They are after all generally the most useful men; because the preparation of books and especially of translations of the Scriptures gives them a wider and a more permanent field of influence than can be occupied in any other way. Henry Martyn, Carey, Marshman, and others belonging to the class of learned missionaries, are those whose labours have been productive of the greatest results.

In the letter just quoted Mr. Lowrie informs his father, that his commentary on Luke, which with the text, he says, would make a handsome volume of a hundred pages, was ready for the press. He strenuously urges the necessity of explanations to attend the written word, because the doctrines, the historical allusions, geography, customs, &c. are all strange to the heathen. He says his teacher asked him twenty times during the preparation of the work, "How can you expect us to understand this book? I do not understand it, who have been reading books all my life, and how can less learned persons comprehend it?"

Another laborious work in which he was engaged was the translation of the Shorter Catechism. "I first write it," he says, "in as good Chinese as I can, and then copy it off, and correct it two or three times, till I am pretty sure it expresses the idea, and then talk it over with the teacher, and get him to correct obscurities and errors in style. . . . The Catechism is so condensed, that it is a very hard thing to translate, and it is also very hard to find equivalents for some of the terms." Speaking of this subject on another occasion, he says: "There are more terms in the written language than in the spoken, but they are of no more use to the common people than the Latin and Greek terms in theological and philosophical books are to the unlearned at home. I know of no term in the language to express precisely 'chief end.' For 'decree,' there is a good word, *ming*, in the written language, but not in the spoken. For 'covenant,' *yo* is a good word, but it is understood only by scholars, nor is there any good word for it in the colloquial. 'Providence,' 'fall,' 'redemption,' 'original sin,' 'effectual calling,' 'justification,' 'adoption,' 'sanctifica-

tion,' 'privilege,' 'holy,' are all very hard words to be put into intelligible Chinese. Most of them may be expressed, after a sort, in the written language, which is very copious, but when it comes to the spoken language one is at a loss, and a great deal of circumlocution is unavoidable."

In his Journal, under the date of April 18th, we find this entry: "Finished the first draught of the Shorter Catechism in Chinese, and May 11th finished revision of it with teacher."

A work of still greater difficulty, to which he early turned his attention, was the preparation of a dictionary. He first speaks of this subject in a letter to his father, dated September 15th, 1846. "I got my head full of a notion of preparing a dictionary of the Four Books the other day, and may perhaps try to make something out of it. There is no existing dictionary by which a Chinese student can read even the Four Books with satisfaction. Morrison's is the best. My plan would be to make a dictionary, 1st. Of all the words in the Four Books, about 2500: this would be the great body of characters used in the language—Dyer's list having only 3500. 2. To give all the meanings of each word that occurs in the Four Books, which, as they are the foundation of the literature of China, would be by much the greater part of the important definitions needed. 3d. To give pretty full biographical notices of all the persons, and notices also of the places mentioned in the Four Books: this would give nearly everything that is important in ancient Chinese history. The above is the better half of what I have cut out. To do it, without interfering with my more direct and more important missionary labours, would require between two and three years. Should this plan succeed, I might afterwards try my hand at a more important and ambitious effort, i. e., a dictionary of the language; but this is so vast an undertaking, that at present I have little idea of trying it. The dictionary of the Four Books I think I can manage, and it would be an important contribution towards a general dictionary." In a letter dated December 31st, 1846, he says: "I still keep at preparing a dictionary of the Four Books, spending two or three hours every day at it. It is a very pleasant recreation, and I find it one of the best modes for getting accurate ideas

of the sense of the characters, so that it will be time well spent, if never a line sees the light. I thought at first that there were about two thousand five hundred characters in the Four Books, but on counting, as I have made out a list, I find there are about two thousand two hundred and fifty. I have already noted down one or more, sometimes eight or ten, significations to about one thousand two hundred of them. But this is not the half, nor the hardest part of the work. I think, however, if I go on as I have begun, that I may get all the significations noted down in four or five months more; and then eight months' moderate work would bring it into a state fit to see the light. Since writing to you at first, however, I have thought of extending it so as to include the Shoo-king and She-king, or Book of Records and Book of Odes. This would increase the number of characters to about three thousand five hundred. My plan would include pretty full biographical and historical notices of China, from the days of Yaou and Shun to those of Mencius, say from B. C. 2100 to B. C. 300, and would make a large quarto volume." In writing from Shanghai, June 3d, 1847, he says: "I have collected all the significations of all the words in the Four Books, and have concluded to go on with the work so as to include the Five Classics, though perhaps I may not include the *Le Ke*, a large and for the most part very trifling and useless work. In the Four books there are in all two thousand three hundred and forty-five different characters, and in the Four Books and Five Classics, the *Le Ke* excepted, there are rather more than four thousand and two hundred. I may perhaps send a list of them some day, from which you will see that the great body of the language is contained in them, i. e., the great body of the really useful characters. Now, my plan is to give each of these characters with its pronunciation in Mandarin, and in the dialect of each of the five ports now open to foreigners. Then to give the etymology of the word from native dictionaries, where I think such etymology worth notice. Then to give the different significations, whether as verbs, nouns, adjectives, &c., and at least one quotation to illustrate each signification, with reference to the page and line where found. This will be the body of the work: but my

plan includes a good deal more, for as the whole of the ancient history, geography, &c. of China is contained in these Four Books and Five Classics, I want my work to be a sort of "Classical Dictionary" on these points. Hence I propose short biographical, historical, geographical sketches under the appropriate characters, with references to such native and foreign authors as may give the student fuller details. You see this is a pretty extensive plan. As to time, I have no idea that I can do it in less than five years, without neglecting other works which I think are entitled to the first place." His master soon called him to a higher service.

It is evident from the whole drift of his letters and journals, that his estimate of the importance of China as a missionary field, was constantly increasing. On this subject we give a single extract from a letter to the Society of Inquiry, Princeton Theological Seminary, dated November 1st, 1845. "Your last question, 'The magnitude of the field and the prospects of the mission?' is one on which a volume might be written, but the space already consumed warns me to be brief, the more so as I may have an occasion hereafter to refer to it. I can only say this: Few have any idea of the extent of the ground that is opened and opening to our labours, and none know where the things will end, whose beginnings we have lived to witness. The opening of China to foreign intercourse, is an event which finds few parallels in the history of the world. This country is a world in itself; and the thought has often occurred to me, while traversing its beautiful plains and crowded streets, 'What a world has been revolving here of which Christendom knows nothing!' I have been led to make excursions of twenty or thirty miles into the interior, from each of the cities of Amoy, Shanghai, and Ningpo, and every where the country is like a vast beehive, swarming with inhabitants. It is the same about Canton, where I have also been, and doubtless the same about Foo-chow. I have not known what it is to be out of sight of a human habitation since I have been in China, and where there is one there is commonly ten. I have scarcely ever seen a little valley, or a hollow among the hills, where industry could cultivate a bed of rice, or a crop of greens, that was not occupied. It is scarcely an

exaggeration to say, that temples and monasteries are as common here as farm-houses in Pennsylvania, and I have seen the streets of Ningpo crowded with many ten thousands of people, to see an idolatrous procession in honour of 'all the gods.' Now all this vast and teeming population of idolaters must have the gospel, or perish. Books will not do the work. It is the living teacher who must speak unto them the words of life. Such is the field we cultivate. As to our prospects, you have them in the concluding verses of Psalm cxxvi.:

They that sow in tears,

With shoutings shall gather the harvest.

Going he shall go, even with weeping, burdened with the seed to be sown:

Coming he shall come, and with shouting, burdened with his sheaves.

It is a great ground of encouragement that the climate of China, though of course very different in different parts of that vast empire, is on the whole healthful. On this subject Mr. Lowrie says of Ningpo, (Jan. 25th, 1847): "We have, on the whole, a delightful climate. A heavy fall of snow last night made every thing look homelike, but it all melted away during the day." At an earlier period of his mission, (November 4th, 1843), he said: "I think the climate of the parts of Ningpo and Shanghai most suitable for persons from the United States; that Canton and the Fuhkeen provinces are unfavourable to those disposed to bilious complaints, but well adapted to those who have a tendency to pulmonary affections." The lowest point reached by the thermometer during his three years' residence at Macao, was 45° of Fahrenheit. It generally ranged, during the cool season, between 50° and 60°. The long warm season, however, he found enervating. Amoy and Hong-Kong had been unhealthy, as he supposes, from temporary circumstances. He says he would not have the slightest fear in going to either of those places. In Shanghai and Ningpo the climate is different. "We have pleasant, cool and cold weather for nine months, and warm weather for three, July and August, and parts of June and September. Of the warm weather, six weeks are uncomfortably hot; worse, if any thing than Macao."

The peculiar obstacle to the missionary work in China, is the language; and that not merely on account of its difficulty,

but because of the multiplicity of its dialects, and the difference between the written and spoken language, and because of its poverty and cumbersomeness. It is almost inconceivable how such a language can ever be made the vehicle of life, and a means of regeneration to the people. The original roots of the language are not very numerous, but by combination and difference of accentuation and intonation, they are indefinitely multiplied. These tones or accents are commonly reckoned as five; others make eight, others as many as eleven or thirteen, each giving the word as spoken a different meaning. There are no declensions or conjugations; all the relations of words expressed in other languages by these grammatical changes, are in Chinese expressed by auxiliary words, or are left to be gathered from the connexion. The written characters were probably originally symbolical. They are now partly symbolical, partly phonetic, and partly ideographic. Their relation to the spoken language is still a matter of dispute, even among Chinese scholars. The idea that they are analogous to musical notes, or to arithmetical or algebraic signs, to be read with equal ease, by persons of all languages, who understand their import, is, we believe, generally abandoned. It is certain, however, that the written language is the common language of the country; and is understood by those who, in consequence of diversity of dialect, cannot understand each other when speaking. The student, therefore, has to learn two parallel languages: the one as written, the other as its interpretation in some particular dialect. The radical characters, or keys, as they are called, are said to be two hundred and fourteen, but the combinations are by some made to amount to twenty-five thousand, and by others to twice or even three times that number. The labour of impressing such a multitude of signs on the memory must be immense, but it is said that not more than eight or ten thousand are in ordinary use.

There is a good deal of information concerning the Chinese language, and much good advice as to the best method of studying it, scattered through this volume, which we should be glad to collect if our limits permitted. In writing to Mr. Lloyd, before the latter left America, he advises him to learn the radicals immediately, so as to be able to write the whole

of them off, and give the name and meaning of each, without once looking on the book. He also urges him to learn in speaking to use the abdominal and intercostal muscles, which he says would greatly facilitate the acquisition of the power to express the tones. In a letter to the students at Princeton, November 20th, 1843, he says: "I suppose the Chinese is the hardest language in the world, and perhaps no foreigner will ever acquire it perfectly; certainly no foreigner ever has acquired it perfectly. But I have seen some men who have been here much less than ten years, who do speak it with great fluency, and are quite intelligible not merely to the teacher, who has become accustomed to their pronunciation and modes of thought, but to the people in general, and that too in the most difficult of all the dialects. . . . If you come and sit down manfully to the task, determined from the outset to be satisfied with nothing less than an accurate acquaintance with the *tones*, and with the *sounds*, and with the *idioms*, you will find yourself in two years' time proceeding with profit and pleasure."

In writing to his father, May 30th, 1845, he says: "The *spoken* language of China (my remarks are about the Mandarin, but they are substantially true of all the dialects) is like all other languages in the world, polysyllabic. I am aware that some of our best scholars, with whom I would not pretend to compare myself, assert the contrary; but to me it seems as plain as that two and two make four, that if words have any meaning, the Chinese spoken language is polysyllabic. . . . In consequence of this fact, that the spoken language is not monosyllabic, it would be perfectly easy to write it in Roman characters; and there would be no more danger of mistaking the meaning than there is in English. In consequence of this, also, I am inclined to think that we should learn to speak faster and better, by not attempting the Chinese characters at all, at first; and were my missionary life to be gone over I would do so. It is the way the Roman Catholic missionaries do. So much for the *spoken* language. Now in regard to the *written* language, the case is very different. There are a vast number of characters, and most, not all, of them are complete in themselves; the sound of many

of them is alike, but their shape and meaning are different. See them, and you know at once what they mean. Hear them, and the first Hanlin in the empire cannot tell you." The example given is the word *Foo*. There is Foo, a father; foo, a husband; foo, an officer; foo, a deputy governor. Each of these has its separate character, and is therefore known by the eye; but as heard, they are all the same, unless the syllable foo be pronounced in connexion with the word which decides its particular meaning. Thus foo-tsin, is a father; chang-foo, a husband; kwan-foo, an officer. In writing there is no necessity to give both characters, but one reading aloud that others may understand, supplies the additional syllable as he goes along. Here is the radical difference between the written and spoken language. The classical style abbreviates as much as possible, using only one syllable, whenever that one will convey the meaning to the eye. When a boy goes to school, the first thing he does is to learn the names of the characters, but not their meaning. Five years are spent at this, and at the end of that time, he can perhaps repeat the whole of the Four Books, without knowing the meaning of a solitary character. Then the characters are explained to him.

The difference between the written and spoken dialects is the radical difficulty. There are, however, he adds, others not less perplexing. The greatest is the pedantry of the Chinese, which leads them to adopt high-flown expressions, laboriously concise, for common-place thoughts. The first sentence, for example, of the Sayings of Confucius, is, "The philosopher says, To learn, and times to practise it, not also gratifying, eh?"

Writing to James Lenox Esq., December 9, 1846, he says, "This language, I mean as written, is one of the greatest possible barriers to the spread of the gospel here. I may be mistaken, but to me it seems irresistible, that till a change as great as that which came over the languages of Europe at the reformation, comes over this language, it will be unfit for the extensive dissemination of truth among the mass of the people. I mean of course the written language. We can now preach the gospel in the spoken language; but the spoken language is not a written language; and thus, as far as the mass of the

people are concerned, we have no means of reaching them, but the living teacher, or such of their educated people as may feel interest enough in our books to explain them to the people."

There is great difference as to the use of the tones in the different dialects. Much use is made of them in the dialect spoken at Amoy and in the Fukkeen provinces, but in that spoken at Ningpo, they are of less importance. In reference to the latter Mr. Lowrie says, "Generally speaking, if you get the idiomatic expressions, you need not bother your head about the tones; and none of us pay any theoretical attention whatever to their acquisition." Great as the difficulty arising from this peculiar language undoubtedly is, it is not enough to discourage missionary effort. The fact that so many missionaries succeed in a few years to make them intelligible both in speaking and writing, is proof that ordinary talent and perseverance are all that are necessary, to surmount this apparently formidable obstacle.

We have sometimes heard the trials of a foreign missionary made light of in comparison with the various privations which our brethren in the far west, are called on to endure. Such comparisons perhaps ought not to be instituted; both classes have trials sufficiently severe to render them objects of reverence to those who dwell in ceiled houses. But the judgment above alluded to, assumes mere physical comfort as the standard. It is true that the foreign missionary has often less difficulty in finding food and raiment than some of his brethren at home, but even this advantage is in most instances more than balanced, by the debilitating and depressing influence of a foreign climate. But those outward trials are not the real burden, the missionary has to bear. Besides the surrender of home, country, christian intercourse and christian privileges, a sacrifice in many cases far greater than the missionary himself contemplated, there are other sources of depression still more severe. Some of these are enumerated by Mr. Lowrie in a very affecting paper found, after his death, among his manuscripts. The first of these is the disheartening effect produced by finding oneself surrounded by thousands of immortal beings, whose language is unintelligible, and whom

therefore, one cannot address. When this is in a measure removed, then comes the trial of preaching to careless, fluctuating, disorderly audiences, scarcely more attentive, or, to all appearance, more susceptible than irrational animals. Years often pass without the slightest apparent fruit from all these labours. The heart has to be sustained under all these discouragements, and made to hope against hope. Then there is that sense of loneliness. "Our congregations," says Mr. Lowrie, "are dead, we have no christian families to visit. It is not pleasant to go through the crowded burial grounds here, or to look out over the plains. Death reigns. An idol temple deforms every scene. The air is loaded with the smoke of incense offered to devils. The breezes waft sounds of idolatrous worship to our ears. We look over a region where there are thousands and myriads of people, and we feel that we are alone here. Oh, the loneliness, the utter desolation of soul, I have sometimes felt in walking through these crowded streets, the very dogs barking at me for a foreigner, and not one among all these thousands to whom I could utter the name of Jesus with any hope of response. Dry bones! very dry! we are walking among decaying skeletons, and grinning skulls, and death reigns. This is loneliness." To all this is to be added the depressing, polluting, as Mr. Lowrie calls it, influence of the abominations by which the missionary is surrounded. "We have to look on idolatry and vice as common things, and to accustom ourselves to see with comparatively little concern things that would deprive you of your rest." Piety must be sustained under all these depressing influences and without the abundant means of grace enjoyed in a Christian land. Let those who think of going to the foreign field consider these things; and let those who send them bear in mind the peculiar difficulties with which the missionary among the heathen has daily to contend.

It is these peculiar trials of the foreign missionary; his being cut off from all the usual supports of domestic and Christian society, that furnish one of the strongest reasons why, as a general rule, he ought to be a married man. Mr. Lowrie was never married, yet his remarks on this subject, written as early as the second year of his missionary life, contain more

wisdom and truth than we have seen in like compass anywhere else. We have no room to quote them, but commend them to the serious attention of the reader. They are found on pp. 256-258 of this Memoirs.

While at Shanghai in attendance on the convention for reviewing the translation of the Scriptures, he was sent for to return to Ningpo to attend to some pressing concerns of that mission. He left Shanghai, August 16th, by the canal Chapoo, with his servant and another Chinaman in the service of the mission. They arrived at Chapoo on the 18th, and embarked early on the morning of the 19th for Ningpo. They had sailed about twelve miles, when suddenly a vessel was seen bearing down upon them very rapidly. This proved to be filled with pirates. They boarded the boat in which Mr. Lowrie was sailing, and began to beat and wound all in their way. Him they did not strike. Before they had done plundering, the idea seems to have occurred to them, that when he reached Shanghai, he might be the means of their punishment. They therefore determined to throw him into the sea. As they were in the act of casting him overboard, he turned himself partially round and threw his Bible upon the deck. That sacred relic has been preserved. He soon sank to rise no more until the sea is commanded to give up her dead.

While in college he was much impressed by a discourse delivered by an agent of the American Board. The preacher, in speaking of Messrs. Lyman and Munson who fell as martyrs in Borneo, remarked, that had they "lived to fill up their three score years and ten, and toiled, and laboured, wrote and translated, and been as successful as any of our present missionaries, they would not, in all human probability, have been as useful by one half, as they have been just by their death." Such was his hope in their case; it may be our's in his. At any rate, we are assured that he is not lost to the service. He is only removed to a higher sphere. In the mean time, his memoir perpetuates his life on earth; and will doubtless be the means of creating and extending a more intelligent interest in the missionary work, and of moulding the purposes and character of those whom God may call to take his place.

ART. V.—*The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race, examined on the Principles of Science.* By John Bachman, D. D., Professor of Natural History, College of Charleston, S. C. Charleston: C. Canning, 29 Pinkney street. 1850. 12mo. pp. 312.

We regard this volume as one of uncommon interest and value. It reveals, on the part of the author, a learned, minute, and practical acquaintance with the sciences embraced in the argument. He is a practical cultivator of natural history; and has, we think vindicated a high rank for himself among naturalists, by laborious, ingenious, and, in the applications which raise natural history into the range of true science, fruitful, researches and discoveries. We admit, therefore, the competence of the author; and in the handling of his subject, he displays a vigorous and comprehensive grasp of intellect, which ought not to be impaired in the judgment of the reader, by the evidences of carelessness or want of culture in regard to the graces of style, or the absence of a clear logical order in presenting the ample and conclusive materials of his argument.

The doctrine of the unity of the human race, as it is essential to the whole religious system of the Bible, as well as taught in express terms, so it has been the common faith of Christendom. In modern times, however, a question has been raised, whether the extreme diversity existing among the several varieties of the race, especially between the Caucasian and African, does not require a distinct parentage to be assigned to the latter. Men of science, with few and questionable exceptions, were found on the side of the scriptures. The ground mainly relied upon by the scientific advocates of the unity of the race, besides the essential agreement of the several varieties in their structure and functions, was the indiscriminate mixture of blood, and the indefinite fertility of their offspring, against the established law of nature, which either prevents the mixture of different species of animals, or renders their hybrid product incapable of permanent self-propagation. To this a feeble resistance was first attempted,

on the allegation that the offspring of the different races of mankind, have shown a tendency to degenerate and die out, in accordance with the law of reproduction, as applied to different species. But as this assumption became clearly untenable, as a matter of fact, another ground of argument was taken up, and the attempt was made to show that hybrids are not necessarily sterile. About three years ago Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia, published in *Silliman's Journal*, a very elaborate collection of cases, which were supposed to show that new species of animals were permanently established by the mixture of contiguous species. Dr. M. did not, however, push his conclusion to the extent of denying the doctrine of the unity of the human race; but as his conclusions manifestly favoured the views of those who did, Dr. Bachman has felt himself called upon to re-examine this scientific problem: and in so doing, has scattered to the winds the proof gathered by Dr. M. in favour of the doctrine he had sought to establish. Meanwhile, the distinguished naturalist, Professor Agassiz, at the late meeting of the American Association for the Promotion of Science at Charleston, S. C., has startled us by expressing a very significant doubt, as to the question whether the various races of men are all sprung from the same parentage. While he expressly admits, that in the higher sense of the doctrine, as held by its advocates, he fully believes that all the varieties of men possess essentially the same physical, intellectual and moral constitution, and are subject to the same laws, entitled to the same privileges, and animated with the same hopes, he yet supposes them to have sprung from different centres of population. He also avows his belief, that the scriptures were addressed wholly to one race, and contemplate the destiny of that race alone, in all their statements; while they imply, in repeated instances, the existence of other races, having a distinct origin and a distinct history.

We have no intention of entering at present into the merits of the question discussed by the author. All that we have space to do, is to state the posture of the parties to this controversy, and the relation which it holds towards the scriptures. On this last point we think the learned gentlemen who have

conducted the scientific argument, on both sides, have fallen into a serious mistake. Dr. Bachman himself plants his heavy and well managed battery on wrong ground. And while the selection of his position may evince entire confidence in the weight of his metal, and the success of his cause, yet it exposes him to unnecessary annoyance and some damage, and prolongs needlessly the issue of the contest. He has cleared away with his own hands the breast work of defence, to whose protection he was legitimately entitled.

In the first place, these gentlemen must bear in mind that this is not purely a question of science; at least not of natural science. It is partly a historical question; and in a still higher and more commanding sense it is a religious question. It is not, therefore, like the questions touching revelation which grew out of the early inductions and generalizations of astronomy, geology, and antiquarian research. It is not simply a question of interpretation. It enters into the heart of the very object for which the scriptures were given. The injudicious intermeddling of some friends of revelation was ruled out, in the other cases, on the ground that the scriptures were not given to man for the purpose of teaching science. In this instance, the same objection cannot be allowed. The very object of the Bible was to clear up the history of the fall of man, to explain the condition in which he is found, and to reveal a plan for his recovery. The question under debate involves, therefore, not only the anatomical and physiological structure and functions of the several races or varieties of men; but still more vitally their moral character and condition. They have all not only the same number of bones, muscles and organs, as the naturalists have demonstrated, but they are all sinners. This is the important point to which the scriptures speak. How came this to pass? Clearly not by creation. How then? Natural science is silent, and the Bible answers, by the transgression of the natural head of the race, in consequence of which death entered into the world; and the result has been that all their descendants have inherited from their progenitors a corrupt and dying nature. Of course this solution reaches no farther than to their natural offspring. The question is, does it include all varieties

of men? All need a solution; for all are in the same moral condition, and require the same provision for the future. Does the solution of the Bible include all? This is obviously another form for the question, was the Bible intended for all classes of men, and is it true of all? The progress of human culture and civilization make it certain, that the scriptures are to be the common property of all, from the Caucasian down to the African. Now if the great absorbing fact in their condition, their sinful nature and consequent need of salvation, is not to be referred to their derivation from one source, or as the scriptures express it, to their being "made of one blood," then it is clearly wrong to give them the scriptures at all. We have no warrant for offering the salvation of the Bible to any but the race of whom it is the genuine history. If its statements are to be limited as Agassiz intimates, to the race to whom it was given, while there are other races of men, proceeding from other centres of population, how can we determine to whom its privileges of right appertain? If it be answered that the New Testament authorizes the offer of the gospel to every creature, we reply that this is no more general than the statement, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The very rule of interpretation set up by these gentlemen, is, that the universality of the terms, is to be restricted to the race contemplated by the revelation in question. Where then is our warrant for offering salvation to the African? If they do not belong to our race, that is, are not descended from our first parents, they are not, in the sense declared by the scriptures, either partakers of our guilt or of our remedy. How then came they to be sinners? and how are they to be saved? The doctrine of Agassiz utterly breaks down here. And as the savans have warned theologians not to tread on their ground, while they are settling questions of pure science; so now we are entitled to warn them to respect ours, in questions of religion. For if any question is a question of religion and revelation, this is one. It involves not only the history of the fall, but the plan for the redemption of the race; or in other words, both the relation to Adam and the relation to Christ. Both are on the same footing. Both stand and fall together.

And it is needless to say that these constitute the very marrow of the scriptures.

We repeat that the inspired History cannot be ruled out, in the settlement of this question, except on principles that involve blank deism. And why should it? We have said before, that next to the religious bearings of the point in dispute, the question is a historical one rather than a question in science. And for antiquity and authenticity, it is hardly necessary to add, that there is no historical authority comparable with the Bible.

But it may be impatiently demanded whether science has nothing to do with the question? Whether we are to accept the teaching of the scriptures, on a point involving the natural history of man, even if the human structure, examined in the light of science, should contradict that teaching. This suggests the second leading remark, in regard to the state of this question: viz: the true relation which science holds to this controversy.

It should be remembered, then, that the doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race, has been universally received, on the evidence of the inspired history of the Bible, the only positive authority we have upon the subject. Recently, however, a question has been raised—by whom or for what purpose, it might seem invidious to specify—whether the doctrine is compatible with the differences observed in the anatomical and physiological characteristics of the several races, or varieties of men. Now it is evident that the sole question for the naturalist to determine, is that of this alleged incompatibility. It is not whether, in the absence of all knowledge on the subject, we might not suppose the different varieties of the race, to constitute different original species; or whether that would not be, on the whole, and in the absence of such knowledge, the most satisfactory hypothesis— but whether it is impossible that the doctrine of the Bible, which alleges a common parentage, should be true. Is it so clearly impossible on scientific grounds, that we are compelled to reject the scriptures as false, because they affirm it? It is not as Dr. Backman intimates, a curious point in natural history, about which we are to examine patiently the probabilities, and so determine whe-

ther a given variety is a separate species or not; just as we would undertake to decide whether the China and the common Goose, belong to the same or to separate species, merely on the ground of a slight anatomical difference in the structure of the larynx. But supposing we had a clear, unquestioned and continuous history, established by an indefinite amount of evidence, of the origin of these different varieties from a single stock, the question is, whether the anatomical difference is such, as to compel us to set aside that history as false, on the ground that it cannot be true.

With this state of the question let any one look into the uncertainty, under which naturalists labour, in determining the question of distinct species, and the obscurity and difficulty which hang over the origin of different and permanent varieties, springing from the same species; and the notion of overthrowing the foundations of divine Revelation, by any such methods, would resemble that of forcing a walled and well armed fortress, to surrender, by levelling against it a child's popgun.

We own that there are few things which more provoke, we can hardly say our disapprobation, but our absolute contempt, than most of the reasonings we have seen upon the negative of this question. It is notorious that vastly greater diversities, in every particular, are found among animals that are known to be derived from a single original source. In proof of this we have only to cite the difference in form, size, colour, covering, conformation and size of the cranium, disposition and habits exemplified in the case of the Arabian courser, the Shetland poney, and the massive draught-horse, all of which are known to be varieties of the same species (*Eguus Caballus*.) Similar differences are exhibited in almost every species of domesticated animals,—the cow, the sheep, the swine, the cat, the dog. Every one is familiar with the contrast presented, for example, between the St. Bernard and the lap-dog,—the New-foundland web-footed water dog, and the Italian grey-hound,—the bull-dog and the terrier or setter. In view of such diversities as are springing up and becoming permanent varieties under our very eyes, to concede, as the facts require, that the anatomical structure in all the

varieties of the Human race is the same, bone for bone, muscle for muscle, nerve for nerve, organ for organ and function for function, and then attempt to degrade a portion of the race to a level with the brute, and to set aside the Bible, freighted with the happiness and hopes of the race, and supported by a multiplicity and amount of evidence, that produces not only conviction but certainty, because, forsooth, the heel, (os calcis) of the African, happens to average a line or two more in length than that of the Caucasian, or because there are a few more fibres in the muscles of his lips, accompanied in general by a feebler degree of cerebral development and a deposit of a different hue, in the *rete mucosum* of the skin, is to move our scorn, to a degree that few human follies are capable of doing.

Dr. Bachman, following almost the entire corps of scientific naturalists, maintains that if there were no certain knowledge on the subject, the unity of the race would unquestionably result, from the mere application of the acknowledged principles of science. And we think he establishes the point by overwhelming evidence, drawn from a vast variety of sources. But whether he does or not, surely the bare fact that such an argument can be constructed by such men, is evidence that the hypothesis which it assumes, is not so clearly absurd and contradictory, that the Christian must cast away his Bible, because it teaches that hypothesis. Let the naturalists remember that the Bible solves this question historically; and let them accept its solution, unless it is manifestly impossible.

We should be exceedingly glad to present to our readers an analysis of the able, cumulative argument of Dr. Bachman, together with some thoughts of our own, suggested by the masterly works of Prichard, Balbi, Adelung, and the concurrent testimony of the later comparative anatomists—especially Mr. Owen, of the British Museum; but our crowded space forbids. We heartily recommend the work before us, as a thorough and candid examination of the scientific questions involved in the controversy. We believe few ordinary readers can rise from its perusal, without perfect satisfaction, as to

the only point, about which the Christian feels satisfaction to be needed.

We may say in a word, that the author demonstrates from a very large, laborious, in great part original and careful induction of facts, that the law of propagation in the organic world, excludes the origination of new species, by the mixture of existing species; and hence the capability of permanent reproduction, is the characteristic test of a species. The fact, therefore, that all the varieties of men reproduce indefinitely, and permanently, proves that they all belong to one species. To this law there is no known exception, in the entire kingdom of nature, either animal or vegetable.

The author next undertakes to show that the hypothesis of different human species, even if it were possible, is wholly unnecessary and unphilosophical; because changes fully equal and even much greater, extending to important anatomical and physiological differences, are known to have originated, and often become permanent as varieties, as the result of accident, association or culture; and that this is especially true among domesticated animals, or in other words among those which are most closely allied with man. The truth of this conclusion, of course, excludes the scientific argument, so far as it impeaches the express teaching of the Bible. If all those diversities from which a separate origin of the races of men is argued on scientific grounds, are paralleled, and even surpassed, in every particular, in ascertained cases of common origin, then the argument is answered, and the revealed historic record stands untouched.

In the Second Part of his work, Dr. B. goes into a scientific exposition of the various causes tending to produce the several varieties of the human species, in their relations and correspondencies with inferior, and especially domesticated, animals: thus concluding his proof that they are mere varieties, springing from a common source, and not separate species, by pointing out the causes, and the mode and progressive action of the causes, which have resulted in the change in question. The argument is thus comprehensive and complete; and while we are not prepared to endorse the analysis and inferences of the author, in all the numerous cases submitted to examina-

tion, we are prepared to express our full conviction that he has made good all the important points of his argument.

ART. VI.—*The Rise, Progress and Structure of the English Language.* By the Rev. Matthew Harrison, A. M., Rector of Church Oakley, Hants; and late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle, No. 6, South Fifth St. 1850. 12 mo. pp. 393.

We have often wondered that the field of research and discussion covered in this volume has been left so long unoccupied; and had at last begun to hope, that an American scholar, who is understood to be devoting considerable attention to the Anglo Saxon and its relations to our tongue, would have the honour of supplying the desideratum in Literature, which the author of this treatise has essayed to furnish. Although this is an essay in the right direction, there is still scope enough for other labourers in the same wide and rich field of authorship.

We have in the first place a very compact history of the origin and formation of the English Language, and the changes it has undergone; in which the several sources contributing both to its vocabulary and its grammatical forms, are brought into view, as well as the nature and extent of the contribution from each. In this there is very little that is new to any one conversant with the learned labours of Bosworth, Thorpe, Turner, Prichard, Kemble and Percy. The summary, however, is well done, and adequate acknowledgments are made in general, to his predecessors in the historical department; except in the case of Bishop Percy, whose classification of the Celtic and Gothic affiliated tongues, is too important a contribution to the literature of a difficult and previously very confused subject, to be adopted entire, without some special acknowledgment.

The second part of the work is Philological, consisting of a dissertation on the principles of the formation of Languages,

the genius and character of the English tongue and the sources of its corruption. Although this portion of the book is instructive, and in the main satisfactory and true, we must enter our protest against the hypothesis adopted, conditionally at least, in the opening sections, which accounts for the structure of language as if it were purely a human invention, springing out of the social wants of men, casually meeting each other as they roamed the forest, in a state of the lowest savagism. We are well aware that the adoption of this hypothesis is no avowal of hostility to the revealed history of man, and we are aware that it underlies the philological speculations of some able authors on language, who are firm believers in Revelation. We find it even in the judicious, moderate, and matter-of-fact reasonings of Dr. Blair. In the lips of those who, like Horace, regard the human race as originally a "*mutum et turpe pecus*," assuming by slow degrees, the divine perfection of form and intellect, reached by man, this language would be at least consistent. But how men who regard the scriptural account of the creation as true, can treat us to such hypothetical reasonings about the formation of language, has always seemed to us surprising. If it be meant as a conditional hypothesis, intended to explain the philosophy of language calculated backwards,—that is, on the supposition that such would have been the natural process in the formation of language, provided it had been a human invention,—still we must take leave to except strongly to the mode of statement, as savouring of a hostile dialect; and also, to say the least, of very questionable utility. This is evinced by the endless conflicts and contradictions in which these philosophical architects of language are involved with each other. The same mode of reasoning has been applied, as is well known, to all the great social institutions of the race, even to the origin of government itself. Nothing could be more untrue both to history and to human nature. Man began his career, both individual and social, not as a savage or an oyster, but in possession of the highest powers and in the highest state of perfection the human race has ever known. It is useless to inquire what we can gain, even hypothetically, by representing men as casually meeting in

the forest or the plain, and interchanging human sentiments and affections by inarticulate cries, or broken fragments of natural sounds, gradually articulated into the philosophical structure of a perfect language. Of course there is no indication of such a process within the period of history; but the reverse. The whole tendency has been to simplify, instead of rendering speech complex. The oldest historic languages, and even the languages of barbarous and savage nations, like those of the American Indians, are far more complex in their forms, than those which embody the highest philosophical culture, the race has yet reached.

And besides, it is obvious that man needs language—perfect as far as it goes—for the purposes of thought, to meet his fundamental wants as a human being in his individual capacity, just as much as to gratify his social nature. To suppose Adam without the divine endowment of language, is to suppose him an irrational and irresponsible being. It is to throw into confusion the whole history of man's creation, fall and recovery. It is a rational and moral heresy, as well as a historic untruth. The only hypothesis consistent with the facts of the case is that of Humboldt and others, which supposes that man was endowed by the creative act, with a perfect language, just as he was with a perfect reason; both of which were available instantaneously for every necessary rational and moral purpose.

We are sorry to see the author, in his discussion of the sources of corruption of the English Language, quoting from the intentional mock-vulgar style, of some American authors, such words as *wide-awake-ty*, *between-ty*, *go-away-ness*, &c., &c., as if they were veritable Americanisms, and received by us outside barbarians, as English terms; against which it was necessary to put the empire of English letters on their guard. He might just as well cite the mock-vulgar spelling of Sam Slick, as evidence that we were corrupting the orthography of the King's English. We do not mean by this remark to plead not guilty to the indictment which the author is establishing. We only wish it were in our power to do so. But we object to evidence from such witnesses. We are bad enough, but we are not so bad as Mr. Harrison would make us appear, if such

specimens were allowed to pass unchallenged, as American English.

The third and much the largest part of the work is on the present structure of the English Language, and treats of the fundamental nature, the construction and relation of the several parts of speech. It is really, what is greatly wanted in these days of grammatical empiricism, an attempt at a philosophical grammar. Without expressing any opinion at present about the various points brought out, or to pronounce upon the views of the author, where he comes into conflict with such men as Harris, and Horne Tooke, we venture to assure our readers that few among them, who have studied the subject in the ordinary way, can read the work, without finding their horizon of knowledge greatly enlarged, and light shed upon some of the difficulties and anomalies of our difficult and anomalous tongue. It is, we repeat, an essay in the right direction, for which we are grateful; though it may leave much room for further research and discussion, both in the way of correction and improvement. We have no hesitation in affirming that there are many grammatical forms in the language, which can be made clear in no other light than that of their history. Modern usage is often unsatisfactory and even contradictory. The author quotes example after example from the classics of the language, showing clear mistakes in the usage of some even of the less difficult forms and idioms, which disfigure almost every page of inferior writers. These forms may be intelligible, but they are not explicable, and still less susceptible of right usage under new circumstances, without a knowledge of their true original form and use. Grammarians must learn, as well as others, that the only method of comprehending any complex historical subject, is to study it historically.

ART. VII.—*A Modern History, from the Time of Luther to the Fall of Napoleon.* By John Lord, A. M., Lecturer on History. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwaite & Co.

The scholarship of our country is gradually availing itself

of the principle of division of labour; and in proportion as it does so, our native scholars are taking rank in the various departments of literary and scientific distinction. We have already produced standard works on most of the leading branches of science, and also several historical monographs of established reputation, chiefly on topics relating to American history. Mr. Lord may be classed among the first successful and elaborate cultivators in that department of historical literature, which was founded by the learned and ingenious Italian, Vico, under the title of *Nova Scientia*,* but which is more familiar to most English students, in the works of the Schlegels and of Guizo, under the name of *The Philosophy of History*. Its object is indicated correctly enough by this title. It assumes that human history is not a casual and unmeaning collection of facts, like the natural history of the earth, nor yet an attempt to refer such facts to their origin in the springs of human action; but that it involves a moral element as the higher and governing element of all. Its aim is not to record mechanically the flow of human events like a self-registering instrument; this is the business of the mere annalist, nor to uncover the hidden motives which have guided the leading actors therein, which is the work of the skillful historian; but like the true philosopher of nature, to penetrate to the law which explains the course of the facts in question, and to reveal the true solution of the world of human action.

In attempting to do this, some authors regard the hypothesis of history purely from the human side; and thus bring into the discussion the various questions implicated in the history of the progress of the race, or in other words what they call the development of human civilization. In their view, the religious element of the individual and social state of man is regarded, if regarded at all, as the result of a law of progress inherent in man, and as one of the products of human culture and refinement. This hypothesis was a great favourite with the French authors of the close of last century

* A highly able and interesting work, though not free from religious error, better known to us in the French translation, *La Science Nouvelle*, Par Vico : traduite par L'auteur de *L'Essai sur la formation du Dogme Catholique*. Paris, 1845.

and the beginning of the present ; and received from its several supporters a moral and religious tinge, depending upon their peculiar tenets. We have every latitude of religious belief represented among its promoters, from Turgot and Condorcet through Madame de Stael, down to Guizot.

Others approach the study of the subject from the opposite side ; and preoccupied with the faith of the scriptures, seek for the true solution of the great problem of human progress and human destiny, in the revelation, which God has made of his plan and purpose with reference to man. They attempt, not indeed to create, but to explore and explain the history of the race, with the torch of revelation in their hands. That this is a legitimate application of revelation, need not be argued to one who believes in revelation at all. And if it is legitimate, that it is the surest and safest guide, is self-evident. If the great purpose of man on earth, as indicated by any complete analysis of his constitution, has a constant and controlling reference to his relations to the divine and the future, how can any attempt to generalize the laws which govern his course and drift, and to evolve the true theory of historic progress, be either true or complete, which does not comprehend religion, as revealing both the final and the efficient cause of the main central movement of the race. The great objection to the European, and especially the French and German authors on the subject, is that their religious stand-point is wrong ; and no wonder, therefore, that their projection of the chart of human history is distorted and false. The fundamental truths derived from revelation alone, touching the original state of man, in the image of God in knowledge and holiness ; and not as the philosophers assume, in the condition of an infant and a savage—touching his fall from that state and his progressive depravity,—touching the only agency provided for his renovation and sanctification, viz : the spirit of God, and the instrument of that renovation and sanctification, viz : the truths of religion as revealed in the word of God, and touching the great organic provision made for the efficiency of both, in the Church of Christ ;—who does not see that these are not only essential, but the main elements in any true theory of human progress and human

civilization. And yet these are either left out of view by most, especially of the continental authors on the subject, or else emptied of their divine contents, their power and glory; and then placed in a false position, on the same level with human science, literature and art, as mere instruments of mental and esthetic culture.

We have been led into this train of remark, not because Mr. Lord enters into the discussion of these points formally in the volume before us; but because much of the distinction which he has justly acquired on both sides of the Atlantic as a lecturer on history, we believe, has been derived from his clear philosophical exposition of the true hypothesis of the various historical epochs; and because an attentive consideration of the current of his narrative, shows that enlightened and just views on the subject really underlie and pervade his work. Wherever we choose to sink a shaft to a sufficient depth, we strike upon them, and where the circumstances furnish an adequate occasion, they crop out upon the surface.

Although we regard this as a main merit in the historical labours of the author, yet in order to prevent misapprehension on the part of such of our readers as may not have seen the book before us, we ought to say, that it is a continuous narrative, embracing all the most essential topics in the period of which it treats, that of the history of modern Europe, after the revived Christianity of the Reformation began to quicken the dead institutions of the middle ages with the spirit of genuine liberty.

It was one object of Mr. Lord to furnish, in somewhat moderate compass, for the use of students and young persons generally, a substitute for those wretched, lifeless skeletons, with which publishers and paid book makers are flooding us, under the name of abridgements, or histories for the use of schools. We have lately had the opportunity of hearing the young members of a family, enjoying the advantage of the most popular schools in an adjoining city, preparing their recitations on history. The process was just such as might have been anticipated from the character of the books they were "studying." The sentences were cut up into clauses, containing half an idea, or no idea at all, and sometimes even

the most palpable falsehood, and all memorized, with the same unthinking, parrot-like repetitions; until by the law of physical association, the utterance of one word drew after it the utterance of the next, and so the sentence and paragraph were finally completed. Of course history cannot be learned in any such way; nor indeed any thing else of the kind, (for we found children trying to learn astronomy, natural philosophy, chemistry, natural history, and we know not how much more, in the same way;) and for the purposes of education, the effect of the process seemed to us to solve the problem of developing the minimum of intellect, and supplying the minimum of useful and wholesome knowledge. We do not believe any one could practice this method upon the volume before us. It has too much vitality, to be cut up into inch pieces, for the purpose of study. The most conspicuous characteristic of Mr. Lord as a historian, is enthusiasm in his favorite subject. And like all genuine enthusiasm, it imparts itself to his reader.

It was no part of our intention in this brief notice, to bring into discussion any of the points which appeared to us to be presented in an unsatisfactory, inadequate or erroneous way. We have no hesitation in expressing on the whole, a highly favourable opinion of the book, for the purpose intended to be answered by it.

SHORT NOTICES.

ART. VIII.—*The Kingdom of God.* A Discourse, preached before the Synod of New Jersey, October 17th, 1849. By Charles K. Imbrie, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Rahway, N. J. Published at the request of several members of the Synod and others. New York: Franklin Knight. 1850.

Americans are often accused of considering their country the whole world. We fear that American theologians will lay themselves open to the accusation of thinking their church, the church universal, and their theology the whole field of divinity. Mr. Imbrie throughout this discourse contrasts two

theories about the millennium. The one he calls the church doctrine; the other, which he advocates, is that of the personal reign of Christ for a thousand years, before the consummation. He speaks of the former, as the common doctrine of Christians. He regards it as part of the general faith of Christendom, and looks upon it as one point as to which the church has lapsed from the teachings of the Apostles. Now the truth is it is no church doctrine at all. It is a modern theory, of very limited extent: almost peculiar in fact, to a certain portion of the churches in America. His whole discourse is constructed on a false hypothesis. He assumes that there is no other view of the subject of which he treats, than the two theories which he here contrasts. He therefore supposes, if he has demolished the one, the other must of necessity be admitted. This is a mistake. He may successfully disprove the doctrine at present popular in this country, as to the millennium, and yet the whole doctrine of the church as to "The Last Things" be left untouched.

There are three views on this subject. The first is the Jewish doctrine; and by Jewish, we mean that actually held by the Jews. They taught, 1. That the Messiah was to appear and reign in person gloriously in Jerusalem. 2. That all the Jews were to be gathered in the Holy Land. 3. That the pious dead were to be raised to share the blessings of the Messiah's reign. 4. That the Messiah and his people were to reign over all nations for a thousand years. 5. That at the end of that period, Satan was to be loosed, and a great conflict ensue, after which were to come the general resurrection and final judgment. This theory was by many Christians, during the second and third centuries, adopted bodily. The only difference was that what the Jews expected to occur at the first coming, these Christians anticipated at the second advent of the Messiah. This doctrine has been revived at different periods during the history of the church; and after making a great noise for a while, has gradually died out. In our day it has experienced a new resurrection, and if we may judge from the past, is destined to a long sleep after a short and turbulent life.

Another modern and more spiritual view of the millennium,

has gained general prevalence of late years in this country. It rejects the doctrine of the return of the Jews to their own land; of the personal appearance and reigning of Christ for a thousand years, but retains the idea of a millennium. That is, according to this view, the gospel is gradually to spread over the earth; the power of the truth is to be greatly increased, nations are to be born in a day, and a state of universal and exalted purity and piety is to be introduced and to continue for a thousand years. After that, a great defection is to occur, in the midst of which Christ is to come a second time, and the consummation of all things is immediately to follow.

The third general doctrine on this subject is, that the present order of things, called the dispensation of the Spirit, is to continue to the end of the world. The church, on the whole, is to advance, sometimes more and sometimes less pure and prosperous. But there is to be no such millennium as is assumed by the advocates of the other theories to be predicted. The glowing passages which are referred by some to the period of Christ's personal reign, and by others to the spiritual millennium, are according to this view, to be understood, of the state of things after the final consummation. They relate to the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness; to that glorious liberty of the sons of God into which the whole creation is to be introduced at the day of final redemption. According to this view there is to be a second personal, visible advent of Christ; when he shall appear to be admired in all them that believe, and to take vengeance on them that obey not the gospel. The kingdom of Christ is then to be established, not for a thousand years, but forever. It is not to be an earthly, but a heavenly kingdom. It is to consist not of Jews mainly, but of all the redeemed; not of men in their earthly bodies, but of the saints in their spiritual bodies. Its seat is not to be the Jerusalem that now is, but the heavenly Jerusalem, which is the mother of us all.

How far the gospel is to prevail over the earth before the final consummation, and what is to be the fate of the church in the meanwhile, is not clearly revealed. It is the common opinion that it is to prevail very extensively, if not universally,

that the Jews as a people, or the great body of them, are to be converted, but it is not assumed that there is to be any millennium strictly speaking.

This third view is substantially the church doctrine; that is, it was the doctrine maintained against the millennarians of the second and third centuries, and which became prevalent through the eastern and western churches, and was defended by every branch of the Protestant church, at the time of the Reformation, against the Ana-baptists. This is the doctrine which our author ought to have assailed, instead of opposing one form of millennarianism to another. This doctrine supposes that the church is to advance until all the elect are gathered in; that then, and not before, Christ is to appear the second time, without sin unto salvation; that then all the dead are to rise; the final judgment is to be held; the world and all that is therein is to be burnt up, and the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah to be established in glory.

There are certain points connected with this subject which appear to us abundantly plain. 1. That the scriptures speak of but two personal and visible manifestations of the Son of God. The one to establish his kingdom by his ministry and death, the other for its consummation. 2. That the Old Testament prophecies do not chronologically discriminate these two advents, but speak only in general of what was to take place when the Messiah came; part of what they said having reference to the first and part to the second coming. As these descriptions and predictions are not discriminated in the Old Testament; they can be distinguished only by the event. How much therefore of the prosperity of the church which is foretold by the prophets, is to be realized before the second advent, and how much shall find its accomplishment only in the church as consummated, is more than any one, as we believe, is able to tell. 3. The Jews made a twofold mistake in the interpretation of their prophetic writings. First, they understood them in a literal or carnal sense, as predicting an earthly kingdom; and second, they referred them all to the period of Christ's first coming. The whole school to which our author belongs, fall into, as we conceive, precisely analogous errors. First, in assuming a literal interpretation of the

Messianic prophecies: a principle which they are perfectly capricious and arbitrary in carrying out. And secondly, in assuming the pre-millennial advent of Christ and the establishment of an earthly kingdom. Now as the scriptures expressly connect the final judgment with the appearance of Christ coming in the clouds of heaven, this theory requires there should be three advents; the one already past; another before the millennium, and a third when the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, and with his angels, to reward every man according to his works. 4. A fourth point, which seems to us to be plain beyond contradiction, is that the kingdom which Christ is to establish at his second coming is a heavenly, as distinguished from an earthly kingdom. That is, it is a kingdom which supposes the regeneration, or restoration of all things so different from the present, that flesh and blood cannot inherit that kingdom. 1 Cor. xv. 50. It is a state for which the people of God must be prepared by having their bodies fashioned like unto the glorious body of the Son of God. This preparation is to be effected in reference to the dead in Christ, by raising in incorruption what was sown in corruption; by changing the natural into a spiritual body; and in reference to believers who shall then be alive, by a sudden transformation of the mortal into the immortal. 5, The scriptures accordingly everywhere teach that they who are Christ's, not some, but all his people, are to rise in the manner above described, at his coming, and that those who are alive are to be caught up to meet the Lord in the air. With this resurrection and change of all believers the scriptures associate the resurrection of the wicked, for some are to come forth unto life, and others unto shame and everlasting contempt. With this general resurrection is also associated the general judgment and the end of the world. For when Christ comes the heavens and earth are to flee away from his presence, and all nations are to be gathered before his judgment seat, and he will divide the righteous from the wicked, as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats.

The premillennial theory conflicts with these as well as with many other well established doctrines of the word of God, and is in its whole character Judaic, and in its whole tendency, as we conceive, injurious.

A Hand-Book of Modern European Literature. For the use of Schools, and Private Families. By Mrs. Foster. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1850. 12 mo. pp. 354.

This comparatively small volume contains a vast collection of the names of authors, and in part the titles or subjects of their works, in all the countries of Europe. Its pages are so crowded with these bald details, as to give it more the character of a bibliographic, than a literary work. The authoress displays astonishing research in accumulating her materials, but it is not in the compass of human power to make a work embracing so wide a scope, complete. To any thing like discriminating literary criticism, although the title-page and preface make some pretensions in that direction, it is hardly necessary to say, that the book can have but a very questionable title. As we are unwilling to do even scanty justice, to a well-meant effort in a very important department, we open the work at random, and quote the whole of what is said about two names of considerable prominence in German authorship. "*Fichte* wrote, *On the Destination of Man; The Internal Self and on The Nature of the Scholar and its Manifestations.* *Hegel* was a brother philosopher of the same age, whose system was only the historical sequel of anterior schemes, and is conveyed in very learned and abstruse language."

The authoress has attempted too much; and in heaping together names and titles, instead of selecting and displaying the salient and formative authors of each controlling literary school in Europe, she has made her work almost as unreadable as a table of logarithms, and certainly far less inviting for consecutive perusal, than the pages of Johnson's or Webster's Quarto Dictionaries.

A Brief Treatise on the Canon and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. For the special use of Junior Theological Students: but intended also for private Christians in general. By Alexander McClelland, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick. Second Edition enlarged. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1850. pp. 236.

The First Part of this work treats of the genuineness and canonical authority of the Scriptures. Part Second contains the principles and rules of interpretation. "There are scarcely three pages in the whole volume, so exclusively addressed to theological students, that the unlearned reader can derive no advantage from them. It is hoped, therefore, that private Christians will not find their money thrown away in purchasing it." This work appears in a new dress, as well as in a much enlarged form. If we mistake not, the whole of that part which relates to the canon of Scripture, has been added since the publication of the first edition. A good deal of the residue of the book is simply a reprint. The remarks, therefore, which we made in reference to the work on its first appearance, are applicable to it in its present form. It covers ground, especially that portion which relates to interpretation, which is not much cultivated by English writers, and on which students need elementary instruction. Its maxims are unquestionably, in the main, sound. They are presented with clearness and illustrated with vivacity. Where we disposed to object, it is on the score of taste and feeling; about which, according to the proverb, it is useless to dispute. What we object to, is what the author doubtless is far from thinking a fault. We must, however, express our regret that the whole work was not written in the same tone as the Introduction; which is serious without being dull. In many other parts of the book, however, moderation and propriety are sacrificed to vivacity. This we regard as the great blemish of the work.

Ollendorff's New Method of learning to read, write, and speak the French Language: with lessons divided into sections of a proper length for daily tasks, and numerous additions and improvements, suitable to this country. By V. Value. To which are added Value's system of French pronunciation, his grammatical Synopsis, a new index, and short models of commercial correspondence. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St. 1850. pp. 576.

Companion to Ollendorff's New Method of learning to read,

write, and speak the French Language; or Dialogues and Vocabulary. By Geo. W. Greene, Instructor in Modern Languages in Brown's University. New York: D. Appleton, 164 Chestnut. 1850. pp. 273.

Expository Lectures on the Epistle to the Ephesians. By the Rev. Robert J. McGhee, A. M., M. R. I. A., late minister of Harold's Cross Church, Dublin; Rector of Holywell cum Needingworth, Hants. New York. Carter & Brothers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 640.

Extempore preaching is so far from being obsolete among the evangelical clergy of England and Ireland, that we here have a large volume of lectures delivered without notes and preserved by a reporter. They are Calvinistic and spiritual, and elucidative of an epistle eminently fitted to be discussed in expository lectures. Our favourable judgment of this pious work is founded on an examination of a part only; but it is confirmed by the admiration of competent readers.

Reasons for Public Thanksgiving. A Discourse before the Legislature of Georgia. By the Rev. Samuel K. Talmage, D. D., President of Oglethorpe University. 1849.

This Christian and patriotic discourse is by the able President of a young Presbyterian college, named after a soldier and philanthropist, whose life was like a romance of knight-errantry. Under such a head as Dr. Talmage, whom we have known and loved for many years, we may safely allow our wishes to predict for us, in regard to a seminary which is fast rising from temporary difficulties.

Addresses at the Inauguration of Mr. Charles King, as President of Columbia College, New York, Nov. 28, 1849.

The record of an interesting day in the history of a college which maintains its high position, and which was never better manned than at this moment. Everything from the practised pen of Mr. King shows the gentleman and the scholar. The address is easy rather than elaborate, and full of agreeable allusions. President King takes occasion in passing to show

that Columbia College is not an exclusive Episcopal institution, and that it never can become such. The tribute to the name of the Rev. Dr. Miller, who at the time of the inauguration had not yet left us, is as just as it is cordial.

Review of Ellwood Fisher's Lecture on the North and the South. Louisville, 1850.

Mr. Fisher, of whom we know nothing else, is represented by his reviewer to be a Quaker champion for those extreme opinions on slavery which many northern people injuriously treat as the doctrine of the south. His hypothesis is here demolished at a blow, by a hand which we recognise by its cunning and its strength, and which finds only an amusement in managing such a controversy.

John Howard, and the Prison-World of Europe. From original and authentic documents. By Hepworth Dixon. With an introductory essay by Richard W. Dickinson, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1850. 12mo.

As Dr. Dickinson justly says in his introduction, "There is a peculiarity in his life, and an originality in his labours of love and mercy, which elicit sympathy, win affection, and command our reverence." The work is fraught with instruction to the philanthropic, and Dr. Dickinson's observations are appropriate and striking. We point to John Howard, the rigid Calvinist, when we are told that Calvinism represses benevolence or cripples activity.

Daily Bible Illustrations: being readings for a year, on subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. Especially designed for the family circle. By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A. Antediluvians and Patriarchs. New York. Carters. 1850. pp. 408. 12mo.

The first of a series of four volumes. We are not particularly struck with this method of parcelling a book into weeks and days, yet it seems to be agreeable to many readers. The sabbath-portions are on devotional or doctrinal topics. Like all Dr. Kitto's works, this is full of entertaining matter, derived from the latest research, and all throwing light on

scripture. The reader would err greatly who should lay this book aside as superficial or merely popular; it really contains some of the highest results of modern research in antiquities and ethnology, so far as the period embraced is concerned. We could not but be struck with the number of American authors quoted by this learned British writer.

A Memoir of Lady Colquhoun. By James Hamilton, D. D. New York. Carters. 1850. 12mo. pp. 306.

Of this publication we have heard but one opinion, namely, that it is one of the most charming and useful biographies of the age. If any thing could be needed to give additional currency to a work of Dr. Hamilton, it would be found in the rare union of humble piety after the Presbyterian model with high rank and all the appliances of wealth.

Creation; or the Bible and Geology consistent; together with the Moral Design of the Mosaic History. By Rev. James Murphy, D. D. New York. Carters. 1850. 12mo. pp. 254.

In our ignorance of whatever relates to the origin of this treatise, we take it up with impartiality, if not rather with a prepossession for the subject, a popular discussion of which is a desideratum. Notwithstanding much interesting matter, and many just opinions, we think the work fails of rising to the greatness of the subject. The paragraph on pp. 45-46 is a specimen of singularly injudicious eulogy, where discriminating praise is really deserved. Extraordinary prominence is given to the phenomena of certain localities on the Hudson. The anecdote of the arithmetical Ulster fox, p. 197, needs confirmation.

A Pastor's Tribute to one of his Flock. The Memoirs of the late Hannah L. Murray. By Gardiner Spring, Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1848. 8vo. pp. 312.

Miss Murray died in 1836, in the fifty-ninth year of her age. This very handsome volume contains a memoir from the

pen of her friend and pastor. In literary and religious attainments this estimable lady appears to have been remarkable, and the tribute here given is full and instructive.

The Annals of the English Bible. By Christopher Anderson. Abridged and continued by Samuel Irenaeus Prime, Secretary of the American Bible Society. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 549.

During the Rev. Mr. Prime's connexion with the Society, he prepared for the press this work, of which the title is a description, and in which all who speak English have a common interest. The history of versions, from Wiclif onwards, and especially of our authorized version, ought to be known to every Christian. It is properly followed by the history of Bible societies and Bible distribution; and the work is closed by a most important chronological list of English Bibles and New Testaments, from the year 1825, with valuable bibliographical remarks.

The English Pulpit; a collection of sermons by the most eminent living divines of England. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 400.

Among the preachers are Cumming, Hamilton, Melvill, Bunting, Sherman, Raffles, Jay, James, Wolff, and Bishop Blomfield (not Bloomfield, as twice here printed.) Certain of the names are of much less note, but some of the sermons are fine specimens; and it affords to many readers their only introduction to men of whom they are often hearing.

Miscellanies. By William R. Williams. New York: Edward H. Fletcher. 1850, 8vo.

Slowly but surely Dr. Williams has risen to be an acknowledged leader of theological authorship in the church to which he belongs. This place has been attained without gifts of elocution, paroxysms of fine writing, or forward pushing into public notice; but by a rare union of extraordinary learning, exquisite taste, common sense, practical judgment and evangelical religion. Of these qualities we have a sufficient testimony in the miscellany now published. Its chief portions

have appeared separately. No occasional discourse has acquired more reputation than the one on the Conservative Principle of our Literature. The note, more properly the monograph, upon the ancient Latin hymn, *Dies Iræ*, is a gem of critical dexterity and lettered tact. We wish the learned author would enlarge his collections, on this head, with reference to the remarks of Daniel, especially in his appendix. The articles in this volume are unequal; but the least striking of them shows the hand of the scholar and the Christian in every page. These judgments of ours are not expressed with any the less pleasure, because our opinions differ on some important points from those of the excellent author.

On the Common Maxims of Infidelity. By Henry A. Rowland. New York. R. Carter & Brothers. 1850. 12mo. pp. 306.

Infidelity presents itself almost always in the way of objections: we therefore most directly aid the common mind by taking these up. Books on the objections of infidels are most seasonable. The author makes a selection of very important ones. As, for example, that man is not responsible for his belief—that the light of nature is a sufficient guide—that we cannot err if we follow conscience—that if the life be right it makes no difference what one believes—that religion is the creature of education. These and the like objections are taken up and treated at length, the history of infidel opposition is also touched. In our opinion the author has chosen a branch of apologetical theology, which has been much neglected, and has treated it in a judicious manner. We take this occasion to express our belief that if ever there was a time when Christians ought to be well acquainted with their own defences, it is the present. There is every appearance of a new assault, not as formerly from avowed infidels, but from professed Christians. Let attention, for example, be turned to the lax opinions on Inspiration, which are gaining ground, through such authors as Morell, even among New England latitudinarians. Most emphatically would we protest also against a modern view of Miracles, borrowed from European philosophy, which degrades this form of evidence, as savouring of a bar-

barous age, and which undervalues external evidence in general. Every minister of Christ would do well to study afresh the subject of miracles, as against the insidious preparations of Germanizing divines to spring a mine beneath our walls.

The Complete Works of Henry Kirke White; with an account of his Life. By Robert Southey, LL. D. 1849. 8vo. pp. 420. Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia. By Dr. Johnson. 1850. 12mo. pp. 208.

To name these convenient reprints is to say all that is necessary. 'Dear Kirke White!' bursts from many lips, on the very mention of his name, sight of his likeness, or sound of his Christian verse. Both books are good for our youth.

The Sermons of the Right Reverend Jeremy Taylor, D. D. New York. Robert Carter and Brothers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 505.

No library of sermons is complete without those of Jeremy Taylor, the Shakspeare of the Pulpit; they are here very cheaply given in one volume. The theology of Bishop Taylor is loose to an extraordinary degree, sometimes going almost the length of Pelagianism. On points not debated between us and the Arminians, he is often great, and always eloquent. Beyond all English writers he is rich and luxuriant, and should be perused for the poetic elevation of his thought and the incomparable flow of his language.

1. *Evenings in the South of France.* From the French of Madame Guizot. 18mo. pp. 181.
2. *The Two Sufferers Contrasted; or Fear and Anguish and Joy and Peace. A Record of Facts from the Chamber of Sickness and Death.* pp. 132.
3. *Mary Grey; or the Faithful Nurse.* By the author of *Ellen Hart*. pp. 174.
4. *Old Herbert and Little Alice.* pp. 68.
5. *Stories for Schoolboys.* pp. 150.
6. *Macdonald; or the Great Mistake; a story of real life.* pp. 54.
7. *The Turning Point; a book for Thinking boys and girls.* pp. 52.
8. *The Bar of Iron, or the Danger of Unsanctified Affliction.* pp. 68. A. S. S. Union.

Notes on the Miracles of our Lord. By Richard Chenevix Trench, M. A., Professor of Divinity, Kings' College, Lon-

don ; author of Notes on the Parables of our Lord, etc., etc. Reprinted entire from the last London Edition. New York. D. Appleton. 1850. pp. 375.

This is an excellent work on the same general plan with the exposition of the Parables, which is already familiar to many of our readers.

1. *An Address*, delivered July 24, 1849, before the United Library Societies of Hamilton College. By Wm. B. Sprague, D. D.
2. *A Discourse Commemorative of the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D.* By the same. Albany pp. 51.

From every side we hear encomiums on this discourse, in which the preacher has excelled most of his occasional efforts. The tone of the whole funeral sermon is felicitous. It is affectionate, comprehensive, harmonious and above all true. The appended list of Dr. Miller's works, though not absolutely complete, is useful, being such none are better fitted than Dr. Sprague to furnish. Most sincerely do we rejoice in the aid of a pen so ready, even to profusion, but which so far as we know has never sent to the public a line of error or extravagance.

A Discourse, Commemorative of the Life and Services of the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D. etc., etc. By the Rev. Henry A. Boardman, D. D. Philadelphia. William S. Martien.

Much of what we have just said might be repeated concerning this discourse, which came next to our hands. It is the respectful tribute of another eminent pupil, well qualified to speak on the subject. The text, from 1 Samuel xxv, 1, is well chosen, and the parallel is striking, especially in what regards the name, the education, and the teaching office of the prophet. We owe Dr. Boardman our thanks for his short but significant vindication of theological seminaries. A brief memoir of Dr. Miller, and an account of his published labours give these pages a permanent value. Great prominence is given to a reflection which is as delightful as it is true, viz. "that it is quite impossible for any one to frame an adequate estimate of the results of such a life as Dr. Miller's." Concerning both these discourses, we may repeat the saying of Dr. Chalmers: *The true heraldry of colleges is their Sons.*

Egypt and the Books of Moses, or the Books of Moses illustrated by monuments of Egypt : with an Appeal by Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, Professor of Theology at Berlin. From the German by R. D. C. Robbins, Abbot Resident, Theological Seminary, Andover. R. Carter & Brothers. New York, 1850. 12mo. pp. 300.

We need only refer to our notice of translation, in our number for January 1844. The author's name is attractive of readers and admirers, and the subject is treated at length, in the preceding pages.

A Historical Geography of the Bible. By Rev. Lyman Coleman. Illustrated by maps from the latest and most authentic sources, of various countries mentioned in the Scriptures. New Edition, with additions. Philadelphia. E. H. Butler. 1850. 12mo. pp. 519.

We are glad to see a third edition of this praiseworthy volume, which we noticed at the time of its original appearance. In this edition the references have been verified, and the whole carefully revised. There is also an additional map from Kiepert's Bibel-Atlas, and two of the others have been partly re-improved. The chart of nations is from Von Raumer. The Chronological Table, from the Babylonish Captivity, where that of the Ordo Seculorum substantially ends, is continued from the last edition of Winer's Realwörterbuch.

The works of Leonard Woods, D. D. Lately Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Andover. In Five volumes. Vol. II. Andover : Printed by John D. Flagg. 1850. pp. 587.

In our last number we expressed our opinion of the importance of the work which Dr. Woods is engaged in passing through the press. We trust he may be spared to superintend the publication to the end. The subjects embraced in this volume are Providence, Moral Agency, Atonement and Regeneration. The work will undoubtedly constitute one of the most valuable contributions to theological literature ever made by an American.

The Early Conflicts of Christianity. By the Rev. Wm. Ingraham Kip, D.D., author of "Christmas Holidays in Rome," &c., &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton. 1850. pp. 288.

This volume treats of the conflict of Christianity with Judaism, Grecian Philosophy, the Licentious Spirit of the Age, Barbarism, and the Pagan Mythology.

The New Republic. Written for the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. Boston: 1850. pp. 252.

An interesting little work on the rising republic of Liberia. Every thing which tends to awaken and diffuse interest in the welfare of African colonization, we hail with pleasure, and desire to see effective.

We have received several works recently printed by our Board of Publication. Among them are following:

Cardiphonia, or the utterance of the Heart in the course of a real Correspondence. By the Rev. John Newton, Rector of St. Mary, Woolnoth, London. With an Introductory Essay. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. pp. 494.

The Christian's Daily Walk, in Holy Security and Peace. By Henry Scudder, Late Minister of Collingborn Ducis, in Wiltshire. Recommended by Dr. Owen and Dr. Baxter. Philadelphia. pp. 342.

These are standard works, which need no commendation.

The following are smaller volumes, most of them designed for the young:

The Bedfordshire Tinker, or the History of John Bunyan. Written for young children. By G. E. Sargent.

The African Preacher. An Authentic Narrative. By the Rev. William S. White, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Lexington, Virginia.

Conversations of a Father with his Children. In two volumes.

Plain Thoughts about great and good Things. For little Boys and Girls. By Rev. William S. Plumer, D.D.

Converse with God in Desertion and Solitude. By Rev. Richard Baxter. Revised for the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The following are still smaller works, handsomely bound in stiff paper.

The Pilgrim Boy of Monghyr, The Child bitten by a mad Dog. The Orphan Girl. And Who is it?

Heathen Scriptures. The Hindoo Girl. And Little George.

Scripture Lessons in Verse. By the Rev. Philip Doddridge, D.D. Revised by the Committee of Publication.

Jajana, Congo's Kraal, and the Little Missionary.

The Terror by Night. I want a Hymn Book. The Missionary Rabbits; and the Little Girl and the Rain.

The Little Jewess. The Ransomed Child, and Time to Seek the Lord.

Africaner, or Missionary Trials.

Mr. Moffat and the Bechuanas, and the Little Hindoo Baby.

History of Mary and Lucy Gutzlaff, and Blind Cecilia.

Scenes in the New Hebrides, and Shesh Achurjya.

The Saint and the Sinner. By Rev. Wm. S. Plumer, D.D.

The Bechuana Girl, Lessons from Heathen Lands, and Christ our Intercessor.

The Story of the Samaritans. Written for the Board of Publication.

The Moravian Missionaries, Old Jessie, and Sin found out.

All these works are got up in a very attractive form, and furnish abundant evidence that our Board is efficiently engaged in furnishing suitable books for all classes of readers.

A Pattern of Mercy and Holiness, exhibited in the Conversion and subsequent character of Col. William Yeadon, Ruling Elder in the Second Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C. A Discourse, by the Rev. Thomas Smith, D.D.

A Discourse on the Practical Tendencies of Calvinism. Delivered before the Synod of Wheeling, in Steubenville, October 18th, 1849. By the Rev. Wm. Eaton. Published by order of the Synod.

The Christian Minister's Great Work: The Sermon at the Consecration of the Right Rev. George Upfold, D.D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Indiana. By Charles Petit McIlvaine, Bishop of the Diocese of Ohio.

Ungodly Nations Doomed. A Discourse preached on the occasion of the General Thanksgiving, November 29th, 1849, recommended by the Governor of Louisiana. By R. L. Stanton, Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of New Orleans.

Denominational Education in Parochial Schools and Religious Colleges enforced on every Church by Divine Authority. By Rev. Thomas Smyth, D.D.

The Church; Its Position and Relations. A Sermon delivered by appointment, before the Synod of Pittsburgh, October 18th, 1819. By Rev. John V. Reynolds. Published by request.

Deutsches Gesangbuch für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten. Herausgegeben mit kirchlicher Genehmigung. Philadelphia: 1849. L. A. Wollenweber. pp. 524.

We cannot look with indifference upon an authorized Hymn

Book, proceeding from a body of Christians so truly respectable as the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. This new digest of the incomparable German hymnology bears the names of the Rev. Drs. and Messrs. Miller, Demme, Reichert, Ulrich, Becker, Stohlmann, Schmucker, Albert, and Deininger. By the condensed method which prevails in German collections, these pages contain no less than seven hundred and ten hymns; though many of these have twice as many stanzas as the average of English hymns. They are arranged under convenient rubrics, with some reference, by no means obtrusive, to the church-year. Great predominance is given to direct addresses to God, and tender effusions of personal love to Christ. It is an advantage possessed by the Germans, that some of their favourite hymns are more than three hundred years old; and proper space is given to these venerable relics. Here we find the master-pieces of Luther, Gerhardt, Schmolck, Hiller, Tersteegen, Lavater, Gellert, Klopstock, and Spitta. Each hymn is followed by the author's name, and the date of his birth and death. Each hymn has the ancient tune noted; and our German brethren are too musical to change these without cause. The selection is in good taste, and sufficiently diversified. Above all, it breathes the spirit of piety, and is faithful to the orthodox, evangelical tenets of the Reformation. Without minute and searching scrutiny, we declare, after edifying perusal, our unfeigned respect for the work and its compilers.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JULY, 1850.

No. III.

ART I.—*Die Kirchengeschichte des 18 und 19 Jahrhunderts, aus dem Standpunkte des evangelischen Protestantismus betrachtet, in einer Reihe von Vorlesungen, von Dr. K. R. Hagenbach.* Leipzig. 8vo. Vol. I. 1848. pp. 511. Vol. II. 1849. pp. 467.

OTHER works of Dr. Hagenbach have made him sufficiently known as a writer of comprehensive views and unusual sprightliness. This, rather than what the Germans love to call depth, is at the bottom of his popularity. Yet he is decidedly a German; looking on the world's history and the world's geography as finding their central region in central Europe; but with a kindly, liberal, and even all-embracing welcome to the rest of the earth. Without being a Hegelian, or even in all details a follower of Schleiermacher, he shows both in nomenclature and opinion the influence of the modern philosophy. Without being one of the churchly orthodox, or anything like a Puritan, he has a warm side towards pietism, and even goes to insular Great Britain, to seek and applaud what is good in Methodists. So far as sentiment, feeling and philanthropy are extant in evangelical religion, he gives it his hand, and is

clearly on ascending ground towards what we hold to be good and right. In his record of the decline of orthodoxy, he is unsparing in his censure, even where he characteristically throws in lenient judgments on the other side.

We have chosen to take up these volumes, because they so nearly resemble in manner the French and English treatment of such topics. Here are none of the needless and endless partitions into books, chapters, sections, subsections, paragraphs, and notes, by which German cooks and their American pupils make mince-meat of the viands. The lectures have all the air proper to oral delivery before a promiscuous assembly. They are diversified by anecdote and citation, and enlivened by a constantly recurring ebullition of pleasant humours. In the notices which follow, it is not our purpose to follow the lecturer into his sources of authority, nor to indicate every instance in which we employ his words. Still less do we mean to be accountable for the opinions which we recite. But the period of time which is here brought under view is too deeply momentous, in regard to the decadence of Protestant Christianity and its partial revival, and too instructive and admonitory as to the beginnings of similar ills at home, for us to pass it by. This we say, with full knowledge that there are those among us who regard the mention of a German name as symptomatic of neology; and who think safety consists in not knowing the dangers of those who have fallen, and in shutting the eyes hard at the first steps of downward tottering in our own land. Dangerous as it is to walk the wards of an hospital, it is nevertheless the only means of arriving at a sound pathology and a preventive regimen. And when, *quod avertat Deus*, the new hypotheses respecting Inspiration, Scripture myths, the Athanasian Creed, and the probative force of miracles, shall have crept a little more into light through our colleges and magazines into our young ministry, these doctrines will find their stoutest impugnors and staunchest confuters, in those who shall have learnt their rise, growth, and decay in the older churches of Europe. Every age has its own race of objections; and though truth is one, sufficient, and triumphant, the aspects of truth, towards this or that error, are special, and therefore best defended by turning our re-

gards humbly and believingly towards specific forms of contemporary falsehood. The monstrous doctrines of Cousin, Emerson, Parker, and the like, have made least havoc among those who have examined their natural history, not in mutilated, disjointed articles, but in the living though fearful organisms from which these parts have been filched for importation, and which can be duly known only, as the naturalists say, *in situ*. Dr. Hagenbach looks on the eighteenth century as pre-eminently the *Age of Toleration*. Some remarkable exceptions, it is true, meet him at the very threshold, in the cases of the Camisards and the Salzburgers; but these are only trailing clouds of the preceding night. The influence of Voltaire in promoting toleration, in the famous affair of the Calas family, is brought boldly forward. We willingly pass from the speculations on this head to consider the progress of religious sentiment in the German States. For the understanding of this, the author thinks it necessary to delineate the portrait of the times, including those of the kings of Prussia, and there is uncommon life and entertainment in his picture.

Frederick William the First, the father of Frederick the Great, reigned from 1713 to 1739. He was like his great ancestor in this, that he opened a door for the persecuted Salzburgers. But he caused their leading men to be deeply probed upon their tenets, by two court divines, and found them happily orthodox. A number of these exiles came to America, in 1733-4, and are mentioned in all histories of South Carolina and Georgia. The case was remarkably like that of the Portugese who lately arrived from Madeira. Frederick William came of a religious stock. He was taught in childhood by a Huguenot lady, Madame de Montbeil, and was then consigned to the care of Count Dohna. The directions given, in 1695, to his governor, in regard to the prince's education, are still extant. "True fear of God," said the royal father, "must betimes be so imprinted on the young heart, as to take root and bring forth fruit during the whole life, even when direction and superintendence shall cease. Especially must the Electoral Prince be so well instructed as to the majesty and omnipotence of God, as to be always possessed with a holy

fear and veneration of God and his commands: for this is the only means by which sovereign power, exempt as it is from human laws and penalties, can be kept within the bounds of moderation: as other men are impelled to good and deterred from evil by rewards and punishments of the supreme magistracy, the same end must be attained by the fear of God, in the case of great princes, over whom no human power can hold out rewards and punishments." It is then ordained: "First, that the Electoral Prince with all his attendants shall pray to God on their knees, every morning and evening. Secondly, after prayer, a chapter of the Bible shall be read, and that not superficially, but, after the reading, the chief contents of the passage shall be briefly summed up; a few striking sentences, suitable to the prince's condition, shall be extracted, for the prince to repeat and get by heart, and the same shall be done with the most useful psalms, and short spiritual prayers. Thirdly, the Electoral Prince is to be well instructed in the articles of faith, principles, and leading topics, of the Christian, true, Reformed religion, by means of diligent catechizing. Fourthly, he shall be taken regularly to preaching in the church, and caused to retain somewhat there heard. Fifthly, no one shall have admittance to the Electoral Prince, who could lead him to cursing and swearing, or to unclean and vicious talk. . . . So likewise if at any time the prince should curse or swear, or otherwise use bad language, the principal governor shall first solemnly admonish him, and if this prove ineffectual, shall bring him to us."

The mother of the Prince joined in the work of education, and among other things read *Telemachus* with him; but she was weakly indulgent. As the boy grew up he soon showed his German blood, and set himself doggedly against the French pomps, which were infecting the court and even the language. He served under Marlborough, before coming to the throne in 1713. We do not often get so near a glimpse of a genuine German Protestant monarch. He carried Spartan simplicity to the extreme. He turned the French fashions into ridicule by putting them on his court fools, a class of functionaries in whom, after old German precedent, he took great de-

light. Equally opposed was he to all the specious gallantry of the age of Louis the Fourteenth; living in perfect observance of the marriage tie, and exacting the same from others. On a certain occasion, the queen staid out too late at an evening party at Monbijou. Her stern lord, wrapt in a cloak, went at a late hour to the house of the Propst Reinbeck, one of his chaplains, and gave to the servant at the door a billet for the chaplain, requesting him to represent to the queen the indecorum of her proceeding.

The king began every day with prayers, then received his cabinet council; at ten o'clock the parade, and then inspection of the stables. At eleven the privy council, and dinner at noon. His table was simple, but he did not proscribe Rhenish. He loved cheerful talk, but would never allow a syllable that was loose. After dinner he walked or rode. On his promenades he often accosted those whom he met; and woe to him that was detected in any impropriety! Such were made to feel the weight of the king's stick, or sent to Spandau, to the house of correction. He required those who spoke to him to look him full in the eyes, for he persuaded himself he could thus read the character. This was naturally alarming, especially to women and children; but he insisted on the apprehension of any who ran away. A poor Jew, on one occasion, offended him by trying to get out of his sight. The king caused him to be pursued and brought to a parley. When he found that the poor fellow had fled for fear, the king was enraged, fell upon him with his stick, and left him with the injunction never to dare to be afraid of him again, but to love him as long as he lived. Early in the evening, in place of French refreshments, the king held what he called his *Tabakscollegium*; consisting of six or eight persons, general and staff-officers, and sometimes a distinguished foreigner. Each guest was furnished with a clay-pipe, which he must keep in his mouth, even if he did not smoke; and before each guest stood a white pitcher of beer and a glass, which about seven o'clock were exchanged for bread and butter. Only on rare occasions was the provision more sumptuous.

This royal humourist scoffed at literature, as idle and luxu-

rious; he knew nothing of science, and wrote his mother-tongue with a princely neglect of grammar and orthography. The scholar, he placed as an unproductive creature, on a level with the player, the ropedancer, and the merry-andrew. For ancient languages and history he avowed a sovereign contempt. Once he caught Frederick's governor explaining to him the Golden Bull, and gave him instantly the discipline of the stick, with a "Look out, scoundrel! I'll golden-bull thee!" *Warte, Schurcke! ich werde dich beuream bullamen!*

Under all this shell there beat a heart of some religious earnestness. The old king was no hypocrite. Wherever piety was oppressed, in the Palatinate, Poland or Austria, it found a sympathizing helper in Frederick William the First. His religion, if legal, was yet honest, and led him to endure correction. Frelinghausen, son-in-law of the excellent Francke, was once invited to the king's table, and in the spirit of old-time ministry, felt moved to rebuke the king for his stag-hunting, an amusement which suited his soldierly nature, as it did that of the British William the Third. The king listened with respect, and seemed affected, but still followed the hounds. That no evangelical softness reigned in his soul is plain from the proverbial severity of his punishments, and the imprisonment of many persons for life. His adherence to dead orthodoxy is fairly cited as a type of a temper prevalent in Germany, and not a little connected with the subsequent rise of rationalism. When the king was dying, his private chaplain Roloff thus addressed him, in the presence of the court: "I have often told your Majesty, that Christ is the ground of our salvation, only when we apprehend him by faith, and when moreover we conduct ourselves after his teaching and example and receive his spirit. While this change of heart is wanting, we cannot hope for salvation. Even if God should choose to save your Majesty *par miracle*, of which we have no example, you would, remaining as you now are, have little joy in heaven. Your army, your treasure, your domain stay here. You will be followed thither by no one of those servants, on whom to vent your passionate anger; and those who are in heaven must be heavenly-minded." Words savouring of a better period! The king was silent, and looked sadly upon

his attendants, as if seeking aid. On the retirement of the others, the dying man began to make particular confession of his sins; but Roloff, in the stern spirit of protestantism, declined to receive this, and insisted on the necessity of a change of heart, which the king could not admit. Roloff detected the lingering desire to be justified by works: and when a bystander interposed on the king's side, he charged upon his conscience the sin of oppression, the exaction of excessive feudal service in the way of building, and the severity of his capital punishments.

It was in such a guise that orthodox Christianity presented itself to the youthful mind of Frederick the Great; and the revulsion produced is matter of notoriety. The king ordered that the prince should be bred to strict religion as he had been himself. After laying down undeniable but frigid principles of religion, his written orders go on to say: "Every Sunday, my son Fritz shall rise at seven o'clock. As soon as he gets on his nether garments, he shall fall upon his knees by the bedside, and pray to God, aloud, so that all who are in the room may be able to hear. The prayer which he must learn by heart, shall be as follows." . . . "As soon as this is done, he shall quickly and nimbly dress and wash himself neatly, then comb and powder. The time allowed for the short prayer and dressing shall be a quarter of an hour, for it must be all through by a quarter before eight. He shall then break his fast in seven minutes. After this, all the domestics with Duhan (his governor) must come in, to hold the long prayers, on their knees. Upon which Duhan must read a chapter in the Bible, and sing one or two good hymns. The domestics shall then retire, and Duhan shall read with my son the Sunday's gospel, with a short exposition," etc.

The same regimental punctilio reigned in public worship; and it was enjoined on the clergy, that no sermon should exceed an hour, under penalty of two rix-dollars for each excess. The king looked sharply to the supply of pulpits and the training of candidates, and forbade all oratorical flourishes. Indeed he seems, like Cromwell, to have gathered the best preachers around him. Reinbeck and Roloff possessed much of his confidence: though it was known that Reinbeck leaned

towards the Wolfian philosophy, which Frederick William abhorred. When on one occasion the king said proudly, "I know what is right;" Reinbeck replied, "That servant which knew his Lord's will, and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." The king was nettled, but at length gave way to the voice of conscience.

Frederick William the First died in 1740. He gave minute directions about his funeral, even to the place and mounting of every battalion, and the volleys at the grave. He chose the text for his funeral sermon, "I have fought a good fight," and prescribed the hymn to be sung. "Of my life and conversation," he further ordered, "and of what concerns my deeds and personal history, not one word shall be said; but the people shall be informed that this I have expressly forbidden; with the addition, that I die as a great and poor sinner, seeking grace from God and the Redeemer."

In the first part of the eighteenth century, Dr. Hagenbach notes a three-fold conflict in German Christianity; between the Lutherans and the Reformed—between the Orthodox and the Pietists—and between the Pietists and the Wolfians. Of the rancour between the two confessions we can scarcely have a notion in our day of union. The feud was carried over from the preceding age. In that previous period there were cities where the Calvinistic assemblies had to struggle for their places of worship. At Hamburg, Götze, a famous Lutheran divine, called the doctrine of the Reformed a doctrine of devils. Half a century earlier, in 1720, Neumeister had used like expressions in the same place; attempting to prove that the Reformed believed no one of the twelve articles of the creed, nor one petition of the Lord's Prayer; that their doctrine violated every command of the decalogue; that they had no religion, that their creed was a beggar's cloak of scraps from all heresies; and adding that he would rather be an irrational beast or a wretched worm than the greatest Calvinistic theologian, inasmuch as the said theologian would infallibly go to hell. The only approach to this blistering of the tongue produced by Calvin's name, is to be found in the most vulgar specimens of rant from the unlearned class of Methodist preachers in attacking what they deem Calvinism.

The breach was wide between the confessions, and many attempts were made to heal it; in these the house of Brandenburg took an active part. But they were surpassed in success by certain prominent men among the theologians, who began to remit somewhat of their tenacity in regard to the points at issue. This is in every country a stage of theological development which needs to be studied with caution and represented with delicacy. The very same words which from the lips of a sound man are only the effusion of charity, become in the vocabulary of latitudinarians the watchwords of indifferentism. In 1705 the Friedrichsstadt church was founded under royal auspices at Berlin, and at its dedication, as a token of peace, the Lutheran and Heidelberg catechisms lay side by side on the altar. It was high time to separate the contending parties, and notwithstanding the reclamation of good old Lutherans like Loescher, the king was disposed to throw down his truncheon. It is very evident, even from Dr. Hagenbach's partial statement, that in many minds this tendency to sink differences arose from the loss of vital warmth in those who still subscribed the old symbols. That distinction began to be generally taken, between the theology of the schools and the theology of the pulpit, which has resulted in the actual dissociation of the two in Germany to a degree unknown among ourselves.

In the Reformed church there was a manifest drawing off from the ancient Dort tenets, especially in Switzerland. The names connected with this are familiar to our readers; those for example of John Alfonso Turretin, Werenfels and Osterwald. To Turretin we may ascribe the removing of the first stones out of the Genevan arch. When we compare him with his father, we are instantly reminded of those Boston preachers who mark the transition from the Cottons and Mathers to the Channings and Frothinghams. Turretin was an elegant scholar, an incomparable latinist, a courtly preacher, a master of apologetic theology, and a devoted friend of union. His friend Samuel Werenfels went hand in hand with him, in promoting comprehension. Frederick Ostervald, whose books on preaching and the pastoral care are still reprinted among us, joined in the same freedom of speech respecting the venerable

standards of Calvinism. Here was the first distinct step in that series of which we seem to observe the lower degrees in the present state of theology in Switzerland; a step which has its startling analogy this moment in New England. "What is most necessary," said Ostervald, "is clearest: what is obscure in religion is not essential." Accordingly he was opposed to teaching children the Heidelberg catechism. German Switzerland could not but feel the influence of such men. Even Zurich, stiff in an orthodoxy of which Dr. Hagenbach speaks as sneeringly as our neighbours do of Puritanism, yielded slowly to the leaven. When Zimmerman, in 1737, became professor there, he was suspected, as of the new school, and almost denounced. The following remarks of Dr. Hagenbach are characteristic of a certain way of thinking in Germany, which begins to be common in America: "Let us however be just and forbearing about this, and judge every phenomenon with reference to its time. I have no belief that the Ostervaldian theology, which was a necessary and therefore a beneficent manifestation a hundred years ago, could satisfy the deeply searching spirit of our day; nay I believe if the inquiry be simply for a theology, that is for a system, or sharp, compacted structure, complete in itself, that the preference must be given for solidity and depth to those old scholastic theologians. Yet I own I linger willingly before the bright portraits of those men, that gaze on us out of their ancient drapery and their capacious bands and wigs, with such humanity, friendship and cheerfulness, rather than before the sombre wrinkled brows and bristly beards of inquisitors and heresy-hunters of an earlier time. Those cheerful faces greet us like the first beams of the vernal sun after a hard winter. True, it is not a tropical sun, calling forth by its heat a luxuriant vegetation, but rather the March sun of our colder region, a friendly sun nevertheless, cheering and warming as in the spring thaws. Yet the warm sunshine of noon was not wanting. Along with the mild moderate theology of recent illumination, there was a tendency of sentiment or feeling penetrating further into the depths of the soul and awakening strong impulses of the breast; a tendency which at that time so far fell in with the modern illumination, as to

agree in deprecating a religion of mere dogma and memory, on the other hand in giving prominence to practical necessities. This latter disposition we find stamped on what is called Pietism." By Pietism is here meant not merely that general direction of mind which in various countries has borne the name, but the particular form of awakened piety and devout zeal which had its principal seat in Halle, under Spener, Francke, and their coadjutors. The enemies of revived piety employed the same weapons against the Pietists, which not long after were used in England against the followers of Wesley and Whitefield. A fair match for Bishop Lavington's scandalous raillery against Methodism may be found in Loescher's "*Harmless News*;" in which he offered up the Halle people to unmingled scorn if not detestation. But now there arose a new controversy, on one side of which stood the Leibnitz-Wolfian philosophy.

It is not our intention to recite the interesting history of Wolf, and of the transformation which his labours wrought in the stiff nomenclature of old fashioned theology. The elegant chimaera of the Preestablished Harmony admitted of easy connexion with the sublimest doctrines of divine sovereignty. But it filled with alarm many pious Lutherans. Open war broke out on a festive occasion, July 16, 1721, between Wolf and the Pietists, in consequence of an eulogium of Wolf on the morals of Confucius. Then arose the question of professoral liberty in teaching, and pulpits resounded with the inflammatory topic. Most of the students were on the philosopher's side, and this tended still more to prejudice the educated youth of Prussia against the Pietists. The stout old king, who knew more of barracks than of schools, felt the argumentum ad hominem, when he was told that the Preestablished Harmony would demoralize his army. By an ordinance of November 8th, 1723, he expelled Wolf, not only from Halle, but from all his dominions.

Wolf found a refuge in Marburg, and it was not long before the king regretted his hasty act. The benevolent Reinbeck lent his aid, and many efforts were made to restore the philosopher to Prussia. He stood upon his dignity however, and did not accede to any of the earnest propositions till the suc-

ceeding reign, when in 1740 he re-entered Halle in triumph. Wolf was certainly no Pietist, but modern Germans would as certainly call him a Puritan: for the card is extant in which, replying to an invitation to a university feast, he writes that he is to partake of the Lord's Supper on that day, and adds that he must consult his clerical adviser as to the propriety of his attendance.

It is encouraging to observe how solid are the foundations laid by good men in whatever they do out of love to Christ, and how long the superstructure remains in strength. The visiter at Halle still sees the pile which reminds him of the persecuted but great Francke; but those edifices are little, compared with the preachers and authors who proceeded thence. In the first twenty-nine years of the university more than six thousand theologians were educated there, of whom a large number bore the peculiar impress of the school. Thousands of persons, in addition, went through the Orphan-house schools, with the same effects. The Canstein Bible Institute, of 1712, though much forgotten, was the real forerunner of all Bible Societies. But by no single means, not even by preaching, did the evangelical men of Halle so widely disseminate their peculiar views as by sacred poetry. We need scarcely name Schmolk, Frelinghausen, Tersteegen, and Woltersdorf, to any who have Knapp's collection. To those only who happen to be acquainted with the extent of German spiritual poetry will it be credible that Schmolk's hymns amount to more than a thousand. It was Frelinghausen, however, who by his hymns was the most exact type of the Halle pietism. At the age of forty-five he was married to Francke's only daughter, whose godfather he had been. Some of his best hymns were composed during fits of the toothache, so that his friends sometimes congratulated themselves on an access of his pain. Bogatzky, still known among us by his *Golden Treasury*, also wrote hymns, which are full of unction and love to Christ. But no sacred poet of the age was more genial or is more affectionately remembered than Father Tersteegen, as he used to be called: he died unmarried, in 1769, leaving behind him more than a hundred hymns. We tear

ourselves with some reluctance from a subject which we have seen nowhere else treated so fully.

While Dr. Hagenbach gives ample praise in certain places to the Pietists, there are others in which he bears with some rigour on the shades of the picture. Sometimes he gives a weight to a sort of testimony which we have learnt to think very unsafe, by the examples of our suffering forefathers. We know who they are that testify concerning Calvinistic Scotland and Massachusetts, as if nothing like a smile ever played upon the Presbyterian or Puritan countenance; while the quaintnesses of their "pun-divinity," as Lamb calls it, and every effervescence of Rutherford, Cotton Mather, Gurnall, and the Henrys, give the lie to such a supposition. Our author furnishes abundant proof of the comfort given by the pietistic religion. "In my boyhood," says an eminent preacher, "I have seen both in private and in the pulpit, some old men of this school, and to this day, the blessedness of a firm and confirming faith, the cheerful and calm friendship of a life indestructible and imperturbable by all the storms of time and all the sufferings and injuries of man, still floats before me as a lovely flower of memory." While these and many such things as these, are favourably reported by the author, he lends, we think, too ready an ear to persons who, for all that appears, may have been under a bias disqualifying them for judging of the true work of God on the soul. There are none who speak and write so bitterly against evangelical piety, as do apostate children; those who remember the wounds but not the balm, who were convinced but not converted. Such are many of the Boston Unitarians, children of Christian parents, who hate the name of Calvin or Edwards or the rumour of a revival, with a rancour that is nowhere laid down in their dove-like treatises on liberality and love. Such testimony as that of Semler is affecting however in no common degree. While we recognise a certain resemblance, such as is in every caricature, we shudder at the nearness of his approach to true grace, and can scarcely help speculating on the question how different might be the present condition of Germany if he had never lived, or if he had lived the life of his despised fathers.

In Semler's autobiography he recounts the prevalence of

high views respecting regeneration and conversion, which are no other than those entertained by ourselves. That law-work, which has never died out of the Presbyterian theology during three centuries, seems a strange and amusing thing to some Germans, and Hase has more than one sneering phrase to denote the anguish of a converted sinner. Semler's own brother, it appears, was thus concerned, so that one night he had to rise from his bed, and go into the adjacent library, where he was in prayer, kneeling and sometimes prostrate. The lamenting voice and sobs awoke Semler, who sought to comfort the anxious youth, repeating to him verses, sometimes in Greek and Hebrew. The brother embraced him passionately, but declared those promises were not for him. Semler then denounced as perverse and unworthy the kind of religion which could render a generous youth so miserable, and adds to the story some agreeable gossip about the moonlight devotions and hymns of the revivalists and the devoirs of the duke to comely pietists. It is not for us, as foreigners, to judge here. We know that nothing is more disgusting than the forms of revival, when the revival is gone. We prefer rubrics a thousand years old, to the stereotype rules of camp-meetings and anxious seats; and are ready to believe that under all these exaggerations there were some things ridiculous and some things insincere in individuals belonging to the second generation of Pietists. It is fully admitted, not only by Zinzendorf but by Tholuck. In another direction the revived religion of Germany shaded off into mystical exercises, such as we have seen as a back-ground to our own revivals. Into the history of these we shall not follow our guide.

We shall take the liberty of sometimes using the familiar English word *freethinking* in place of several German words which would need a glossary, such as *Aufklärung*. The history of English Deism is too well known to our readers, to make any German account needful. It is entertaining however to see, according to the modern philosophy of history in which everything is connected with everything, and every man a type of some age-spirit or age-tendency, how great a place can be suddenly given to some poor fellow whom one never thought of putting among the 'representative men.' In the German

method, no event or individual stands alone, or can be even left alone, till a day of more data; the individual must be brought into the series, and if there is no chain to connect the parts, it must be forged. This no doubt makes history very amusing, and leaves nothing unexplained. Dr. Hagenbach is one of the most moderate of Germans in this respect, approaching more nearly the French temper, and abounding in biographical pictures. We should not wonder indeed to hear that he has no philosophy at all. Yet now and then even he makes us smile at the earnestness with which he bustles about to work some unimportant separatist or madman into the process of development. Time is wanting to show how Bolingbroke begat Voltaire and Voltaire begat Strauss. The portraits of Voltaire and Rousseau are admirable, we wish it was in our power to give them here in English. But we are led by obvious associations to another name.

Frederick the Great, though not so often named by us as by our fathers, rises before us as a well-known portrait. In Germany, picture shops and pipes repeat three faces, to wit, Luther, Fritz, and Napoleon. How Frederick's father provided for his education, we have seen; he might have learnt in his stables that noble blood could not brook the perpetual curb. The metaphor of a German preacher is different, who said the ship was so full of religious ballast, that sink it must. It was not religion, but religious yokes and burdens in the absence of religion, that wrought the mischief. The old king's orders were supreme, and the mercurial boy was made to get hymns and catechism as a punishment. It is happily said that we look back on Frederick through the coloured cloud of his successes; the father saw in him only an effeminate flute-playing scholar, who preferred a concert or a sonnet to the hunting horn and the Tabakskollegium. How far he was right we say not, but he set the prince down as "a selfish, illconditioned knave, always counterworking his father, an effeminate fellow without the common inclinations of humanity." Frederick clung to Quantz, the musician, and to Lieutenant von Katte, whose tragic fate is known. At the age of twenty he was first made to witness the execution of his bosom friend and then cast into prison, where even pen

and ink were denied him. Such were his associations with German orthodoxy; no one need marvel at his infidelity and his Gallomania. The Lutheran chaplain Muller was sent to give him religious discourses in gaol. The morning and evening prayers were enforced as duly as the drill of a guard-house. When he obtained the mastery of his own household, the bow was unbent, and he surrounded himself with artists and litterateurs, studied the proscribed works of Wolf, and entered on his ill-starred commerce with Voltaire, the Mephistopheles of his tragedy. Frederick may well be named among the typical men of Germany, for in regard to the French philosophers he far anticipated the age in what is now known as genius-worship. To preachers he confessed it as a misfortune that he laboured under a sad debility of faith. If he admired Bossuet and Massillon, it was because they were eloquent and because they were French. It was natural for such a mind to further the cause of toleration. His father had violently endeavoured to brush away popish remnants from the Lutheran altars, such as the tapers and crucifix; Frederic gave absolute discretion to all the clergy, and full license even to Romanists. He allowed a Greek church at Breslau and relieved the Socinians in Livonia and East Friesland, as well as the followers of Zinzendorf and Schwenkfeld. In a cabinet-order, 1781, respecting the Berlin hymn-book, he said: "Every man may, for me, believe what he pleases, so he is only honest. As to the hymn books, any one is free to sing *Nun ruhen alle Wälder*,* or the like stupid and silly pieces. But the priests must not forget toleration, for persecution is not permitted to them." He contemptuously remitted the presentation of pastors; but took pains to withdraw education from the hands of the parsons, or as he called them, *Faffen*. His definition of a theologian was "an animal void of reason." It is characteristic, that his tolerance stopped short in regard to the Pietists, or *Mucker*, as his father had taught him to call them.

In 1745 Professor Francke attacked the stage. The king wrote as follows: "This comes of the ghostly Muckerpack.

* One of Paul Gerhardt's most beautiful productions, which was dear to the childhood of Schiller.

They *shall* play, and Herr Francke, or whatever the scoundrel's name is, shall be present, in order to make public amends to the students for his foolish representations; and the attestation of the comedians shall be returned to me, that he has attended." In another rescript: "The Halle parsons must be taken up short; they are evangelical Jesuits, and must in all circumstances be kept from having the least countenance." Had Deists been so treated, as Dr. Hagenbach adds, what exclamations would have ensued! In regard to a teacher named Hahn, he wrote thus: "The abbot is good for nothing, and must give place to another; no one will send children thither, because the fellow is an extravagant pietistic fool."

His well known rupture with Voltaire did not scatter the coterie of French infidels. Chief among them was la Mettrie, a physician, who reduced vice to a system. Of this man, the marquis d'Argent, himself one of the clique, said, that he preached the doctrines of vice with the shamelessness of a fool. As might have been expected, the foul stream flowed rapidly downward into the common plain, and there were many beyond the precinct of the court who re-echoed the blasphemous watch-word *d'écarter l'infame*. But that religion, which Voltaire in writing to Frederick likened to black bread, such as at best was only fit for a dog, still lives and is the nourishment of kings and sages: all are hungering for the bread of life, and many are returning with zest to this bread, after having blunted their wisdom-teeth on the stale white loaf doled out to them by Voltaire."

We do not regret the large space afforded to the critical and hermeneutical studies of Wettstein and Michaelis; but these are generally known. It is perhaps more needful to pause over one venerable name, of which the merits are in danger of being forgotten; we mean the Chancellor von Mosheim, "a man whose nobleness of character was as worthy of love as his learning was deep and comprehensive. Scarcely is there a department of theology in which his labours were not enlightening and suggestive. Mosheim is the father of modern Church History. In ethics, for a long period at least, he marks an epoch; and in the history of the German pulpit a new era dates from the eloquent Mosheim. He was called

the German Tillotson, and the German Bourdaloue. That exquisite sensibility and taste, which were wanting even in Michaelis, existed to an extraordinary degree in Mesheim, and gave a peculiar charm to his learned dissertations and narratives, as well as to his sermons. In his creed Mesheim was thoroughly orthodox, but mild and forbearing towards others; in this differing from the older orthodox. He was the first to assume that dignified impartial stand in Church History, which concedes the rights even of the erroneous and the dissentient, and which yields to their systems a complete investigation and illustration, subjecting them, as the physician does diseases, to a purely scientific treatment. In his theological way of thinking he has been justly compared with Melancthon."

Among many whom we must omit, in Dr. Hagenbach's lively portrait-gallery, we cannot leave Semler unnoticed, if for no other reason because he is continually referred to as noting a critical juncture and point of transition from the strict to the lax theology. Loose as Semler would have seemed to Flacius, he could not but be straitly antiquated to Paulus or Röhr. We do not indeed look at Semler with the eyes of Dr. Hagenbach, for two reasons; first, because our doctrinal position is what our author would regard as too Calvinistic or Dordrechtian, and next because we cannot take that optimistic view of history, which even among those who are not Hegelians, prevails in Germany, and which sees in every turn of the dogmatic wheel an almost needful item in the revolution.

Semler was the son of a clergyman and was born in 1725. The convictions of his boyhood are sacred in our eyes, nor do we regard them as he himself did. "There was not," says his autobiography, "a corner of the house, in which, for secrecy, I did not kneel, pouring out many tears, and crying to God for this great grace of conversion. But still I remained under the law. Moravian hymns did me no more good than many others known in Saalfeld and sung in the societies." At seventeen he went to Halle. Since Wolf's departure great changes had taken place. Lange, the head of the Pietists, died about this time. Baumgarten, a more moderate man, succeeded to his influence, and Semler became his favourite

pupil. He testifies to the affection of the Halle Christians, but says he could not follow their counsels by cutting off unnecessary studies. He regarded himself as unconverted. "Well do I remember," says he, "that one evening, walking all alone in the great square of the orphan house, in the deepest distress, I said to myself, O that I were that lump of ice, or that log!" Even then he began to distinguish between religion and theology, and to attempt the problem, since familiar at Harvard, how much error a man may have in his head, and yet be right in his heart. Still he was far from adopting Frederick's maxim, 'Let every man be saved, after his own *façon*.' But he could not detect in himself the Halle evidences. After this we find him at Coburg, then professor of History and Poetry at Altorf; but at length recalled to Halle to teach theology. He seems to have entered on these labours with great honesty; but as by degrees he felt his strength he deviated more and more from the teachings of that school, and was apparently in the condition which was passed through by Buckminster, and in which others, who have not declared themselves, are at this moment. For example he began to wish the Canticles out of the canon. He was ill at home in the Apocalypse. He described Judaism in New Testament expressions, as concerning the devil and demoniacs. As he proceeded to remove one husky integument after another from the truth, he found the abiding kernel of Christianity to be the 'improvement of mankind.' His private life was beautiful and blameless; indeed these conditions seem indispensable to the success of the downward theology, by saving it from public repudiation, in this stage of its decline. He was as vehement against deism and rationalism as against orthodoxy and pietism: attacking Baselow, Bahrdt and the Wolfenbüttel Fragments. Even of the Pietists it was the theology which he rejected, while he applauded their piety. Semler died March 14th, 1791. Long before this date, he had seen his comparatively timid innovations seized and carried onward by the reckless extravagance of neology.

Lessing is too great a genius to be despatched in a few sentences, nor shall we attempt it. Like many an infidel of the age, he was brought up to pray and read the Bible, and his first poetic awakenings were caused by the hymns

which he learned. He was a prodigy at school, so as to be called "the admirable Lessing." His wilful nature soon broke out in youthful dissipations. To reconcile his parents to the theatre, he wrote a play in ridicule of freethinkers. At Berlin he felt the influence of Nicolai and Mendelssohn, who were on the deistical track, and who welcomed him to join them in their brilliant journalism. In Hamburg he became acquainted with Götze, already named by us as a doughty old Lutheran, who was quite disconcerted to find in the young man of the green-room an intimate acquaintance with all the questions of the Augsburg Confession. In 1770 Lessing was librarian of the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel, where in 1774 he became famous by the appearance of the antichristian *Fragments*. Nothing since that day has made a greater sensation till Strauss's *Leben Jesu*. The absurd impiety of these tracts is too well known to allow of repetition here. It is generally agreed that Lessing, though the editor, was not the writer of the *Fragments*: the author remains unknown. Lessing now found himself involved in a conflict with Mr. Götze, against whom he uttered a work entitled *Anti-Götze*. "The controversy between them," says Hagenbach, "touched in its extensive sweep one point in particular which enters deeply into the essence of Protestantism, namely the relation of the Bible to Christianity. While the Protestant Church, as against the Catholic, has set up the Bible as the only source of religion, Lessing attempted to show that Christianity is older than the writings of the New Testament, which had their very origin within the Christian church." Lessing had no theological system: his turn was critical and not constructive. His eloquence, wit, and imagination made him one of the most dangerous of the German infidels; and we slightly lose patience with our historian, when, in the exercise of his impartial liberality, he undertakes to show how much worse his infidelity might have been. It is the temper of our lukewarm age, even in America, to pardon any thing to genius. There were those in Germany, as these volumes tell us, who seriously maintained that such a mind as Goethe's is beyond the ordinary scope of moral rule. Something akin to this has lately come to our knowledge in the idle extravagance of a public

lecturer, who in speaking of licentious books absurdly and mischievously tried to show that when they proceed from great genius they can do no harm.

The 'Illumination Period' in Germany, or Age of Reason, as Englishmen might say, was marked by the same pretensions to philanthropy which appeared in England under Godwin, and which re-appear in America under the re-organizers of society, and violators of property and marriage. They were too sagacious to overlook the common schools, and some of the most audacious strokes were aimed by innovating educators. These lectures represent the collusion between the new *Pädagogik* and the new philosophy, against the time-honoured institutions of the church. "The old building, with its Gothic towers and windows, its gloomy cloisters and tombs, was no longer a fit place for the free, merry plays of the young or the neutral philosophy of the aged. The church must be turned into a cheerful school-room, the carved pulpit, with its winding stairs of stone, into a trim desk of wood, and the mighty nautilus of the church, into a broad convenient ferry-boat, plying safely between the flat banks." The first great name in the school-reform is that of Basedow. He was the son of a wig-maker, and was born at Hamburg, in 1723. After an erratic youth, renouncing in various universities, and even acting as professor and author, he left theology and pursued his remarkable bent for teaching. Inspired by Rousseau's *Emile*, he set about his great work of education, with such popularity that it brought him in fifteen thousand dollars in five years. His system, like the favourite ones among ourselves, was so comprehensive as to offend neither Jew nor Gentile. "The spirit of the age was on his side." His normal school, the *Philanthropin*, was founded in 1774. His plan was remarkable for its superficial easiness, its liberality, its vacillation in religion and morals, its educating of precocious ratiocination, in a word for its extreme and degenerated Protestantism.

In harmony with these endeavours were the editorial advances of Nicolai, and the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, and of the profane neologist Bahrddt. This daring zealot for wild irreligious interpretation overshot his mark, became a laugh-

ing-stock, and lost his character. Even the liberal poets made him their butt. "It is characteristic," says Hagenbach, "that Goethe, who called himself a decided non-christian (*einen decidirten Nichtchristen*) derided the three so-called rational Christians. Basedow, Nicolai, and Bahrdt, while he made companions of Jung Stilling and Lavater." Bahrdt's position is described by a single sentence; "I regard Moses and Jesus, as I do Confucius, Socrates, Luther, Semler, and—myself, as instruments of providence, by which good is wrought in mankind, according to its good pleasure." He ended his wretched and at length abandoned life, at Halle, in 1792.

Much might be extracted from the vivacious lectures, on the defenders of Evangelical religion, and the semi-rationalists, or tame and moderate links between orthodoxy and neology, such as Spalding, and Zollikofer. The latter were very like the gentle preachers of Boston and Cambridge who preceded open Unitarianism, and not unlike the Presbyterian Moderates of the school of Robertson. Of these calm, polished, and learned men, the book has many good things to say. Looking back, we can perceive the declivity on which they were gently sliding. It is more delightful to accompany the author into the warmer climate of Southern Germany, and to renew our acquaintance with the blessed Bengel, the "patriarch of Suabian Pietism." His memoir by Burk has been translated into English, and his *Gnomon* and other Latin works are familiar to scholars; but we may still refresh the heart with glimpses of so remarkable a form.

Bengel was born in 1687, near Stuttgart. His life was spent in the double work of preaching and teaching, in both which he showed the warm, gushing, and affectionate piety, which is the same in all times and countries. His biography takes us back to the Finleys and Livingstons of our own land. In biblical labours his efforts were parallel with those of Wettstein, but they were full of the flavour of grace. In the pulpit he was more the catechist than the orator. Though he rose high as a dignitary, he maintained an apostolical simplicity. Ripe in erudition and worn down with authorship, he died in a good old age. His death-bed was without scenic pomp, though as he once said, a "child of God will not sail away in-

cognito." He partook of the Lord's Supper with his family, but made little ado even with his wife and children, saying that he should be awhile forgotten, but that he should again come to remembrance: a true prophecy. His pupil Oetinger carried out his views; a man called the Magus of the South, as Hamann the Magus of the North. Another eminently useful disciple of Bengel's was Philip Matthew Hahn. Among them must be named also the great hymn writer, Miller, whose volume of sacred poems was more common in Wurtemberg than any book but the Bible.

Of course we shall entertain our readers with nothing about Whitefield and Wesley. Of Zinzendorf, notwithstanding his blemishes, affection would lead us to say more, but his career lies somewhat aside from the great course of German opinion and progress. Our author gives an importance to Baron Swedenborg, which, however beneath the dedication of his moon-struck disciples, is more than we can comprehend. Then we alight upon the twin names of Stilling and Lavater. To readers of English books Lavater presents the image of an amiable physiognomist: he was a philosopher, a poet, and a Christian. Of his specific tenets in theology, we are not competent to report, but if inward grace can be inferred from blameless living, enthusiastic benevolence, and a devotion to Christ that wells out in streams of the clearest sacred song, then was Lavater an eminent child of God. One of his sayings reveals his gentle longings: "Blessed are the homesick, for they shall reach home." Complementary to this are these words: "Joy, nothing but joy, is the intention of the Guide of mankind; joy, nothing but endless joy, the sole end of all the suffering laid on us. Jesus and Author of joy are perfectly equivalent expressions. To him who deems Jesus other than the author of joy, the Gospel is other than glad tidings; and he who regards affliction as any thing but a fountain of joy, knows not God, nor Christ, nor the Gospel." The Godhead of Christ, says the historian, as the all-sovereign power in heaven and earth, in all possible relations, was his one theme, which he taught and amplified in words and writings. Like Zinzendorf he might have said, "One passion only I have—it is HE, only HE!" And it was not an ideal but a historical Christ, that

he loved and worshipped. With all this Lavater was liberal in his estimate of errorists, to a degree which may be explained by the melting charity of his heart, but which we regard as both unsafe and unwise. Hence we find him in the most extraordinary connexions with heretics and even Deists. Something is perhaps due to the physiognomic whimsey, which urged him to study every aspect of humanity. Dr. Hagenbach distinctly separates his place from Pietism, Methodism, and Puritanism. His sermons were not essays, but burning, streaming gushes from the heart, and so fitted to the moment, that each one might be called an occasional sermon. The following account of his preaching is from the hand of Steffens.

"It now happened that Lavater made a visit to his distinguished Christian friends in Holstein, and from thence came to Copenhagen. As might be supposed, he was not unknown to us. We were acquainted with some of his writings, had turned over his *Physiognomy*, had been interested in his essay to christianize Mendelssohn, and had observed the warmth with which he was received by some and attacked by others. It was the first striking *notabilité* that had come to Denmark from the spiritual vortex of Germany, and we were all impatience till he arrived. He preached in the Reformed Church, where I saw and heard him. His appearance, now before me, was highly interesting. A long spare man, a little stooping, with a most spiritual physiognomy, the sharp lines of which told of an eventful past and inward conflicts, and an eye of surprising brightness, fire, and penetration. If I remember aright he seemed older than he was, for I find he was then about fifty-two. The Reformed Church, which was not large, was packed full, and a solemn stillness pervaded the assembly. We were prepared for a rough pronounciation, for some of our German physicians had given us imitations of the Swiss dialect; the contrast with the prevalent mode was the more striking, as the weak sounds of the Danish were flatter still. But on hearing the sharp voice clinging to the gums, and the hollow, piercing tones of the celebrated man, I was so impressed as almost to lose the prayer. The greatest attention was required to understand. I was wonderfully seized and moved by the discourse: I seemed to hear a voice that I had

longed for. The subject was Prayer. The dialect, which at first seemed so repulsive, began to sound finer, clearer, even lovely, and so blended with what he was saying that any other had been out of place. Having described a soul in utter hopelessness, he paused for a little, and then cried with a loud voice *Büttet!* (Pray!) The E was almost a diphthong, and the hard redoubled T gave the word a fearful emphasis. The loud cry reached and shook my inmost soul, and I have never in all my life, been able to recall it without something of the deep impression by which I was then agitated."

The two men of the age, in Dr. Hagenbach's estimate, were Herder and Schleiermacher; and if amount of influence on theology is concerned, few will dissent from his opinion. Lavater and Herder, in very different ways, conduct us into the new domain of modern German religion. Herder's brilliancy in the literary heavens has often kept foreigners from estimating him as a theologian and a preacher. He was born in 1744. He often made mention of his godly mother, and of the evening hymns which, more in Germany than any where else, are means of grace; and in later life, he would sometimes at dead of night go to an instrument and accompany himself as he sang the old chorals. Arndt's True Christianity was among the household books. In Königsberg he felt the power of two unlike men, Hamann and Kant. Hamann was, to use Herder's own idiom, "a good handful of years" older than he; it was Herder who named him the Magnus of the North. Herder's relations to Goethe are abundantly known to English readers; but at Weimar he was ultimately connected also with Wieland, Schiller, and Richter. Part of his work on Hebrew poetry appeared in the Biblical Repertory twenty-four years ago, in a version by Mr. Marsh, afterwards President Marsh, of Vermont. This and his treatise on the Study of Theology did much to lead back German youth of genius from the seat of the scorner. He travelled over large parts of Europe, and brought the spoils of all his culture into the service of religion. Herder was what his countrymen love to call a many-sided character. To use Jean Paul's figure, "he was not a star, either of the first or second magnitude, but a group of stars, out of which every one might figure

his favourite constellation." Or, to repeat Hagenbach, those who look only at eminence in a single branch will prefer in poetry Goethe and Schiller, in philosophy Fichte and Schelling, in theological learning Mosheim, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Planck, or others. Yet take him for all in all, his power on the German mind was without parallel. Though less universal than Goethe, he had what Goethe lacked, the religious element. William von Humboldt, naming him with Goethe and Schiller, says that Herder surpassed them both in a certain blending of spirit and fancy, such as constitutes religious genius. Herder threw out fewer great results of biblical erudition than Michaelis; but he electrified his young countrymen with enthusiasm for the Old Testament; which no Michaelis could have done. On his works in poetry and the philosophy of history we cannot dwell. Neither can we pretend to abstract the points of his creed, which, as our author admits, was too lax for one side and too strict for the other. He was a poetic theologian and a theological poet, yet he repudiated the hypothesis that the Bible is all poetical. "Rather," says he, "would I abjure all poesy, and prefer to it the nakedest, driest annals." He was a powerful champion for the historic verity of the Old Testament. Amidst much that we now look back upon as leading the way to the prevalent unbelief of our day, there was much that showed a heart not unaffected by the inward tendencies of grace. The gospel of John had become the banner of a party of mystics which flat Rationalism despised; yet Herder was so far from undervaluing this part of scripture that he says: "That small book is a deep tranquil ocean, in which we see heaven mirrored with its sun and stars; and if there are for man such things as eternal truths, (and such there are) they subsist in John."

Cultus, or Christian worship, was prominent in Herder's system of religion. Himself a noted pulpit orator, and a devoted classic, he nevertheless denounced the method of erecting the ancient Gentile discourses as models, and would probably have disallowed the recent labours of Thieremin. As a religious poet he deserves to be heard in regard to hymnology; indeed we wish our American collectors of sacred song could

be rebuked by his stern, true and unanswerable words, for their sacrilegious mutilation of ancient hymns, which has reached such an extent that many a venerable author would scarcely recognise his own verses after the pretended emendations of book-makers and music-masters. In preparing the Weimar Hymn Book in 1778, Herder showed a more excellent way, the exact reverse of what prevails among ourselves. Wherever it was possible he retained the original text of hymns.

“An effusion of truth and of the heart,” says he, “such as all Luther’s hymns were, is no longer the same, when foreign hands alter it at pleasure, any more than our countenance would be the same, if every passer-by should cut and hack and disfigure it, according to his notions. Whoever knows the origin of these songs, and the history of our church, knows without my suggestion that they are genuine signatures of our growth and our doctrinal purity: and no right-minded and worthy descendant will trade away the heirloom seal and scutcheon of his race for a street picture, however finely painted. The church of God is infinitely more concerned in doctrine and testimony, in the power of her origin and the early healthful blossom of her growth, than in corrected rhyme or smooth equability of metre. No Christian assembly comes together to exercise itself in poetry, but to worship God, to admonish one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, making melody in their hearts unto the Lord. For these ends the old hymns are clearly more adapted than the newly altered, or than many of the new; as I call all sound hearts and consciences to witness. In the hymns of Luther and his contemporaries and successors (so long as the object was to make genuine church-songs and not fine verses) how much heart and soul! Sprung from the heart they go to the heart, which they lift, comfort, teach and edify, so that we feel ourselves constantly in the domain of truth believed, of God’s church, of open liberty, and remote from our every-day thinking and busy nothingness. Is it not a grievance when men alter such hymns; that is, amputate living members from the thought and soul of so many good men? It pains us to see even worldly books, read by us of old, with which we have grown up, so changed in new editions; because we feel cheated,

as if a thing were first given us and then snatched away: much more pained are we, when these changes rob us of our first childlike impressions of religion. Good remains always good; gold always gold. If simple exalted nature will not brook the officious hand of art, how much less the highest noblest nature, the religion of God! Such hymns are the reflections of our fairest years, the comrades of our life, the joy of our home, the trusted consolers of our distresses; it is the hand of an enemy which despoils us of these, or which, with the verse that once blessed us and now is missing, deals us the blow of a scourge. These very persons make little account of the hymns, even when altered, as of hymns in general. They sing them with inward disregard or coldness, because the world they live in is a different world; and is it for such people, that we cheat the children of their bread? I hold that country or province for blessed, where they retain their ancient service and ancient hymn-book, and where whole assemblies are not every day or every Sunday put to the rack by alterations. The hymns of our church bear with them the witness of their worth, in the great impression which they make, and the excellent effects which they produce. . . . But the best thanks we can give, is to bring back the old times and the old spirit into houses and churches; times when all clung to these hymns with reverence and with the whole heart; when the father passed no day which he did not begin and end in the lovely vocal circle of his household. If Luther calls the Old Testament a sorrowful mute testament, we may well call the New, beginning as it does with loud praises, a joyful testament, under which we ought to be much in singing and praising. Of a truth we are now plainly going back from this new joyous dispensation to that of the Old Testament; for the voice of spiritual song becomes every year more indifferent, and tends more and more to silence. GOD GRANT US ONCE MORE THE DAYS OF HEARTY, JOYFUL, CONGREGATIONAL PSALMODY!" To which we respond, Amen and Amen!

Too much space would be occupied by these remarks if we should follow Dr. Hagenbach into his account of the German philosophers, who occupy a large place, as was to be expected. Even in regard to Schiller and Goethe, the confessed giants of

German poetry, we can only gather here and there certain matters which may be suggestive of observation. It is almost comic when our author sets about vindicating Schiller from the charge, that he never composed a religious hymn. The very issue joined is characteristic of the German mind in its present condition. The attempt to descry, under strong magnifiers, any filaments of Christianity in this great poet's writings is ingeniously made by his admirers. These lectures contain a justly indignant protest against those who love to degrade Schiller in order to the apotheosis of Goethe. While we cannot go all the length of De Quincey in regard to the later productions of Goethe, we feel no disposition to cast ourselves into the retinue who burn incense to the philosophic phantoms of the Faust.

We have seldom laid down a couple of volumes with more satisfaction or entertainment. In a travelling companion we are apt to look not so much for a man of definitions, ratiocinations and profundities, as for a full, ready, clear-headed, affable and vivacious scholar and gentleman; and such is Dr. Hagenbach. We were never more satisfied with our Anglo-American type of theology and religion, than after spending these agreeable hours before a panorama of the German churches and schools from a German pencil. We were never more confirmed in the belief, that the boasted progress of opinion in philosophical theology is imaginary; and that the brightest hopes of modern Germany are to be elicited from those things in which she is going back (alas, how slowly and interruptedly) to the truths of the reformation. The most valuable lesson which we have to learn from the fearful defections and apostasies of German Protestants is one which regards our own American prospects. *Mutatis mutandis*, we are doing over the same things which the Germans did before us. The path which the latitudinary reformers of the eighteenth century pursued is opening before the Young America of our theology. Our first steps were taken under their guidance. Part of our theological writers and instructors have not yet advanced beyond the first milestones of the journey. For all that we know, there may survive in villages about Boston antiquated ministers, who have not yet banished to the chan-

dler and trunk-maker that opprobrium of all learning and all honesty, the "Improved Version," and who halt along on the broken crutch and under the frowzy peruke of Paulus. More certain are we that sober, diligent, microscopic, exegetical compilers are still compounding the mixtures of rationalistic hermeneutics after the formulas of Rosenmüller, Kuinoel and the like. But their own neighbours are ashamed of them, and their younger followers grow weary of so scrupulous a coldness and so bloodless a learning, which belong to a former generation. A more recent corps of young scholars, from institutions chiefly in New England, have advanced much further than their fathers, and are following on in the direction of what is vaguely called Transcendentalism. They join us in smiling at the stolid earnestness with which some of their seniors are just beginning to catch a notion of Kant and Fichte, but the instructive fact is, that those most advanced in the recent theology of New England are only one stage beyond their forerunners, in a career of which we see the later and perhaps inevitable stages in Germany. For those who are wise, it is a providential blessing that the curve of which we have but a few actual elements at home has been completed abroad. Already we are becoming familiar with expressions about the Athanasian Creed, the teleological argument in Natural Theology, Final Causes, Miracles, Plenary Inspiration, Subjective Atonement, the Nature of Sin, and Eternal Punishment, which a few years ago would have branded a man as a Unitarian if not a Deist. Now we hold it to be useful to our rising theologians, who have this battle to fight, that they should see how it has been fought on the Continent of Europe. This, and not the matter of the doctrines taught in German schools, is the fruit to be obtained by the study of this subject; and for this study, we scarcely know a more valuable book, or one more level to the capacity of ordinary, unsophisticated men of sense, than the one which we here lay down.

- ART. II.—1. *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the sixteenth century.* By Thomas McCrie, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.
2. *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the year 1807 to the year 1814.* By Col. W. F. P. Napier. The fourth edition. 3 vols. Brussels.

A notice of Col. Napier's work in this Review may not seem out of place, when the Peninsular War is viewed in connection with the conduct of Spain at the Reformation. As a narrative of military operations, these volumes could have no claim on our attention; as a chapter in the history of God's righteous retribution on the persecutors of his saints, this record deserves the consideration of every pious reader. We yield to none in our abhorrence of war. We look with disrelish on its honours, and we feel their perfect antagonism to the honours coming from God. But with these feelings however strong, no man is more ready than the liberal and consistent Christian to hold in proper reverence the defender of his country and the patriotic dead. The sentiment of Pericles over his countrymen fallen in the first year of the Peloponnesian War touches the feelings of every generous heart. "It is a debt of justice to pay superior honours to men who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country though inferior to others in every virtue but that of valour." There is inlaid deep in the nature of man, a principle which awakens in us peculiar emotions towards those who have made sacrifices of life or exposed themselves to peril for asserting the rights of man, or defending the public from danger. This principle is the incentive to some of the most glorious deeds of the men of this world; these emotions are among the noblest of our fallen nature. Implanted in the heart by divine wisdom and like every other impulses, good when properly controlled, this endowment becomes a source of evil when under the direction of a mind clouded by the ignorance of sin and fired with phrensy from absence of the fear of God. This feeling it is,

which when raised, refined and fortified by the Holy Spirit, leads to the most exalted appreciation of the character of Jesus Christ as the captain of our salvation,—as one who in loving his church and giving himself for their redemption, has shown a magnanimity below which the best instances of human patriotism fall as far as the littleness of man falls below the infinity of the Godhead. Aware of the value of this sentiment and willing to leave it in full operation when held in check by heavenly grace, we feel the good sense of the Duke of Wellington's language that a victory is a calamity which can be equalled only by a defeat. War is the greatest of calamities; a field of battle shows the highest development of depravity. The thirst of mankind for military glory springs from the perversion of a noble principle of our nature and is one of the strongest delusions connected with sin.

He "who sees a God employed in all the good and ill that checker life," views history as something more than a series of facts for interesting the imagination or instructing the captains and governors of the world. The most mighty and fearful revolutions among men may seem to the ungodly to spring only from political causes and to issue in nothing more than political results; but to the better instructed and more penetrating mind of the believer, these changes are like the wheels in the prophetic vision, which though dreadful, yet had the spirit of life in the wheels and whither the spirit was to go they went without turning when they went. The spirit within the intricate and sweeping wheels of human revolutions, is the spirit of the Most High who ruleth in the kingdom of men and giveth it to whomsoever he will. "There is a principle of movement emanating from God himself in all the changes among nations." To pious, thoughtful minds the world's history instead of offering as to the ignorant crowd, a confused chaos, appears a majestic temple, which the invisible hand of God erects and which rises to his glory above the rock of humanity. Shall we not acknowledge the hand of God in those mighty nations which arise and give a new destiny to human affairs? Shall we not acknowledge his hand in those heroes who spring up among men at appointed times; who display activity and energy

beyond the ordinary limits of human strength; and around whom individuals and nations gather, as if to a superior and mysterious power?"* Viewing God as the animating spirit of history and his purpose of love to our race, through Jesus Christ as its leading principle, the believer studies it for the exhibition there had of the character of sin and the illustration there given of redeeming love. The holy angels might have reasonably desired to know more concerning the nature of sin, as they gazed on those morning stars falling from heaven into the blackness of darkness. In the progress of events on earth, they have seen one page after another unfolded in the annals of guilt, and by these bitter results from a single act of disobedience, have felt the goodness of divine justice in such prompt punishment of transgression. They desire to look into the mysteries of redemption, into the nature of the curse from which there is deliverance, as well as into the mode of escape and the glory to which we are thereby exalted. The history of the church is the line of light running through the whole history of human affairs; the design of God is the golden thread by which alone we can find our way through this perplexing and inextricable labyrinth. The Bible is the Rosetta stone which gives the key to the mysterious records of past ages, and without which their full import would be as unintelligible as were formerly the hieroglyphics of Egypt. One of the ends answered by prophecy, running as it does from the fall to the final triumph of redemption, is a standing assurance of the presence of God in earthly things and of the fulfilment of his designs in all their revolutions.

The scriptures furnish the only trustworthy knowledge of antiquity down to the Old Testament narrative. Profane history does run back beyond this period, but what remains when we subtract the gross amount of fable? While admiring the classic simplicity of the father of history, and fascinated with his narrative, we feel his stories are worth little more as history than the stories of any good old man, until he reaches the period when his authority was virtually personal observation. We have always been willing to pay great

* Merle D'Aubigné.

regard to the veracity of Herodotus, receiving with allowance the materials drawn from tradition in a barbarous age, and taking as reliable the records of his own immediate knowledge. The tradition of the elders is at best a delusive guide. And so thought this honest chronicler. But when he reaches the events of his own age, the burning of Sardis, the campaigns of Marathon and Platea, we feel ourselves receiving facts from an honest man who had the best means for gratifying his wish to record the truth for the instruction of coming ages. About the time when profane history becomes worthy of credit, the history of the scriptures closes. At the foundation of all history do thus lie these divine records, one object of which was to teach unbelieving man the doctrine of a providence in earthly things—of God as the animating soul of history. He who begins the study of history aright by beginning with the scriptures, must receive this fundamental truth; and carrying with him the thread of prophecy, as advancing in his researches, he can never overlook this principle in any subsequent investigations.

As contributions to the general fund of history, works may be valuable in which the facts cannot be relied on, though the portrait of human nature is true. Besides their excellence as the finest creations of genius, the works of Homer and Shakspeare merit study for their faithful picture of the character of sinning man. For this end the Iliad and Odyssey are invaluable, even though the incidents therein embodied are imaginary. They may not be a history of facts, but they are a history of human nature; they teach not so much what men did, as what men were, in that early, barbarous age. All the writings of Pagan antiquity have an interest for the Christian, beyond their literary value. Their mythology, their philosophy, their dramatic literature, no less than their historical annals, are prized by the pious mind which while threading out the providence of God, is eager to know what were the peculiar phases of human depravity, in different circumstances, under different influences, and under different dealings of the King of Kings. While therefore a history like this of Col. Napier may deserve attention as a literary production, the Christian will read it with interest as a chapter in the history

of sin. The shield of Achilles though made for defence on the field of battle and useful more directly for the soldier, exhibited in the combination of the metals, in the sculpture, and in the scenes thereon portrayed, interesting themes for the student of ancient customs and for every refined imagination. Achilles might have admired the shield as a splendid piece of armour; its classic beauty and picture of ancient times are the cause of our admiration. And this history, though the narrative of a bloody contest and intended as a treatise on the art of war, may be valuable to the military man for its military knowledge, while others may prize it as a literary work of real genius, as a graphic delineation of the righteous retribution of God on a nation drunk with the blood of his saints, as a casket containing some of the most beautiful gems in the literature of England.

To this work the author brought the best qualifications. A captain of five year's standing at the beginning of the Peninsular war and serving to its close in his regiment or on the staff, related to distinguished officers and enjoying access to the papers of eminent French generals, as well as gathering information from Wellington himself, he has been able to reach the truth as near as possible, and give his descriptions the faithfulness attainable by an eye witness only. In all that relates to the movement of armies and description of battles, he stands unrivalled. In these things he is not surpassed by Thucydides. In these volumes there are many details and many disquisitions on military operations, which may not be interesting to the general reader. The state of Spain was such a chaos, that the narrative of the doings of the Spanish armies can hardly be understood without effort; and cannot be made interesting with the touches of even this writer's genius. But in following the operations of the English army from its first advance under Sir John Moore and under Wellington, to its last conflict under the walls of Toulouse, we feel unflagging interest in the combinations of the commanders and are delighted with the masterly pictures of the historian. Southey's history of the Peninsular war was a failure. No person would wish to read it after acquaintance with the pages of Col. Napier. A summary of the events here recorded may be

found in Alison's history of the French Revolution. In that revolution, the war in Spain was an episode. One defect of Alison's work arises from its being written not without research, but without sufficient study and before time enough had passed for getting at the whole truth. No man, whatever his genius, could write an impartial history of such a momentous period so soon after its close. It has been well said that truth lies at the bottom of a well, and never is more time required for lugging it out than after a great battle or a great revolution. Able men have spent years in making a record of portions of that great conflict; which occupy a small space in the volumes of Alison. Had Siborne's history been published before the completion of Alison's work, his account of the Waterloo campaign would probably have been different in some essential particulars. In many places he has adopted, perhaps unintentionally, the glowing sentences of Napier. In his forty-ninth chapter, he has however given a better account of the causes leading to the war. Napier's descriptions have the richest coloring and a perfect finish. The language may sometimes strike us as odd and as verging towards the grotesque, yet we are never able to say that anything should be withdrawn, that anything can be added. With the simplicity and faithfulness of reality, some of his pictures remind us of the strange but magnificent coloring of a landscape viewed through a prism. No finer descriptions can be found than the retreat of Sir John Moore, the storming of Oporto by Soult, the passage of the Duero, the battle of Talavera, the charge of the fusilier brigade at Albuera, the rout of Vittoria, the siege of Saragossa, the storming of Badajoz and of St. Sebastian. The chapter describing the manœuvres preceding the battle of Salamanca together with that great overthrow, is the master piece of the whole work and unsurpassed if not unequalled by any historian.

There is a remarkable impartiality in the pages of Col. Napier. In this he has set an example worthy of all imitation and all praise. While a deadly animosity existed between the French and Spaniards, the English who did not behold at every step the slavery of their country and destruction of their homes, felt no such exasperation. They went to

the strife as to a combat of honour for measuring their strength with the invincible conquerors of Europe. Throughout this history, the same feeling is seen in the author, which led the English and French soldiers to meet like friends at the streamlet running between the hostile armies, during the cessation in the battle of Talavera, and the soldiers of the two hostile camps to mingle in friendly intercourse on the banks of the Duero. A relief is felt in reading an author whose impartiality can be trusted; to whom we can listen, not as to a special pleader but as to a candid judge. A compliment has been paid him in the charge of the Tory party in England, that he has written by far the best French account of the war. He fulfills the words of Cicero: "*Quis nescit, primam esse historię legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat? ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo? ne qua simultatis? Hęc scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus.**" By how few are they practised. With the best intentions, how difficult for human nature warped by prejudice and beset with the blinding influence of error, to reach the whole truth in history and set it forth with candour. This magnanimity towards France does not however prevent Col. Napier from giving utterance to rancorous and unworthy feeling towards some other countries, especially the United States. These expressions uncalled for, few in number, and perfectly isolated, should be struck from the work as blemishes. Had we the space, we have not the will to enter into controversy with him when he speaks of Washington as "not comparable to either Cromwell or Bonaparte," and gives as proof of his having less real love of liberty the fact of "bequeathing his black slaves to his widow." Men's moral perceptions and feelings have no less to do than the intellect, in determining their judgments. The man who can speak thus of Washington, shows a defect in his moral constitution, which disables him from appreciating that noblest excellence in which moral worth is the leading element. We leave our author to settle this dispute, with the philosopher of France,* who says, "Washington did the two greatest things which in politics

* *De Oratore*, ii. 15.

† Guizot.

man can have the privilege of attempting ;"—with those of his own countrymen who feel that "Modern history has not so spotless a character to commemorate—that, it is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amid transatlantic wilds, to such a man,"* that "He is the greatest man of our own or of any age, and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and in virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."†

We might reply that in judging of ability we seek answers to three simple questions : What has the man done ? With what means ? At what expense ? With a few battalions of unpaid, unclothed, undisciplined militia, held together at the most discouraging times only by personal affection for himself, Washington wrought out the independence of a great nation ; organized a form of government entirely new ; established on a firm basis a mighty and flourishing empire ; left his impress, not on his country and his age alone, but on his race ; and bequeathed to posterity the legacy of an example of perhaps greater value than his republican institutions. No commander ever achieved so much for mankind, with such slender means, and at so small an amount of human suffering. His military operations, though on so limited a scale, compared with the campaigns of the old world, show nevertheless very great ability. The remarks of this historian on Wellington's intended march to Torres Vedras after the battle of Vimiero, apply to Washington ; "The statue of Hercules, cast by Lysippus, though only a foot high, expressed the muscles and bones of the hero more grandly than the colossal figures of other artists."

In these volumes Col. Napier has raised a monument to the genius of Wellington, which shall stand when Westminster Abbey with its memorials is in the dust. The time has passed for disparaging the abilities of this great English commander. The publication of Col. Gurwood together with this work and Captain Siborne's history, has laid open his character and conduct in a way without a parallel among public men, and shown

* Alison.

† Brougham.

that ignorance only or unpardonable prejudice can deny him the possession of great abilities. Any efforts hereafter made to disparage his talents, can only discredit the authors.

If the Duke of Wellington's career does not establish the claim to greatness, no series of public acts can entitle any man to such claim. Without mentioning his distinguished conduct in India and his success as a diplomatist, we find him commanding in person at sixteen pitched battles in Europe, against the ablest lieutenants of Napoleon, finally against the emperor himself,—and in every case triumphant. No enemy ever took from him a piece of cannon and found himself able to keep it. Good fortune may help a weak man to a single victory; nothing but science and a masterly intellect could carry a man onward as conqueror through such overwhelming difficulties during a period of years. By the readers of this history, the character of this great leader of the armies of Protestant England will be fully appreciated,—his powerful abilities, his piercing sagacity, his exalted moral courage, his wonderful endurance under provocation, his magnanimous contempt of party vilification, his unbending firmness in carrying out well matured plans, his tact in blending and persevering in union the most jarring political materials, his talents as a statesman, his genius in the field, his eagle glance in detecting the error of an enemy and promptitude in improving it with energy, his courage tempered with judgment, his enterprise with caution, his seeming rashness with far-reaching forethought, his obstinacy with daring, his gigantic vigour in sustaining the weakness of three inefficient cabinets while leading the Anglo-Portuguese army in triumph through the Pyrenees. They will find his success was not the accidental gift of fortune, that he triumphed in other battles besides the overthrow at Waterloo. A strong illustration of the vastness of Napoleon's genius appears in the contrast presented by his marshals when viewed in comparison with the Emperor. By his side they seem ordinary men; yet they were equal to the greatest then existing in Europe, hardly inferior to the greatest celebrated in history. They seem below their true stature because standing around the Colossus. Yet these marshals were decidedly inferior to Wellington. One by one did their

master send them to try their skill in arms against the champion of England; one by one were their lances shivered and themselves laid prostrate and helpless at his feet. Of all the great intellects produced in that age of giants he alone is worthy to stand by the side of Napoleon; and if indeed he is second to Napoleon, the second place is held by Wellington alone.

For the evils suffered during those wars, there must have been a reason. The curse causeless shall not come. Judgments are not inflicted without cause by the Judge of all the earth. During the commotions of the French Revolution, no countries suffered more than France and Spain; no country suffered less than England. The revolutions of that period were connected more or less directly with the Reformation. The American Revolution was but the winding up of the conflict which had brought Charles I. to the scaffold. The battle was for civil and religious liberty; it was fought not for England and America alone, but for the benefit of mankind. No cause ever had such advocates and leaders. It is the glory of liberty as here established, that to such a man as John Milton was allotted by Providence the intellectual and literary part of the conflict; and that Washington the counterpart of Hampden, ended so gloriously what Cromwell had so well begun. No political movement in the annals of our race ever furnished four men of such purity and grandeur of character. Milton pleaded the cause in the presence of posterity no less than of Europe, and in unrivalled prose which yet leads captive the reason, fires the imagination, and stirs the depths of the soul; Hampden was the great parliamentary leader of this movement; its soldiers were Cromwell and Washington. While the principles of the Reformation thus triumphed in England, and more perfectly among the sons of England on American soil, far otherwise was it in France and Spain.

The true cause of the Reformation lies deeper than the revival of learning, the discovery of printing, or the sale of indulgences. It was the resurrection of the soul from the torpor of the dark ages, by the power of religion through the Spirit of Him who is the resurrection and the life. We are no be-

lievers in the doctrine that truth alone regenerates the impenitent heart, or that any measures, any combinations however secret, can arouse mankind and make their condition permanently better without an energy from on high. The human mind was quickened into activity by the power which rouses the slumbering energies of nature at the return of spring. The Reformation had breathed into it a living soul; the living principle of that soul was the Spirit of God; the truth by which it was to live was religion, the word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. That great movement was caused by the influence of the same Spirit who on another occasion, when darkness was upon the face of the deep, moved upon the face of the waters. In both instances, while the Holy Spirit was the moving power, the word of God was necessary for bringing forth light and all the subsequent development. All mental activity and wisdom come from Him who put wisdom and understanding into the heart of Aholiab and Bezaleel. Ex. xxxvi. 1. He is the Father of lights, of all varieties of knowledge, every good gift intellectual as well as religious among men cometh down from Him. And one of the humiliating things impenitent men will have at last to acknowledge, is that with all their pride of intellect, their boasted talent was entrusted to them by God. It is important for God to show that every thing, all wisdom and all triumphs of religion, is owing to the Holy Spirit; to make mankind no less than Christians, feel that all their springs are in Him. The expression "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church," is often used as though martyrdom carries within itself some efficacious power for religion. The history of the church during the early persecutions, so far from proving this, shows in the strongest manner, there must have been some divine influence for sustaining successive generations of believers amid such agonies. The fate of the Reformed religion in France and Spain shows that without the Holy Ghost martyrdom will only destroy the church. By withdrawing the Spirit to a degree, after the triumphs of Christianity in the fourth century, and allowing things to sink down as in the dark ages, a demonstration was given that the success of the Christian religion over Paganism and Imperial Rome was

owing not to the inherent excellence of its doctrines but to the divine power which first gave those doctrines success on the day of Pentecost; and that when the power was withdrawn, even those truths so pure and heavenly, will be ineffective for the regeneration of man and set aside for the corrupting adulterations of error.

Thus quickening the human mind into activity the King of nations furnished all the means for the incitement of that activity and for its use. Such was the invention of printing, the revival of learning, and the other great disclosures of that time. The Reformation came at last to furnish the religious principle necessary for leading and directing the mighty movement. In countries where the Reformation has triumphed, there has been a great energy observable in the human mind; in nations where its progress was checked, the public mind is seen lacking this enterprise and vigour. Thus invigorated, the soul could not be content to lie still. It began to make efforts for bursting the grave-clothes of spiritual and political despotism with which it was bound hand and foot. Religion was intended to act on human liberty by beginning in the heart as a grain of mustard seed, and by moulding men's views and desires, to prepare them for using their free will in political things. There may be a setting free of the mind, while political servitude continues. The plan directed by wisdom is to liberate the mind first, and put it under the guidance of religion. Pure religion is the pillar of fire and of cloud that must go before the mind, whether of single persons or of masses, in its march from the house of bondage, through the wilderness of revolution into the promised land of the free. At the foundation of the whole, lies the doctrine of justification by faith alone, by the free act of the soul without dependence on the power of another or subjection to the rule of an ecclesiastical noble. This doctrine did at once shake the mind loose from slavery to priestly power. It gave man the right to act for himself in the business of his salvation, without subjection to any one but God. The intervention of the church, the vicarious action of the priesthood, with penances and the whole train of superstitions, were at once seen to be so many means for keeping the mind in chains.

The Reformed faith took deep root in France, and exhibited a pleasing apostolic aspect unsurpassed in any other country. Notwithstanding violent opposition, the atrocities of St. Bartholomew's, and the oppressive policy of Richelieu, the Reformation enjoyed a legal existence in France till the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The habits of mind formed during the period of one hundred and fifty years, by their religious disputes, and the struggle of the Protestants against tyranny, were favourable to independence of thinking and to the gradual advancement of liberty. When the Reformation was at last suppressed, in 1685, the public mind, habituated to so much freedom and disputation, was cut off from the sanctuary of the Reformed religion, and disdaining to take again the old chains of papal domination, fled for refuge to the only alternative, philosophical and atheistical speculation. The nation retained the energy and mental liberty of the Reformation without the conservative moral influence of its religious doctrines. The effect was like that which might follow from tearing up by the roots the moral sense in a man of powerful frame and vigorous mind. And how could any country afford to lose what France then lost? Without considering those who were murdered, nearly a million of the best blood of the country sought safety in exile; property to the value of one hundred millions of dollars was taken to foreign lands; and the exiles gave a most important impulse to the manufacturing and commercial interests of great Britain. The injury to France from this one act of persecution, was as great as would have resulted from several civil wars.

In Spain the Reformed doctrines spread at first with great rapidity. In no country did they number among their adherents more persons of high ranks in society. According to one of the papal historians, "Had not the Inquisition taken care in time to put a stop to these preachers, the Protestant religion would have run through Spain like wild-fire; people of all ranks and of both sexes having been wonderfully disposed to receive it." The terrible evils endured by the Spanish Protestants have become history. With such energy did the Inquisition guard its domains, that during the thirty-six years preceding the conflict of Luther with Tetzel, nearly two

hundred thousand persons were condemned, thirteen thousand to the flames; and during the eleven years Cardinal Ximenes was at the head of the tribunal, more than fifty thousand persons were condemned, and more than two thousand five hundred were burnt alive. There the auto-da-fé was legalized; and the emperor present on one of those occasions of blood, pledged himself by oath to its support. The same Philip II. declared that there was no safety in Spain for any one who harboured a thought at variance with the Romish faith, or who was not prepared to yield the most implicit and absolute obedience to the dictates of the Inquisition. Louis XIV. attempted to establish absolute power in France by suppressing religious liberty, while favouring mental activity in philosophy and science; Philip II. established despotism in Spain by stifling every kind of activity and improvement. Nor was it enough for the governments of France and Spain to root out the faith from their own soil. They determined to crush it throughout Europe. For this end they formed, with the countenance of the Pope, the famous Catholic League against Protestantism. With vengeance not glutted by the atrocities inflicted on those caught before escaping from their country, these tyrants were at great trouble and expense in employing spies, and in using other means, for arresting them in their retreats among foreign nations. Many were thus seized from time to time on the continent and handed over to the Inquisition. Afraid to make such attempts on the free soil of England, the Spanish rulers demanded that their Protestant exiles should be delivered up as criminals escaped from justice. To the honour of England, this deceit was seen through and those demands were refused. England had offered a refuge to Protestants of all countries who fled from persecution at the Reformation. Great offence was given to the Pope and the king of Spain by her so doing. This was one of the reasons given in the papal bull for excommunicating Elizabeth. With chagrin thus deepened by disappointed vengeance, and in fulfillment of the vow devoting his life entirely to the extirpation of heresy, Philip II. determined to subdue England; and for this purpose prepared the great Armada. The Protestants of Europe, no less than the Spanish monarch and the papists,

viewed this mighty effort with the keenest anxiety, as the event on the result of which depended the fate of the Reformed religion. Its defeat established England as the bulwark of the Protestant cause, gave liberty to the Low Countries, reassured the Huguenots in France, and broke for ever the power of Spain in Europe. Thereafter, history writes only her decline and fall.

The justice of God never appears to us more terrible and adorable, his wisdom more profound, than when nations and persons lying under guilt are made to punish themselves, and do this with a hearty good-will in pursuing their favourite sinful gratifications. France and Spain had leagued together for destroying the people of God; they were made to grapple with each other in deadly strife, as a retribution for their crimes. Had they come from the lips of a prophet, the words of John Knox could not have more perfectly foreboded the truth, when on hearing of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, shortly before his death, in a sermon from the pulpit of the Tolbooth Church, he desired the French ambassador to tell his master that sentence was pronounced against him, that the divine vengeance would never depart from his house, but his name would remain an execration to posterity, and none proceeding from his loins should enjoy his kingdom in peace, unless repentance prevented the divine judgments. The calamities which clouded the latter years of Louis XIV. his humiliation by the victories of Marlborough, seem to have resulted chiefly by the reaction caused by his papal severities. Those severities made France what she was at the Revolution, and prepared the nation for scourging themselves, while acting as the scourge of their guilty companions in crime. "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." The king of France and the royal family received in the revolution only what the king of France and the royal family had in foregoing generations inflicted on the people of God. The procedure of the persecutors on St. Bartholomew's, and at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the domiciliary visits, the various modes of murder, are so much like the measures adopted in the Revolution, that a history of the one furnishes a portrait of the other. The agonies of France during the

reign of terror are a small part of what she endured. The suffering inflicted in that righteous retribution continued down to the end of the empire. Till the peace of Tilsit, the wars of France were chiefly defensive, yet were they not the less calamitous and exhausting to the people. The sanguinary scenes perpetrated by the mob in Paris and Lyons were less horrid than the many, many battle-fields on which rests such a blaze of glory. Not more than eight thousand persons perished in the massacres of September: the setting sun of Austerlitz alone saw twelve thousand French in their gore. In what respect was the amount of suffering less under the empire, than under the rule preceding the consulate? Were the privations of the conscripts less than the privations of the inmates of the Abbaye? Did more die in those dungeons before coming to the scaffold, than died from privations in the bivouac and on the march? When the French army, on the march to Moscow, was reviewed at Wilna, within a week after entering the Russian territory, the troops were scarcely able to endure the sickening stench brought by the west wind from the innumerable carcasses of men and horses lying unburied along their line of advance. Were the lingering agonies of the wounded in battle, often under winter's frost, or summer's sun, less than the agonies of those who fell in the place Louis XV? Under the empire the able bodied men of France perished in her wars at the rate of more than two hundred thousand a year. The destruction of her youth during the twenty-five years of her revolutionary war, has so deteriorated the physical stature of the population, that at the present time, a large part of the recruits for the army are rejected as dwarfish or unsound, although the infantry standard has been lowered nearly four inches since the enlistment in 1789; and if the standard height of the French army were the same now as before the Revolution, half the men under arms must be discharged. Like a nation of old, their iniquity was full. As in the case of the Canaanites their judgments were none the less a retribution from God because inflicted in war by the hands of men, and when they too, like the Canaanites, supposed they were only defending their country.

The dawn of day never lighted up a more glorious and

powerful empire than that of Spain at the accession of Philip II. On his dominions the sun never set. Besides possessions in the western world and in the Indies, he had for a time greater power in Europe than was ever held by Napoleon. His Spanish infantry was the terror of the continental armies; his fleets had control of the seas. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, this empire whose monarch had been pledged to the destruction of Protestantism, had fallen from the first rank among nations, and had the mortification of seeing the power once so abused, transferred to Protestant England. Many evils had been already suffered in the war of the Succession and other conflicts; a heavier retribution was soon to be received from an old confederate against true religion, by the armies of revolutionary France. On no countries overrun by them in Europe, did those armies inflict greater misery than on Spain. In Austria and Prussia, in Italy and Germany, subjected for years to the power of France, the fate of the government was decided generally by a battle or a campaign; and a kind of quietude was then enjoyed, though under an oppressive and exacting dominion. But in Spain, active hostilities were continued without cessation for seven years. The war had all the vindictiveness of a private quarrel. Her finest towns were subjected to the miseries attending a siege, and to the horrors of places taken by storm. The peasantry were murdered; the country was ravaged by fire and sword. In Catalonia, "Augereau endeavouring to frighten the people into submission, erected gibbets along the high roads, upon which every man taken in arms was hung up without remorse, which cruelty produced precisely the effect that might be expected. The Catalans more animated by their successes than daunted by this barbarous severity, became incredibly savage in their revenge; and thus all human feeling lost, both parties were alike steeped in blood and crimes." Speaking of Massena's retreat from Santarem, Col. Napier says, "Every horror that could make war hideous attended this dreadful march! Distress, conflagrations, death in all modes! from wounds, from fatigue, from water, from the flames, from starvation! On every side, unlimited violence, unlimited vengeance! I myself saw a peasant hounding on

his dog to devour the dead and dying." At the storming of Saragossa, "Upon the defenceless inhabitants, the storm of the victor's fury fell with unexampled severity. Armed and unarmed, men and women, grey hairs and infant innocence, attractive youth and wrinkled age, were alike butchered by the infuriated troops, whose passions were, not like the English soldiers, those of plunder or drunkenness, but the infernal, unrelenting spirit of vengeance. Above six thousand human beings, almost all defenceless, were massacred on that dreadful night which will be remembered in Spain as long as the human race endures. When the magistrates of the surrounding country were on the following morning brought into the town by Soult's orders, and marched through the streets to see what fate awaited those who resisted the French arms, the blood of the Spaniards, to use the expression of the French journalist of the siege, inundated the streets and houses." Such scenes as these were the ordinary occurrences of the contest. The misery of the war fell on all classes of the country; they were aggravated by continuance for so many years, and by the French system of warfare under the empire. "The mode in which they supply their armies is this: they plunder every thing they find in the country; they force from the inhabitants, under pain of death, all that they have in their houses for the consumption of the year, without payment, and are indifferent respecting the consequences to the unfortunate people. Every article, whether of food or raiment, and every animal and vehicle of every description, is considered to belong of right and without payment, to the French army."* In these miseries, the angel sent to pour out the vials on France and Spain might say to them in the words of Jesus Christ to Jerusalem, "Upon you is coming all the righteous blood shed upon your soil." Matt. xxiv. 25. On them fell these plagues, death and mourning and famine and fire, for "in them was found the blood of prophets and of saints." And strong is the Lord God who judgeth them, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at their hand.

In the hour of her distress, Spain was glad to seek assist-

* Wellington's Dispatches.

ance from England. Her miseries were inflicted by her old ally in persecution: to the retribution of that ally, she was made to minister. "It was that unhappy war in Spain which ruined me," said Napoleon: "the unfortunate war in Spain proved a real wound, the first cause of the misfortunes of France." Proud and contemptuous Spain was made to receive, to ask aid from a power whose strength was owing to the principles the inquisition had exiled. To the nation which had been the refuge of the persecuted protestants and the bulwark of their faith, was fulfilled the promise, "The sons of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee, and all they that despise thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet." Isa. lx. 14. The remarkable conquests of France, caused by the doings of popery and taking vengeance on popery in return, were first arrested on land as well as sea by Protestant England. Her money, her men, her forces were the salvation of the Peninsula. Without the battalions of England, the war could not have continued in the Peninsula for a year; without the supplies of England, the guerilla warfare of Spain could not have been sustained. Some idea may be had of the extent of her assistance, from the fact that "England expended more than one hundred millions sterling in her own operations, she subsidized Spain and Portugal besides, and with her supplies of clothing, arms and ammunition, maintained the armies of both, even to the guerillas. From thirty to seventy thousand British troops were employed by her constantly, and while her naval squadrons continually harassed the French with descents upon the coasts, her land forces fought and won nineteen pitched battles and innumerable combats, they made or sustained ten sieges, took four great fortresses, twice expelled the French from Portugal, preserved Alicante, Carthagená, Cadiz, Lisbon; they killed, wounded and took about two hundred thousand enemies, and the bones of forty thousand British soldiers lie scattered on the plains and mountains of the Peninsula." The career of England through the whole of those commotions was remarkable. The navies of France and Spain were annihilated by the fleets of England, at Aboukir and Trafalgar. The only country in Europe on which the armies of revolutionary

France did not set foot was England; the only important capital they did not enter was London. Egypt was taken from them by capitulation to the English. The first fortresses wrested from the empire of Napoleon, were Ciudad, Rodrigo and Badajoz, stormed by the English. The first rout of the imperial armies in a fair field, was by Wellington at Salamanca. The soil of that France which had been the terror of Europe, was first invaded by Wellington advancing from the Pyrenees. The army which put an end to that war of five and twenty years, by crushing the power of Napoleon, was the English army at Waterloo. These facts cannot be denied. There was not a single great overthrow inflicted on Great Britain during the whole course of the conflict.

Whence this triumphant success? It was conferred by the God of nations not on England but on the Protestant cause. The Jews were often prospered in peace and in war, when the word of Jehovah assured them the blessings were conferred not on them as a nation, but on them as embracing God's chosen people, the church. To us these triumphs of England have always been interesting, as the triumphs of Protestantism over its ancient persecuting foes. Nor is it a fact less worthy of notice, that France and Spain were ahead of England in laying the foundation of empire in Canada, Florida, Louisiana, Mexico, the islands of the Gulf, and in India; but of all these possessions they have been deprived by a race inheriting the blood of Britain and carry with them her Protestant religion and her better laws. By England, we do not understand the aristocracy alone; by the Protestants of England, we do not mean exclusively the established church. The aristocracy do not constitute the people of the United Kingdom, nor their ecclesiastical nobility the church. The policy of Great Britain had not been unexceptionable, she has national sins; but these things demonstrate that this success was given by Jehovah to this nation, as his blessings are bestowed on individuals, not because they are blameless, but because he has promised that even in the midst of human infirmity, a cup of cold water given to his disciples shall not lose its reward. The glory of England is her protestantism; this is her strength; this the foundation of her greatness.

This is the living soul which in her offspring the American nation, is developing so vigorous a youth and giving such promise of future grandeur and good to mankind. Those colonies only in America have been prospered which were founded as an asylum for persecuted protestantism: and they can hope for the continuance of prosperity no longer than while this palladium of the reformed faith is guarded with pious care. "And if that enthusiasm for the gospel; if that opposition to popery, those two distinctive characteristics of his mind, which Cromwell has imprinted on the people of Great Britain, should ever cease in England; if a fatal fall should ever interrupt the Christian course of that nation; and if Rome which has already ruined so many kingdoms should receive the homage of Old England;—then shall her glory become extinct and her power humbled to the dust."*

ART. III.—*Memoirs of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock D.D.*

Founder and President of Dartmouth College, and Moor's Charity School. By David McClure, D.D. and Elijah Parish, D.D.

This memoir of Doctor Wheelock was published in 1811, but has been circulated within very narrow limits; yet from the character and services of the person to whom it relates, it deserves to be more general known. It has been remarked, that events of the age immediately preceding our own are commonly less familiar to reading men, than those of a remoter period; because their history is not commonly so soon written. On this account, it is probable, that the subject of this memoir is little known, except in New England. Many, who speak on the subject of foreign missions, seem to suppose, that these were scarcely thought of in the last century; and such will be surprised to learn, that a most important work was accomplished in reference to the conversion of

* Merle D' Aubigné.

the Indians, by the person of whose memoir we now propose to give an abstract.

We doubt whether the man can be named, who in the nineteenth century has manifested an enterprise, energy, and perseverance equal to that of Dr. Wheelock: his noble and benevolent efforts should not be lost sight of by posterity. Not only did he form a grand enterprise and prosecute it with indefatigable industry, but his efforts were crowned with remarkable success; and Dartmouth College is a monument, to show what may be achieved by the exertions of an individual.

Eleazar Wheelock was born in Windham, Connecticut, in April, 1711, and being an only son, and of a lively genius, was placed by his father under the best teachers whom the country afforded. His grandfather, after whom he was named, left him a handsome legacy to defray the expenses of a public education. About the age of sixteen his mind was impressed with a serious concern for his salvation, which resulted in a full purpose to devote his life to the service of God, in the work of the ministry. He received his collegiate education at Yale, then under the presidentship of the Honourable Mr. Williams, whose character was high for wisdom, learning, and piety. His proficiency in learning, and his correct behaviour recommended him to the special regard of the Rector, and the esteem of his fellow students. He and Mr. Pomroy, afterwards his brother-in-law, were the first who received the reward provided by the legacy of Bishop Berkeley, to be given to the best classical scholars of the senior class. His graduation took place in the year 1733.

Soon after leaving college, young Wheelock entered the ministry, and accepted a call given by the Second Society of Hebron, Connecticut. Not long after his settlement the great revival began, the blessed influence of which spread through many of the New England churches. Of this divine visitation his own people partook largely, to the great joy of their pastor. From the experience of grace in his own heart, and his knowledge of its effects on others, he became an excellent casuist, and skilful guide of souls. The duties of the pulpit were to him delightful. During this remarkable revival he was animated with an extraordinary zeal, which led him to

the performance of uncommon labours. He preached almost daily, either at home or abroad, to numerous, attentive and solemn audiences. Distant towns called for his assistance, in compliance with which he itinerated through the country, preaching, wherever invited. The word dispensed by him was mighty to awaken and convince the ignorant and secure, to conduct inquiring souls to Christ, to detect the erroneous, and to establish believers in their holy faith. Many pious and zealous ministers united with him in carrying on that great work, and God abundantly blessed their labours. He was warmly attached to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, and was fired with a kindred zeal for God and the salvation of men. When, towards the close of the revival, the Separatists arose, Mr. Wheelock firmly opposed their enthusiastic and divisive measures, and was the means of reclaiming many who for a season had deserted their duty.

When the labours called forth by the revival were no longer required, his zeal led him to think of some field of usefulness, more extensive than his small congregation; and his attention was turned to the neglected tribes of Indians, who still remained in New England, and on our northern frontiers. He felt that, as a Christian community, we had shamefully and criminally neglected proper endeavours, to reclaim them from ignorance and vice, and to lead them to a knowledge of God and his Messiah.

About this time an incident occurred which had much influence in determining Mr. Wheelock to contrive some means of benefiting the savages of our country. A young Indian, whose name was Samson Occum, applied to him for instruction. This young man, who seemed to be deeply serious, entertained a lively feeling of the wretched condition of his countrymen, and was exceedingly desirous to qualify himself to become an instructor of the Indians. Mr. Wheelock gladly received him into his house, and under his tuition. Indeed, he had already received a few of the children of the Indians into his family; and he now determined to institute a school for their instruction. Occum remained with him three years, and afterward spent one year with Mr. Pomroy, in the study of the Latin and Greek languages; he also acquired some

knowledge of the Hebrew. It was intended to give him a college education, but this was prevented by a weakness of the eyes. The expenses of his training were borne by the Commissioners in Boston, of the Hon. London Board. For some time he was useful as a schoolmaster, and continued his own studies as diligently as the state of his eyes would permit. Occum was of the Mohegan tribe; but he went into Long Island, and lived for some time among the Montauks; to whom he was very useful, by bringing them off from the wild notions which had been infused into them by certain fanatical teachers. After an examination, Occum was licensed to preach by the Windham Association; and sometime afterwards was ordained by the Suffolk Presbytery, to go on a mission to the Mohawk and Oneida Indians.

Mr. Wheelock's success in the education of this man afforded him much encouragement to proceed in his benevolent enterprise for the benefit of the Indians. He declared, that in this undertaking he was impelled by the Saviour's command, "Go teach all nations," and "Preach the gospel to every creature." He believed that on account of the neglect of New England to perform their duty to those children of the forest, the Almighty, in his righteous displeasure, had permitted them to become a scourge to the country. He was of opinion, that the only method of making them peaceable neighbours, was to instruct them in the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion. It was also an object of the settlement in the country, expressed in all their charters, to convert the aborigines to Christianity. "But," said he, "that which should powerfully excite and persuade us thereto, is the many commands, strong motives, precious promises and tremendous threatenings, which fill so great a part of the sacred pages, and are so perfectly calculated to awaken all our powers, to spread the knowledge of the true God and Saviour, and to make it as extensive and common as possible."

The best method of evangelizing the heathen was a subject which occupied many of Mr. Wheelock's thoughts. He had observed, that most former attempts had proved unsuccessful with the aborigines of this country: he therefore resolved to make experiment of a method entirely new; which was, to

persuade the Indian parents to send their children to him, and thus to separate them entirely from all connexion with their countrymen; and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion, at that period of their lives, when impressions are most lasting; and at the same time to teach them the arts of civilized life. He hoped, that by keeping them a number of years under these advantages, he should be able to form them to such habits, that there would be little danger of their returning to barbarous manners. He also hoped, that by the education received in his school, they might be qualified to be teachers of their own people. His object was, to make them equal to English youth in every useful and virtuous accomplishment, and to kindle in their minds a laudable emulation to excel. His plan was not confined to the education of the male sex; he proposed to place female children in pious families, or under the care of a skilful governess, to be instructed in domestic affairs, and in other things suited to their age; so that when they returned they might exercise a powerful and happy influence on their own people, in bringing them to adopt the same habits of life. It also entered into Mr. Wheelock's plan, to educate a number of English youth, in the same school with the Indians, who might devote themselves to the service of God, by acting as missionaries or schoolmasters among the heathen. Having matured his plan, he first sought council from the Fountain of all wisdom, and became fully satisfied in his own mind, that the plan and purpose which he had formed was agreeable to the will of God. He then consulted with some of his brethren, and explained to them his views; but from all but a few he received no encouragement; they admitted that the object was good, but most considered it impracticable.

Mr. Wheelock's congregation was neither rich nor large, and the salary which they could afford was not adequate to the wants of an increasing family; so that he was under the necessity of deriving a part of their subsistence from his own patrimony. On this account he considered it equitable to appropriate a portion of his time and efforts to other objects than their instruction; and that object, in particular, to which his attention was intensely directed, was the evangelization of

the Indians. "Placing confidence in God," say his biographers, "in whose hands are the hearts of all men, that he would raise up generous benefactors to assist him in this work, he used to say, there are always pious and liberal persons, blessed by God with ability, who are waiting for opportunities of distributing their wealth, in the manner best adapted to promote the glory of God in the salvation of men; and he doubted not that the charitable institution he was about to organize, would excite the liberality of many."

The school now received an accession of two young men, John Pumpshire and Jacob Woolley, sent by the Rev. John Brainerd, at the request of Mr. Wheelock. The Scotch Commissioners, in Boston, having heard of the benevolent undertaking, sent twenty pounds to aid in its support; and requested Mr. Wheelock to send Samson Occum and Fowler to the Oneidas, to procure, if practicable, three boys from that tribe, to be put into the school. By their endeavours, three promising boys were added to the school. Things began now to wear a favourable aspect. Twenty-five pastors of churches, in Connecticut, united in a recommendation of the undertaking; and the General Court of the province of Massachusetts were so persuaded of the wisdom of the plan, and the integrity of Mr. Wheelock, that they authorized him to obtain six scholars from among the Indians, to be educated at their expense.

Hitherto, Mr. Wheelock had proceeded without any assistants: but his good sense led him to see that it would be altogether expedient to associate some respectable persons with himself, that they might share the responsibility. The persons selected by him were Elisha Williams, Esq., late Rector of Yale College, Samuel Mosely, of Windham, and Benjamin Pomroy, of Hebron; who readily entered into an engagement to lend their aid and influence.

The first considerable donation was made by Mr. Joshua Moor, a respectable farmer of Mansfield. It consisted of a convenient tenement and about two acres of land, contiguous to Mr. Wheelock's dwelling. In consequence of this valuable donation, it was determined to honour the donor, by naming the institution MOOR'S INDIAN CHARITY SCHOOL.

Upon the breaking out of the war with the French, the Indians on the frontier committed such horrid barbarities, that some of Mr. Wheelock's friends advised him to relinquish the enterprise; but his resolution to persevere could not be shaken; and he was greatly encouraged by the orderly behaviour of the Indian boys in the school. Those tribes from which his pupils came, and to which he wished to send teachers and missionaries, were friendly to the colonies.

In 1764, the school contained thirty scholars, of whom, about one half were Indians; the others were mostly such as were preparing to be teachers or missionaries among the Indians, and were assisted by the funds of the institution. The teachers were carefully selected, and were religious, learned, and faithful men. The Indian boys were accommodated in a part of the house given by Mr. Moor, and were furnished with proper lodging, diet, and other necessities by persons employed for the purpose. Evening and morning, the whole school, teachers and pupils, attended prayers, in the hall of Mr. Wheelock's house. The students were required to be decently dressed and ready to attend family worship, in the autumn and winter, before sunrise, and in the summer, at six o'clock. A portion of scripture was read by several of the larger boys, and those who were able answered questions in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, when some explanation was given of the same. After prayers in the family, some time was allowed for recreation before breakfast. At nine o'clock, the school was opened with prayer, and the exercises continued until twelve; there was an intermission until two, when the scholars re-assembled and continued in school until five. Evening prayers were always attended before it became dark, after which, they applied themselves to their studies until bed time. On the Lord's day, they attended church, where two pews were appropriated to their use. In the intervals of public worship, one of the teachers was commonly with them, to preserve order, to hear them read, and to give them suitable instruction. Several times in the week, Mr. Wheelock was accustomed to address them on religion in a plain and familiar style, suited to their capacities. Their improvement greatly occupied his mind, and he entertained a warm affection for his

pupils, and delighted to observe their good conduct; and wherever he went, this was the usual subject of his conversation.

This Indian school had commenced under such favourable auspices, and was in so flourishing a condition, that it attracted the attention of societies and other public bodies, both at home and in Great Britain. The Society in Scotland, for Promulgating Knowledge, was so persuaded of the usefulness of the school, that they appointed a committee for aiding and promoting "Moor's Indian Charitable School." This commission consisted of thirteen persons, partly respectable laymen and partly clergymen, who were friends to the institution.

The General Assembly of Connecticut authorized a collection in aid of the school, throughout the colony. The General Assembly of the province of Massachusetts also granted the avails of a generous legacy, given by Mr. Peter Warren, towards the support of six children of the Six Nations, at said school. The General Assembly of New Hampshire also made a handsome donation to promote the design; and the London Commissioners, in Boston, made several grants for the same purpose. Contributions were also sent in from various Christian congregations and individuals in the neighbouring colonies. Thus though Mr. Wheelock, trusting in Divine Providence, commenced the enterprise on his own responsibility, his expectations of timely aid were not disappointed. Nor were these benefactions confined to America. In Great Britain, the fame of this Indian school excited the hopes and drew forth the good offices of the pious and philanthropic. The Earl of Lothian, as early as 1762, sent Mr. Wheelock a donation of £100; a like sum was given by a lady in England who concealed her name. Many others, both in England and Scotland, whose names we have not room to mention, contributed liberally to this charitable institution.

The friendly dispositions of Christians in Great Britain, as well in the Established Church as out of it, induced Mr. Wheelock to determine on sending Samson Occum, accompanied by some respectable minister, to the mother country to solicit funds. The person selected to accompany Occum was the Rev. Nathanael Whitaker, of Norwich. The voyage was un-

dertaken without delay, and Mr. Oecum was the first Indian preacher who was ever welcomed to the shores of England. He preached with great applause in London and the principal cities of England and Scotland, to numerous audiences made up of different denominations. Wherever he preached, liberal contributions were made for the school. The enterprise met with almost universal favour, among all classes, from the highest to the lowest. The pious Earl of Dartmouth became its zealous patron, and by his influence the King himself became a benefactor, by a donation to the institution of £200. A large number of very respectable civilians and divines both of the Established and Presbyterian Churches in England, satisfied with the goodness of the design, and fully convinced of its importance, published an ample testimonial in its favour. The Earl of Dartmouth, and eight others, distinguished laymen, among whom we find John Thornton, Charles Hardy, and Josiah Roberts, formed a Board of Trustees, to receive and remit all moneys which should be contributed to this object. The collections which were made in North Britain were placed in the hands of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," which from the first had taken a lively interest in the enterprise. The University of Edinburgh, to manifest their high respect for Mr. Wheelock, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. The success of the mission to Great Britain was chiefly owing to the presence and popularity of Oecum, who had the features and all the characteristics of a full blooded Indian.

The encouragement was now so great, that Dr. Wheelock determined to enlarge his plan, and to convert his school into a college. But as there was already a college in Connecticut, it was judged expedient to choose a site in some other place. After receiving proposals from several parts of the country, it was determined, as it was chiefly intended for the education of the Indians, to erect the college on the west of New Hampshire, in the town of Hanover, on the banks of the Connecticut river, where Governor Winthrop had offered 500 acres of land, on a beautiful plain. Accordingly, in the year 1770, Dr. Wheelock, with his family and scholars, removed to this place, where they encountered all the hardships and privations of

the first settlers of a new country. For, when they arrived, the only preparation made was the clearing of a few acres of ground. Very soon, however, a log cabin was erected to accommodate the Doctor and his family; while the pupils and labourers had, for a time, to sleep on the ground. The winter also commenced this year earlier than usual; so that the work of building a college, which had been commenced, was obstructed. But although Dr. Wheelock was now in his sixty-first year, and possessed an estate sufficient for his support, for the sake of the benevolent object which he had at heart, he endured all the privations and hardships of this new settlement with cheerfulness; and by his serenity diffused contentment on all around. Governor Wentworth not only gave an ample charter for the college, but also granted to it the right of a ferry over the Connecticut river; and proposed giving to the Institution civil jurisdiction over an extent of three miles square. This last was prevented by the troubles in which the country began to be involved. He did, however, confer on Dr. Wheelock a special commission as a justice of the quorum. At this time no literary institution had been established in the province of New Hampshire. In honour of the Earl of Dartmouth, one of its most distinguished benefactors, the college received the name of DARTMOUTH; which it still retains.

To show that a missionary spirit existed in New England at this time, it will be proper to notice some facts preceding the establishment of the College at Hanover. As early as 1763, Mr. Charles Jeffery Smith, of Long Island, was ordained to the work of the gospel ministry at Lebanon, with a view to his performing a mission to remote tribes of Indians. "Mr. Smith was a worthy, pious, young gentleman, zealous in religion, compassionate to the heathen, and of an accomplished education." He had itinerated sometime as a preacher among the poor and destitute settlements in the southern colonies; and was successful, partially, in Virginia, in bringing some of the wretched children of Africa to a knowledge of Christ. He was universally respected for amiable manners, great benevolence and popular talents as a preacher. His

mission was delayed by the troubles which now came on, in which the Indian tribes were involved.*

In 1764, two young men, Titus Smith and Theophilus Chamberlain, graduates of Yale College, were ordained and commissioned as missionaries to the Mohawks and Oneidas. At the same time, eight Indian youths were examined, and found fully adequate to accompany these missionaries as schoolmasters. They had learned to speak the English language with considerable facility, were acquainted with the rudiments of grammar, and wrote a fair hand. Their appear-

* The Rev. Charles Jeffery Smith, here so honourably mentioned, was a remarkable young man, whose end was tragical and mysterious. Having by the increasing troubles of the tribes been prevented from devoting himself to missionary labours among the Indians, he seems to have turned his attention to the instruction of the slaves in Virginia. A pious and intelligent man, who had been an elder in the congregation of the Rev. Samuel Davies, in Hanover, Va., informed the writer of this article, that Mr. Smith on his arrival in the state, waited on the Governor and General Assembly, and by invitation preached in the State House a sermon on the necessity of regeneration; which is said to have produced a great impression on many of his audience. A copy of it was requested for publication; and it was accordingly printed. The gentleman who gave this account produced a printed copy of this discourse, which appeared to the writer to have been written with uncommon force and vivacity. He has never met with it since; but in a letter of Mr. Smith to Dr. Wheelock, dated Brookhaven, L. I., March 12, 1766, he says, speaking of his visit to Virginia, "The discourse delivered there on regeneration accompanies this and solicits your acceptance." From the same letter it appears that he expected to receive from some Board a commission, which he might use in Virginia; probably as a missionary. The words are, "The commission from your reverend Board will be highly acceptable. As you, sir, know its design, it is needless to desire that it may be as full as the charter will permit. Is it worth while for me to write to Mr. E—— whether the charter will answer the end proposed, and shield one against the attacks of the establishment, in Virginia?" Mr. Smith, according to the testimony of the gentleman already referred to, purchased a considerable property in one of the eastern counties of Virginia; and returned to Long Island to settle his affairs. But, before this was finished, he went out early one morning with a fowling piece in his hand; the report of a gun was heard, and, Mr. Smith not returning at the time expected, search was made for him; when, alas! he was found in the wood, dead, with his gun so situated as to indicate that he had designedly shot himself. This sad occurrence affected the hearts of all the pious with grief and astonishment; for Mr. Smith not only appeared truly and deeply pious, but was of an uncommonly cheerful temper. For some years, nothing occurred to relieve the case from its mystery. But the aforesaid pious elder, who had formed an acquaintance with Mr. Smith and greatly admired him, said, that it was reported to him, that a man condemned for another crime and executed on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, confessed under the gallows, that he was the murderer of Mr. Smith; that, believing that he carried a large sum of money about him, he had met him in the wood, and after some conversation requested to look at his gun, and immediately shot him dead, and left the gun in such a situation as if he had killed himself, and that finding no money, to avoid suspicion, he left his watch in his pocket.

ance and deportment were very pleasing, and their patron and former instructor and other friends were much encouraged by these first fruits of the enterprise, and were ready to predict great and extensive usefulness among their savage countrymen. But here a sad disappointment was experienced. The funds of the institution were found to be exhausted; so that means to defray the necessary expenses of their journey were wanting. Dr. Wheelock, however, was not a man to be easily discouraged. He had learned in such dilemmas, to cast himself on the care of Providence; and had so often found relief from his embarrassments, from unexpected quarters, that he determined to proceed in the present case, as though the requisite funds were at his command; and on the day at first appointed, the missionaries with the Indian teachers departed with ample supplies, which had providentially been furnished from unexpected sources. They were kindly received by several villages of the Indians, and schools were soon collected, and masters appointed to each of them. The missionaries were entrusted with the patronage of these schools, which they frequently visited; treating the teachers with paternal kindness, and encouragement. The whole number of the children of the Mohawks and Oneidas, received into these schools, was a hundred and twenty seven. The scholars generally appeared fond of learning, and made pleasing progress. For some time, the Indian teachers were attentive to their work; but after the lapse of several months, some of them grew weary, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the missionaries and other patrons, returned, in a considerable degree, to those roving and savage habits from which it was hoped they had been completely rescued. A part, however, maintained their integrity, gained respect, and continued to be useful to their countrymen. The missionaries from time to time gave encouraging accounts of the teachable disposition of the Indians, and of the commendable conduct of the majority of the schoolmasters.

Hitherto, no attempt had been made to introduce Christianity into the confederated Six Nations, except among the Mohawks and Oneidas; the others seemed disposed to reject all offers of the kind; at least from Protestants. But now, it

seemed expedient to make an effort to extend the influence of the gospel into some other of these tribes. The opportunity of making the attempt was providentially afforded; for Mr. Samuel Kirkland, who had just finished his education at Princeton, offered himself as a missionary. In the autumn of 1765, he set out with a design to penetrate into the country of the Senecas, to learn their language, and to conciliate their friendship, with a view to a mission among them. The Senecas were the most remote of all the tribes of the confederacy; and their social habits were understood to be more savage than those of any other tribe. It may be observed here, that all the Six Nations spoke dialects of the same language. Mr. Kirkland had acquired some knowledge of the language of the Mohawks; and this greatly aided him in acquiring the Seneca language. The enterprise was considered bold and hazardous. No Protestant missionary had ever penetrated these forests, or visited this ferocious tribe. But Kirkland was peculiarly qualified for this arduous undertaking. His constitutional strength and vivacity were uncommon; he was fearless of danger, possessed a great fund of benevolence, a heart devoted to the cause of the Redeemer, and zeal for the conversion of the heathen. He travelled among these barbarians unattended; boldly enduring trials and encountering dangers which would have filled a common mind with dismay. Though famine spread its horrors around him, and his life was often threatened, he persisted in the good work; and continued among the savages eighteen months, during which time, he acquired a competent knowledge of their language, and had the opportunity of holding forth the word of life in this very dark corner of the earth. At first the chief men of the nation treated him with haughtiness and contempt, but after witnessing his courage and his kindness they exchanged this for admiration; and some became so full of approval that they expressed a desire to be instructed in the Christian religion. But so invincible was the opposition of the majority, that Mr. Kirkland, seeing no prospect of usefulness among them, took a mission to the Oneidas, among whom for many years he continued his laborious services, in the exercise of the ministry;

in which he was both faithful and successful, and the effects of his labours were permanent.

Mr. Occum laboured chiefly among the Mohegan, Mohawk, and Narraganset tribes; occasionally visiting the Six Nations. The Rev. Mr. Bull, in a letter to Mr. Bostwick, says of Occum, "that in his preaching, he seems always to have in view the end of the ministry, the glory of God and the salvation of men. His manner of expression when he preaches to the Indians is vastly more natural and free, than when he preaches to others. He is the glory of the Indian nation. I rejoice in the grace of God conferred on him &c." His popularity was so great and he was so much flattered by some, that Dr. Wheelock on one occasion exclaimed, "May God mercifully preserve him from falling into the condemnation of the devil!"

The bright prospects of success in the literary institution, established chiefly with a view to the civilization and evangelization of the Indians, were obscured by the contest between the colonies and the mother country. Dr. Wheelock's principal dependence for pecuniary resources was on Great Britain; but in the year 1775 all intercourse between America and Britain was suspended. Besides, nearly all the tribes of Indians, from which he received scholars, being friendly to the British and hostile to the colonies, recalled their sons. This he considered a favourable circumstance; as the means of subsistence were in a great measure cut off by the war, and he did not like to send away the scholars, for fear of offending the tribes to which they belonged; this difficulty was removed by their sending for their children.

Moor's Indian school was never incorporated with Dartmouth College. Dr. Wheelock, indeed, proposed to the Trustees of the College, to take charge of the school; but they were of opinion that their charter did not authorize them to take upon them such care and supervision, and so it remained under Dr. Wheelock's sole care and management until his death.

During the progress of the revolutionary war, Dartmouth, on account of its remoteness from the theatre of hostilities, suffered comparatively little; for while the colleges on the

eastern part of the country were disbanded and their buildings dilapidated by the invasion, the course of study in this institution was uninterrupted. Since the close of the war, Dartmouth College has held a most reputable standing among the literary institutions of the country; many eminent men, both in church and state having received the finishing part of their education in this seminary. But it is our object not to give the history of this literary institution, but to exhibit the benevolent zeal of Dr. Wheelock towards the aborigines of the country, and his labours and success in the work. The health of this good man began rapidly to decline in the year 1779, and on the 24th day of April, he breathed his last. Being asked by Mrs. Wheelock, when death was evidently near, what were his present views, he said, "I am not afraid of death with every amazement," and shortly before he expired, he repeated the 4th verse of the 23d Psalm, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me."

At his death, Dr. Wheelock had completed his sixty-eighth year; nine from the founding of the College; and twenty-five from the institution of his Indian school. His funeral was attended by a large concourse of people, and the sermon, on the occasion, was preached by the minister of the parish of Hanover, the Rev. Mr. Burroughs, from Job xiv, 14, "If a man die shall he live again? all the days of my appointed time, will I wait till my change come."

Dr. Wheelock did not live to see the dawn of peace to his country. By the charter of the College, he was authorized to appoint his successor; and he conferred the office on his own son, one of the first graduates of the College; who, before he took charge of the institution, travelled extensively in Europe, and was successful in collecting some pecuniary supplies in Great Britain.

Although Dr. Wheelock performed the duties of President of the College, master of the Indian School, and preacher to both those institutions, he received for his services no other salary than a supply of necessary provisions for his family. While much money passed through his hands, his

fidelity and wisdom in the appropriation of such funds were never called in question.

After his decease little opportunity has existed for carrying out the original design of the founder, as it relates to the Indians; but still the establishment of a respectable College, by the exertions of an individual, was a great work, and has accomplished extensive good to the community. As in our view Dr. Wheelock was an uncommon man, we will close this article with a description of his character, as given by his biographers, but abridged.

In the articles of his faith, Dr. Wheelock agreed with the Puritans, who were the fathers of New England. He belonged to the school of Calvin. The doctrines of divine sovereignty, human depravity, the moral impotence of the sinner, the necessity of regeneration, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the infinite merit and efficacy of the atonement, the doctrine of election, special grace in the conversion of a sinner, the immediate duty of repentance and faith, and the necessity of holiness as evidence of justification, were his favourite themes in his preaching. Like the light of the sun, the benevolence of Dr. Wheelock shines in his active and useful services. His whole life demonstrates the goodness of his heart. No brighter evidence of a benevolent mind can be given than the arduous labours he performed, the many privations which he endured, the immense sacrifices he made, the burdensome and complicated cares which he assumed. Love to God and the souls of men was undoubtedly the animating motive of his active life. The school and College were founded to promote the glory of the Redeemer in the salvation of men; especially the perishing Indians of North America. And when, in consequence of the interruption of intercourse between the colonies and the mother country, the resources of the College failed, Dr. Wheelock advanced his own property to the amount of three thousand three hundred and thirty three dollars, to sustain the institution. This sum, by his last will, he bequeathed to the College; reserving only a small annuity for his oldest son, who was an invalid. Other valuable legacies he left to the School.

As a religious instructor, faithfulness was a remarkable

trait in the character of Dr. Wheelock. Religion entered into all his calculations, gave direction to all his plans, and seemed to dictate the most minute arrangement: he was the same good man, in the pulpit, the college, and the parlour. He had a remarkable talent of introducing religious subjects into conversation with ease and pleasantness. His manner had nothing of ostentation or formality; nothing which offended the careless or gay. His hospitality was patriarchal; and to his guests his conversation was open and honest as the day, which, while it afforded edification, gave also pleasure, by his dignified and affable manners. His solicitude for the salvation of his children, pupils, and servants, he manifested by occasionally taking them into his study, to inquire with parental tenderness into their spiritual state; when, with great plainness, he gave them such advice and exhortation as their respective cases required. And God was often pleased to bless these pious labours; as many of his pupils had reason to bless God for these seasons of religious conference. In the great concern of their salvation his children and pupils frequently applied to him for instruction. The College was a school not only of science, but of religion.

As a preacher of the gospel, Dr. Wheelock possessed shining gifts. His sermons were connected, affectionate and persuasive. During the great revival, he travelled extensively through New England, and in the constellation of the preachers of that day, was a star of the first magnitude. Wherever he preached multitudes flocked to hear him. Though a fine classical scholar, and a man of profound sense, his preaching was in an easy and familiar style. He had a remarkable talent for winning the attention and arousing the consciences of his hearers. Without factitious ornament, his language was perspicuous and forcible. His aim was to reach the feelings of his hearers through the understanding. His sermons were not read, but delivered from short notes, and sometimes entirely extemporaneous. Possessing a lively imagination, a warm heart, and a deep concern for immortal souls, the impetuosity of his eloquence often presented common and well known truths with all the irresistible charms of novelty. From what has been said, it may be inferred, that he was an

uncommonly successful preacher. Multitudes throughout New England acknowledged him as their spiritual father. But though so popular and successful he was preserved habitually in an humble state of mind. He was not wont to enter the pulpit with confidence, but with diffidence of himself; and often with fear and trembling.

Dr. Wheelock was animated in a high degree with the spirit of missions; that is with the genuine spirit of Christianity. A double portion of that spirit which in the present age has been excited in the minds of many, leading them to seek the extension of the blessed gospel to the heathen, was bestowed upon this eminent servant of God; and this at a time, when it was almost restricted to his own bosom: far in the obscurity of a country village he began the work alone. How would his pious heart have exulted in the prospect, could he have foreseen the missionary exertions of the church in the present day! We have already remarked on the humility which accompanied him into the pulpit; we may now add that although he laboured so much, and endured so many hardships, and actually accomplished so much, no one even heard him speak with complacency of his own labours. When in his will he bequeaths to the college what in that day would have been considered a good estate, he lays in no claim for admiration; but modestly says, "I have professed to have no view to making an estate by this affair. What the singleness and uprightness of my heart has been before God He knows, and also how greatly I stand in need of his pardon." Though often under the necessity of making great pecuniary sacrifices to sustain the College, he was careful never to involve his friends.

Dr. Wheelock's disinterestedness and trust in Providence are very clearly manifested in the following extract, from one of his annual narratives: 'When I think of the great weight of present expense for supporting sixteen or seventeen Indians boys—which has been my number the last year—and as many English youth, on charity; and eight in the wilderness who depend for their support wholly from this quarter; also, such a number of labourers, and the necessity of building a house for myself, with the expense of three and sometimes four tutors, I have sometimes faintness of heart.'

But then I consider that I have not been seeking myself in one step which I have taken ; nor have I taken one step without deliberation and asking counsel ; and that if further resources from that fullness on which I have depended from the first should be withheld ; yet that which has been laid out will by no means be lost to the school : nor be exposed to reproach as having been imprudently expended. I have always made it my practice not to suffer my expenses to exceed what my own private interest will pay. In case I should be brought to that necessity, justice will be done to my creditors. But the consideration which, above all others, has been my support is that it is the cause of God. God most certainly has, and does own it as his work. In him, and in him alone, do I hope to perfect his own plan for his own glory. Under these apprehensions I cannot be anxious respecting the issue. God has done great things for the institution, and I may not go back ; but wait upon him, and hope in him, to maintain and support and defend it, and perform what is wanting for it in his own mercy and time. Certainly his hand has been conspicuous in its beginning, rise and progress, through so many dark scenes. When in its infancy, and an object of contempt, it was the hand of God which opened and disposed the hearts of so many on both sides the water, to such pious and charitable liberalities for its support. It was the finger of God which pointed out such a wise, goodly, and honourable patronage for it in Europe. What but a divine influence should move my worthy patrons, with so much cheerfulness, and disinterested zeal, to accept the important trust, in London ; and to prosecute the design, with so much steadiness and zeal ? It was the hand of God, which advanced our great friend and patron, the right honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth, to the American administration, while he was in such connexion with this Seminary. It was the hand of God which opened the heart of our gracious Sovereign to show his princely munificence in his royal bounty ; and especially in ratifying a charter, endowing the Seminary with all the powers, immunities, and privileges of any university in his kingdom, by which its interests are most effectually secured ; so that those who are graduated here, have not an empty title, but by law a claim

to all those rights and privileges enjoyed by graduates of any University in Great Britain. Was it not the hand of God that advanced so important and beneficial a friend to the chair of this province, as his Excellency Governor Wentworth, and disposed him as a nursing father to patronise this infant College in the wilderness? and certainly, the gracious hand of God has been very evident to all acquainted with the regularity and good order which have uninterruptedly sustained her; and that without any form of Government, but parental.

“These things have not resulted merely from the wisdom, prudence or wise politics of the age; but God has evidently designed to hide pride from man, and make the excellency of his power and grace conspicuous, by making choice of an instrument every way unequal to the arduous work. Surely this looks like his plan, to make the excellence of his own perfections appear, and secure all the glory to himself.”

The confidence felt by Dr. Wheelock's patrons in England was unbounded. Mr. John Thornton authorized him to draw on him for any sum he might need; and he never, in any case, abused this confidence. Doctor Wheelock, in person, was of a middle stature and size, well proportioned, and dignified. His features were prominent, his eyes a light blue and animated. His complexion was fair, and the general expression of his countenance pleasing and handsome. His voice was remarkably full, harmonious, and commanding. We can scarcely find in history a more illustrious example of benevolent and successful effort, than in Dr. Wheelock. By his single effort, through the blessing of divine Providence, he accomplished a work, which has commonly required the united labours of many minds and many hands. And although his pious purpose in relation to the Indians was in a great measure frustrated by the occurrence of the revolutionary war, Dartmouth College has been eminently useful to the country; and will ever stand as a memorial of the piety, benevolence, and perseverance of the Rev. Doctor Wheelock.*

* It is natural that the friends of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, should feel an interest in Dr. Wheelock; since a considerable legacy was, on a certain contingency, bequeathed to this institution, by the late Dr. Wheelock, the son and successor of the founder of Dartmouth College. Providence has so ordered events,

ART. IV.—*The Life of John Calvin, compiled from authentic sources*, by Thomas H. Dyer. New York: Harpers. 1850.

OUR author states in his preface that “the appearance in an English dress of Henry’s *Life of Calvin* from the pen of Dr. Stebbing might seem to supersede the necessity for another work on the same subject, and had that gentleman’s book been published earlier, the present one would probably have never been undertaken.” If an earlier announcement of Dr. Stebbing’s design would really have prevented the appearance of the work before us, we think it is much to be regretted that the important information was so long withheld from the public, and from Mr. Dyer in particular. The public would have lost nothing if this fruit of Mr. Dyer’s literary labours had never seen the light, and we much fear that he will find that his book belongs to that large class which “the world will willingly let die.” We cannot get rid of the suspicion that Mr. Dyer became aware of the intentions of Dr. Stebbing much sooner than the preceding extract of his preface would lead us to suppose, and that the only effect of the information was to infuse fresh activity into his pen, so as to anticipate, if possible, the publication of a rival work. However this may be, the most charitable view which we can take of many of his pages, is, that they were written with uncommon haste.

That a complete and well written life of the Genevan Reformer is a great desideratum there can be no doubt. Dr. Henry’s large work, which has been repeatedly noticed by this journal, composed as it is by one who has a high but not blind admiration of the Reformer’s character, and a cordial sympathy with those great principles, to the exposition and defence of which Calvin devoted all the energies of his noble soul, is very admirable. It contains the rich and ample fruits of the researches of many years; it is a well stored repository of ma-

that, with the full consent of the legal heir, that property has come into the possession of the Seminary; and it, no doubt, once belonged to Dr. Wheelock the elder. Considering his love of learning and sound doctrine on religion, if he could have foreseen that a part of his estate would be available to promote the training of young men for the ministry, in a church which maintains the very same system of doctrine, which was so dear to him, the prospect would have been gratifying to his benevolent heart.

terials, gathered from many sources, but on this very account not so well adapted for general circulation; so that the need for a biography of Calvin for popular use still exists. In undertaking to supply this want Mr. Dyer has attempted a work, for which, if we may judge from the present volume, he does not possess a single qualification. He is an English high churchman of the same school as the late Dr. Tomline, whose now forgotten book entitled "Refutation of Calvinism," he quotes as one of the "authentic sources" of information respecting the principles of the Calvinistic system; to expect a truly candid account either of Calvin's personal history, or of his religious faith from such a writer is manifestly preposterous. Indeed we are at a loss to conceive what motive induced Mr. Dyer to take upon himself the task of preparing a biography of Calvin, unless it be the selfish one of mere pecuniary advantage, or that he was possessed of an invincible desire to appear in print. That he was not prompted by an affectionate regard for the memory of the Reformer, or a desire to honour him for the sake of his great services to the church of God, is abundantly evident from every page. Neither does it appear that he is particularly fond of historical investigations, or that he has been occupied with original researches in regard to the men and events of past ages; for while his work claims to be derived from "authentic sources," a phrase, by the way, of rather dubious import, it is in fact nothing more than a compilation, in which, the author has made a free though not always a fair use of the labours of Beza, Ruchat, Henry and others. On one topic, "the nature and extent of Calvin's intercourse with the Anglican-church, and with the Marian exiles," Mr. Dyer affects to speak with the authority of one who has carefully examined all the original documents bearing upon it, and "ventures to hope" that his readers will find in his volume more information on this subject than in any other biography of Calvin. It is quite certain that this matter fills a larger space in his work than in Dr. Henry's, and if Mr. Dyer's inferences from facts and his observations upon them could properly be placed under the head of "information," his claim, would be well founded. When this additional information

however is thoroughly inspected, we unfortunately find that so much of it as is true is not new, while all of it that is new is not true.

It might seem uncharitable to affirm that Mr. Dyer wrote his book for the express purpose of disparaging the reputation of Calvin, especially as he closes it with some fine words about the "mellowing" influence of time and "the impartiality and moderation which the lapse of three centuries should produce." We will not assert that he intended to take up his position by the side of such men as Bolsec and Audin; but this much we may say that every candid reader will rise from the perusal of the book with the decided conviction that its author has a most cordial dislike of the Reformer whose history he has undertaken to relate, and that he often writes against the system of doctrine and discipline associated with that Reformer's name, "with the virulence of a man who does not understand it." Such a reader will ask the question without getting a satisfactory reply, what could have induced a person who evinces such profound ignorance of the nature of evangelical religion, and such lukewarm sympathy for the Reformation in any phase of it, to attempt a task for which he was so unfit, as that of the biographer of a man who was confessedly one of the greatest champions of divine truth, and with all his faults, one of the noblest examples of true piety. However we are under no apprehensions that the name and memory of Calvin will be injuriously affected by the appearance of this book; nor would we have felt much alarmed if Mr. Dyer's pen had been as vigorous as his prejudices, which happily is not the case. In common with other men who have fulfilled high destinies, and whose lives, if they have not formed, at least have been intimately connected with great eras in the world's history, Calvin has been forced to bear a vast amount of obloquy; but there are many delightful indications that the mists of ignorance and prejudice are dispersing and that the world is beginning to discern his real features, and to form a just estimate of his services. Mr. Dyer's work has not one redeeming quality to save it from the fate which has overtaken so many others breathing a like spirit. We cannot point out a single page in which the author rises to any thing like eloquence, nor can we

quote one passage that bears the impress of a really vigorous mind. Indeed we should not have deemed it necessary to notice the book, were it not that our readers may be tempted to purchase a volume, which bears the imprint of one of our principal publishers, and which received the endorsement of one of our respectable religious papers, as a valuable contribution to our biographical literature.*

We should require a great deal more space than we can spare, if we noticed everything in the volume which invites criticism; or should undertake to correct all its abounding misrepresentations and mistakes. The author looks at every thing not merely from a false position, but with a jaundiced eye, so that whatever may be his point of view, the object of vision becomes discolored or distorted; and accordingly there is not one important event in the life of Calvin the narrative of which is perfectly fair and candid. As we have already given in our successive notices of Dr. Henry's admirable volumes, a large account of the life and labours of Calvin, we do not deem it necessary to go over the ground again, and therefore in our remarks on Mr. Dyer's performance we shall not confine ourselves to the historical order of events. Our main design is not so much to defend Calvin against the attacks of a prejudiced biographer, as to guard our readers against the purchase of a worthless book; and this end will be sufficiently attained by giving a few illustrations of Mr. Dyer's manner of dealing with the character, the actions and the doctrinal system of Calvin.

The work opens naturally enough with some observations on the Reformation in general, and on the early division of its friends into certain parties which still exist. From these introductory remarks we cull a few sentences, which will serve to give our readers a taste of the literary qualities of the book, and to show forth Mr. Dyer's competency to discuss topics belonging to the domain of historical philosophy. "The grand

* From the second "notice" of Dyer in the N. Y. Observer it appeared that the critic had not read the book which he so highly lauded, but seems to have taken it for granted that as it was a *Life of Calvin* it must be excellent. On examining it however, he found he had gone too fast; but as he valued consistency more than candour, he comes out with a "second notice," resembling, at least in one feature, those Delphic oracles which the priestess uttered when she knew not which side to take.

and manifold blessings attending the Reformation were not unalloyed with serious evils, the chief of which were the dissensions that arose among the reformers themselves. The pretended infallibility of the Romish church had, at least secured unity. The right of *private judgment, the active principle of the Reformation*, was a standard that necessarily varied according to the temper, the understanding, or the knowledge of different men, and hence arose a variety of sects." "The same principle that produced these excrescences, though not pushed to such extravagant results, ultimately divided the Protestant church into three main denominations of Lutherans, Anglicans and Calvinists." "It was indeed, impossible that the spirit of the Reformation should be bounded by the views of Luther. Notwithstanding his personal boldness, in matters of doctrine and discipline, Luther was a timid and cautious innovator. The establishment of *his doctrine* of justification seems to have been at first his only object." "Before Luther began his career, another reformer had already started up in Switzerland possessing bolder views and a more philosophical method. Zwingli began by laying down the abstract general principle that the Scriptures contain the sole rule of faith and practice." "Out of these two churches were developed the Anglican and the Calvinistic—Calvin, pushing both the doctrine and practice of Zwingli to a rigid extreme, succeeded nevertheless in incorporating the Zwinglian church with his own." "Hence Calvin's title to be regarded as an original reformer is *eclipsed, in point of priority as well as in some other particulars* by those of Luther and Zwingli. Calvin's influence flowed mainly *from his literary abilities*."

The rhetorical elegance of these extracts is about equal to their historical accuracy. It is undeniable, that as Luther and Zwingli began the work of Reformation while Calvin was yet a mere child, his title to be regarded as an original reformer is "eclipsed in point of priority"—to use Mr. Dyer's original figure—by theirs. But when he asserts that Calvin's influence "flowed mainly from his literary abilities," "that Calvin pushed the doctrine and practice of Zwingli to a rigid extreme," he makes statements which he would find it not so easy to substantiate. Indeed the last of these assertions is

not only contrary to historical fact, but on his own showing absurd, for on the previous page he informs us that the distinguishing doctrine of Zwingli was "the abstract general principle that the Scriptures contain, the sole rule of faith and practice;" and how this principle could be "pushed" to any more rigid extreme than that to which Zwingli himself "pushed" it we are at a loss to conceive. Apparently forgetful of what he had said on this subject, he assures his readers, in his closing chapter, that "Calvin's best claim to originality with regard to any single part of his doctrine, rests on that of the Lord's Supper." Now whether Calvin's doctrine on the subject of the Lord's Supper be original or not, every one acquainted with the history of the sacramentarian controversy knows that so far from "pushing" Zwingli's view on this point to a rigid extreme, he never even reached the Zwinglian position. Again, the statement that the naked right of private judgment was "the active principle of the Reformation," "a standard that necessarily varied according to the temper of different men" is scarcely more accurate than those which we have just noticed. If Mr. Dyer had said that the sufficiency and supremacy of Scripture as the rule of faith and manners, was the active principle of the Reformation he would have come much nearer the truth. The right to read and interpret the word of God, was asserted and exercised by the reformers, and though each one of them studied the lively oracles for himself, the results thus independently reached, are to a surprising extent identical; on all those points of doctrine which are immediately connected with the way of salvation, they saw eye to eye, as the various confessions of the Protestant churches abundantly prove. The right of private judgment for which the reformers contended was not the right to think as men pleased, to adopt any system of faith that whim or caprice might dictate; but a right, which, in its exercise must be governed by the paramount and absolute authority of the word of God.

But there is another subject of far higher importance than the rules of elegant writing, or even than a knowledge of the earlier developements of Protestantism, in reference to which Mr. Dyer manifests, as we have already intimated—a lamentable

ignorance; we refer to the nature of evangelical religion. Simple ignorance on this subject, unaccompanied by prejudice against the distinctive truths of the Gospel and those who profess them, would disqualify a man however accomplished in other respects, for writing a proper biography of Calvin. There is much in the character and labours of the Reformer which he could neither appreciate nor understand; there are many things which, with the fixed purpose to be impartial, he would be sure to misrepresent; for the working of the spiritual life can be discerned only by the spiritual mind. In Mr. Dyer's case, however, there is not merely ignorance, but positive aversion; there are many passages in his work which show that he fully shares those feelings of intense dislike of the evangelical system which have so long characterised the prevailing party in the church of England. Thus, in speaking of the vital doctrine of Justification, which holds so prominent a place in all the confessions of the Reformed churches—he describes it as Luther's, "*his doctrine of justification.*" Calvin, is said "to have been converted by a sudden call, *like the new birth of the Methodists;*" and then he adds in a scarcely less sneering tone "there will be occasion to relate other instances of the unexpected intervention of Providence in Calvin's spiritual history." The doctrine that "every thing must be subordinate to the glory of God" is represented in very much the same spirit as being one of the peculiar and prominent truths of Calvinism. In his account of the social and political condition of Geneva at the time of the Reformation, after giving a most deplorable picture of the moral state of the people among whom "reckless gaming, drunkenness, adultery, blasphemy, and all sorts of vice and wickedness abounded," he assures us that "*the worship, such as it was, showed the cheerful side of religion, no eternal fiat of reprobation haunting the sinner with the thoughts of a doom which it was impossible to escape.*" While he thinks "it cannot be disputed that these vices and disorders demanded a large measure of reform" yet he is very severe on the "evangelical ministers" for going beyond the bounds of discretion, "confounding what was really innocent in the same anathema with what was fundamentally vicious;

cards, and dancing, plays and masquerades being absolutely prohibited as well as the graver vices before enumerated." We very much fear, by the way, that, if Mr. Dyer had had the reforming of Geneva, these "graver vices," and "the worship such as it was, showing the cheerful side of religion" would have continued until this day. Then we have such phrases as "the jargon peculiar to the elect," and "the nasal melody of our tabernacles," and others of like character, which every person of refined taste, whatever may be his theological views, will feel, are bad enough in a party pamphlet, but in a grave biography are utterly intolerable.

Let us now see in what colours our biographer paints the character of Calvin. Besides numberless inuendos of a most derogatory kind, there are positive charges brought against him, affecting his reputation, not only as a public man but also as a christian—charges which no one has hitherto ventured to make, unless such foul-mouthed calumniators as Bolsec and Balduin, who themselves had no character to lose. For example he accuses Calvin of aiming to become a party leader, he "*seems at this time (in 1532, when only twenty-three years old, and before he had published a single page) to have indulged the ambitious hope of becoming the head of the Reformed party in France.*" Unlike the bold and masculine Luther, he "*was more inclined to propagate his doctrines by stealth, and at a safe distance; though continually exhorting others to behave like martyrs, he was himself always disposed to fly at the first appearance of danger.*" Another "trait in his character which strongly contrasts with the bold and open conduct of Luther" was "the many disguises" in the shape of fictitious names to which Calvin resorted. Having occasion to refer a favour formerly conferred on one who had shamefully entreated him, Mr. Dyer sets this down to the score of "*meanness.*" Perhaps it was the bias derived from the discovery of this trait that induced him to regard Calvin's salary of about fifty dollars a year as on the whole "respectable," and to omit all mention of the fact that when the council sent him supplementary donations of money, wheat, wood and wine, he always sent back the first and insisted upon paying for the latter articles. Another point of difference be-

tween Luther and Calvin, consisted in the amount of "personal importance which the latter arrogated to himself. The respect and submission exacted by him far exceeded that claimed by other spiritual guides. The most *trifling slights and insults* such as most men would overlook with contempt, he *pursued with bitterness and acrimony.*" Again, we are told that "if Calvin was not *exactly Pope*," he was "at least the Bishop of Geneva," having "usurped the perpetual presidency of the consistory" and offered to make Beza his successor—a story that comes through a very suspicious channel, the pages of the veracious Brandt. More than this—"he did not scruple to place the leaders of the Reformation, among whom he claimed a place, *on a level* with the Evangelists."

Dark and repulsive as are the traits of character enumerated above—ambition, cowardice, meanness, jealous sense of personal importance, usurpation of authority, there are worse features still. Not only did he eagerly grasp at absolute power, but he "determined to uphold his scheme of ecclesiastical discipline *without much regard to the means* which he used for that purpose." Among these were "mean subterfuges," "duplicity," "mental reservation" in the matter of oaths, "a rather pliant conscience," "disingenuousness" on so many occasions that it seems to have become a sort of incurable habit. Nay more, so thoroughly had his relentless logic or his towering ambition banished from his nature all the gentler virtues that he could relish the burning of heretics at Geneva with a *glacé* not inferior to that of an inquisitor at Rome; he could out of pure personal revenge pursue his enemies to the death; he could even participate in the plots and persecutions of other lands. Our biographer goes into what he would have his readers consider as a historical argument, to prove the high probability, that Calvin had a hand in the death of Joan of Kent, during the Protectorate of Somerset, in 1552, and the almost certainty, that he was in some way implicated in the assassination of the Duke of Guise in 1563.

Such are the colours in which Mr. Dyer paints the character of Calvin. We have transferred them to our pages simply because they will enable our readers to judge of the spirit by which the book before us is pervaded. If it were in the least

necessary, and our limits allowed of it, we might add other illustrations of the animus of Mr. Dyer, derived from the manner in which he deals with the notoriously false and the foul calumnies published by such men as Bolsec. Thus, for instance, he is at pains to record that Bolsec had charged Calvin with having made an attempt upon the chastity of a Madame De Fallais, and the bald conclusion of his tedious logic that fills the greater part of a page is, that the charge is not proven! As Bolsec was not only a bitter enemy of Calvin, but a convicted liar, we are gravely assured that "his authority must not be lightly taken; nevertheless it *seems probable* that such a report was in circulation at the time!" No man could write in this style, on such a topic, who has a proper respect for Calvin. We deem it quite a needless task to discuss in detail these affirmations respecting the character of the Reformer, for in most cases they are the mere dicta of the biographer which he does not pretend to support by historical proof; while in the few instances in which he does attempt to confirm his charges, as of Calvin's complicity in the assassination of the Duke of Guise and the judicial murder of Joan of Kent, every candid reader of the letters on which his argument is based, will see that there is not a shadow of evidence.

We are not as we have before stated in the least apprehensive as to the effect of these disparaging statements, in modifying the high estimate which the Protestant world at large is beginning to form of the merits of the Genevan reformer; they will damage Mr. Dyer's volume, far more than the memory of Calvin. Besides revealing the strong prejudices of the biographer, they evince a degree of ignorance very ill becoming one who presumes to correct the mistakes and supply the deficiencies of a work like Dr. Henry's—the fruit of the labours and researches of many years. If, for example, he had examined as closely as he should have done, the matter of Calvin's assumption of fictitious names, he would have found that Luther himself did the same thing on one occasion, the only one during his public career when he was exposed to personal danger; he would have discovered that in most cases Calvin resorted to this disguise from a considerate regard for the welfare of others rather than to secure himself from peril. During his

journey into Italy he no doubt took the name of Espeville as a safe-guard against the myrmidons of the Inquisition ; but the publication of the first edition of his Institutes under the name of Alcuin could have had no other motive than the wish that it might reach and be read by persons, who would perhaps have turned from it in disgust, had they known who was its author. The other names are appended to letters written long after his settlement at Geneva, where Calvin himself was in no danger ; but many of his correspondents resided in countries where Romanism was still dominant, and they would have been subjected to very serious trouble, if it had been known that they were in communication with the Reformer. But let us pass from these subordinate incidents, and see how Mr. Dyer handles the more important facts of Calvin's life.

One of the earliest contests into which Calvin was drawn after his settlement at Geneva was that with Caroli. This man was at one time a doctor of the Sorbonne, but having been charged with heresy, he fled from Paris, and joined the Protestants. Becoming speedily discontented with his new position, he reconciles himself to the Romish church, again relapses, escapes into Switzerland, and after a temporary settlement at Geneva and at Neufchatel, is chosen one of the Pastors of Berne. Here he soon proved himself to be a vain, fickle, ambitious hypocrite, eager in the pursuit of popularity and power. Having been thwarted in some of his schemes, and knowing that Farel and Viret were aware of his real character, he began to meditate schemes of vengeance. An opportunity soon occurred for the display of his malice. In one of his sermons he insisted upon the necessity of prayers for the dead, an offence for which he was summoned before the consistory of Berne. Though Calvin and Viret who were present interposed on his behalf, he arose, and to the surprise of every one charged them and Farel with Arianism. To investigate this accusation a Synod was summoned to meet at Lausanne, and a few months later a still larger one assembled at Berne ; by both of which Caroli was condemned and by the latter, deposed. Calvin, in the name of his brethren gave in a confession of their faith, which was declared to be satisfactory, but Caroli objected to it because the terms Trinity and Person

were not used, and insisted that they should subscribe the Nicene and Athanasian creeds—a demand with which they refused to comply, not from any objection to the creeds, but because they could not recognise the right of Caroli to make the requisition, and as they had already given ample satisfaction to the Synod as to their soundness in the faith.

The conclusion of this affair we will give in Mr. Dyer's own words. "It must, however, be confessed that Farel and Calvin's subsequent conduct with regard to the doctrine was not only amenable to the charge of obstinacy and self-will but even of duplicity. They still continued to object to the use of the words Trinity and Person, and even wished to force their views on some of the ministers." On this, we have to observe that the whole story is told by our biographer in a manner so confused and bungling as to make it impossible for his reader to conceive how Farel and Calvin could have laid themselves open to such charges. On one page we find them exculpated by acclamation, and their accuser deposed as a base calumniator, on the very next they are guilty of obstinacy and duplicity for holding views as to certain words, against which not a whisper had been heard in the Synod. In the next place we observe that Mr. Dyer lays himself open to a charge as heavy as that which he so gratuitously brings against Calvin. He talks about Calvin's views, and forcing his views upon others, when he knew perfectly well that he held no peculiar views respecting the technicalities in question. Farel had some difficulty in regard to them, but Calvin never objected to their use; what he did object to is thus stated by himself in a letter dated 30th August, 1537—"Tantum nolebamus hoc tyrannidis exemplum in ecclesiam induci, ut is hæreticus haberetur qui non ad alterius præscriptionem loqueretur. Cum ille (Caroli) strenue contenderet neminem Christianum esse sine tribus symbolis."

To avoid the censure inflicted upon him Caroli fled from Berne, and continuing to propagate his impudent calumnies, he for a time succeeded in awakening suspicions of the orthodoxy of the Genevan ministers, in various parts of Switzerland and Germany, which occasioned Calvin no little trouble. But of all this our candid and impartial biographer says not a word.

Having disposed of Caroli's affair, Mr. Dyer reverts to a subject on which he had already expended a number of pages, viz: "the efforts made by Farel and Calvin to establish their schemes of Church Government at Geneva. These proved very unpalatable to the great body of the people. As early as September, 1536, many of the principal citizens protested to the Council against the reproofs of the ministers." To substantiate this latter statement he is at particular pains to quote in a foot note, the Registers of date 4th September, 1536. It would have been much more to the purpose if he had condescended to explain to his readers what these "schemes of church government" were; this he neglects to do, perhaps for the very good reason that he had not a clear understanding of them himself. All that he says on the subject, in this connexion is, that Farel with the help of Calvin had drawn up a confession of 21 articles, comprising some regulations respecting church government, and that "among the latter the *right of excommunication* was the most important, as it subsequently became the *chief instrument of Calvin's spiritual domination*." From this statement the reader might naturally infer that Calvin had succeeded in getting "the right of excommunication" vested in himself. But we refer to this part of the narrative mainly, because it shows how determined Mr. Dyer is, to make Calvin the author of all the troubles at Geneva, in palpable violation of dates recorded on his own pages. Dates are dangerous things for a careless historian to deal with. In a note, in which our author's desire to display a little historic lore seems to have got the better of his discretion, the date of the popular protest against the schemes and reproofs of Calvin and Farel is 4 September, 1536. Now Calvin came to Geneva in the latter part of August 1536; for many months after his arrival there he refused to accept of any office which would have tied him to the place; his first sermon—as Mr. Dyer himself tells us in an earlier part of his book—awakened such enthusiasm that vast numbers attended him from the church to his lodging. How a man who could hardly be induced to listen to the call from Geneva, whose mind, for many months, was in a state of anxious suspense as to his duty, could be at the very same time

concocting schemes of spiritual domination, and within the first week after his arrival could excite such lively enthusiasm, and such earnest opposition, is a problem which we are quite unable to solve.

The limits of this article forbid a minute examination of Mr. Dyer's account of Calvin's controversy with Bolsec on the subject of Predestination. In the whole course of the narrative it is very manifest on the one hand, that the author's sympathies are decidedly on the side of Bolsec, and on the other, that his fitness to discuss the merits of the Calvinistic system is precisely such as might be looked for in one who belongs to the Tomline school of theologians. Bolsec was originally a Carmelite monk, but having been forced to leave Paris, his place of abode—on account of a rather free expression of his opinion on matters of religion, he repaired to Italy, and for a short time was under the patronage of the Duchess of Ferrara. Here he married, and entered the medical profession. Beza asserts that he was expelled from Ferrara for having practised some deception upon his patroness; but as Beza's authority does not stand high with our author, while Bolsec, either on the score of his enmity to Calvin, or to the doctrine of Predestination is somewhat of a favourite, he deems the fact of the expulsion quite doubtful. Bolsec, on quitting Ferrara, established himself at Geneva, as a physician; and as he succeeded in gaining the acquaintance of some of the leading people there, our logical biographer infers that "his character must have been fair." He forgets, however, that in that age as in this a man moving from place to place, might easily keep in advance of his character, and that as physicians were not so numerous as now, it is not likely that those who needed Bolsec's services would stop to inquire about his morals. Be this as it may, he was not long in Geneva "before he began to question *Calvin's doctrine* of Predestination. He could scarcely have committed a more unpardonable offence."

The matter was taken up by the consistory, and as Bolsec at first tried to hide his errors under a cloud of ambiguous terms, a set of questions was proposed to him, bearing directly on the subject in dispute, and calculated to draw from him his real sentiments respecting it. In the whole process,

Calvin is exhibited as the only antagonist of Bolsec, and he is denounced as guilty of gross inconsistency for subjecting the latter to a kind of inquisition, which, he had stoutly opposed when applied to himself by Caroli. Yet the documents from which Mr. Dyer quotes, bear upon their very face the proof that the two cases of Caroli and Bolsec were entirely unlike. In the former, a captious question about a technical term is put by a single individual; by a man convicted of grave offences, to another who had already furnished the most satisfactory evidence of soundness in the faith. In the latter, a set of queries on an important doctrine, and prepared with great care is proposed to a man of doubtful orthodoxy, not by Calvin, but by the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory of Geneva. Of these questions, three are quoted by Mr. Dyer, which, says he "will serve by way of specimen of the *spiritual tyranny* exercised by Calvin." The answers of Bolsec, are described as "breathing a more humble and Christian-spirit." The absurdity of illustrating the spiritual tyranny of Calvin in this way, will be obvious to any one who inspects the paper of queries as given by Dr. Henry. There are seventeen questions in all, following each other in close logical order. It is quite easy to make the doctrine of the queries to assume a most repulsive aspect, by quoting two or three of the questions at random. And this is precisely what Mr. Dyer has done, with the evident design of inducing his readers to believe that the doctrine which Calvin taught, and for rejecting which Bolsec was condemned, was just this, that God created men simply to damn them.

Besides the account of the personal controversy between Calvin and Bolsec, our biographer favours us with a kind of natural history of the doctrine of Predestination, "the founder" of which, was Augustine. "Hume" says he, "has somewhere traced the doctrine of absolute decrees to a spirit of enthusiasm" an opinion, which, Mr. Dyer cordially adopts, though he does not condescend to give the grounds of his and Mr. Hume's sentiment, nor does he explain the nature of the connexion between the spirit of enthusiasm and the doctrine of decrees. Now this is a very serious omission, especially as the authority of Mr. Hume, on such a point as the genesis of

a religious doctrine, does not stand very high among Christians. The necessity of such an explanation becomes quite imperative after advancing a little in our history; for while at the outset Mr. Hume and Mr. Dyer jointly declare that the doctrine of decrees is the product of the spirit of enthusiasm, we are soon after assured by Mr. Dyer that "Calvin was singularly *free from superstition and enthusiasm*, and probably it was to this quality of mind that we must ascribe the adoption of the doctrine."

Without following our author through his history, let us come at once to his view of the doctrine itself as maintained by Calvin. "Minds equally pious and acute as his own," says he "viewed with horror its incompatibility with the attributes of God, as known to us both from reason and revelation." "That God should call all, yet elect only a few; that he should send his Son into the world to suffer an ignominious death for the purpose of saving those whose fate had been decided before the foundation of the world, and thus to effect a redemption by which nobody was redeemed; that he who is essentially just and merciful should consign one portion of his creation to eternal misery solely from caprice, or at all events, for sins which he would have necessitated them to commit, as if he were the cause of guilt and evil," &c. By penning such a passage, and gravely proposing it as a condensed summary of Calvin's scheme of Predestination, Mr. Dyer shows, either that he has never read the writings of Calvin, or that if he has examined them, it has been to very little purpose. It were a pure waste of time, to discuss such a palpable caricature of the Calvinistic doctrine. And yet with all "these horrible and revolting" features of Calvin's scheme, and beset as it is with difficulties, Mr. Dyer confesses that "*it afforded him an opportunity to insist on the duty of humility and entire submission to the will of God*,"—"there was nothing positively incomprehensible about it, nor were there wanting many texts of Scripture, and *especially in the writings of St. Paul*, which he could quote in its support and justification."

If Mr. Dyer had studied Calvin's own writings, with the simple aim to ascertain his opinions, instead of trusting to the accuracy of Tomline's account of them, it is barely possi-

ble that even he might have suggested objections, not unworthy the consideration of those who regard the Calvinistic system as accordant with the word of God. But the preceding extracts exhibit the old and oft repeated caricature of the doctrine of Predestination, and for this reason we should not deem it deserving of serious discussion, even if we had ample room to expound and defend the views of the Reformer. No sensible man can assent to the self contradictory proposition that "God sent his Son for the purpose of saving those whose fate had been decided before the foundation of the world;" and whoever else may have taught that "God consigns one portion of his creation to eternal misery solely from caprice," it is very certain that Calvin never did. We can pardon the ignorant declaimer who has never seen a volume of Calvin, and who could not read a page of one, if it were put into his hands, for asserting that this is Calvinism; but we shall leave it to our readers to determine for themselves, in what light a biographer should be viewed, who can gravely write such obviously absurd statements, and deliberately publish them.

From what has been already said, our readers will be prepared to judge in advance of the way in which Mr. Dyer tells the melancholy story of Servetus. In his hands, it certainly loses none of those horrid features, which the enemies of Calvin have been so careful to give it. He addresses himself to the task of narrating it with a manifest and hearty good will, the history of the affair fills a large portion of his book, and its most minute details are laboriously spread out before us. He represents Calvin as holding sentiments on the subject of the punishment of heretics pre-eminent for "their atrocity" even in that age, and as far as he can, he keeps out of sight the notorious fact that all the distinguished men of that day held the dogma that gross heresy was deserving of death. No one in these days pretends to vindicate the conduct of Calvin in this affair; but to hold him up as a special object of indignation, while unjust in any one, is monstrous injustice in a member of the church of which Cranmer was one of the fathers and founders.

Mr. Dyer professes to derive his account of Calvin's inter-

course with Servetus from Mosheim's "*Ketzer Geschichte*" and Trechsel's "*Anti Trinitarier*," both of which works if not dictated by avowed hostility to Calvin, were written by men who had an antipathy to his doctrinal opinions, and which are necessarily imperfect, because the documentary evidence which the authors had before them was not complete. The more recent work of M. Rilliet published in 1844,* Mr. Dyer says—and we must confess to some surprise at the statement—he was unable to procure. Its author is not a Calvinist, but he is a man of candour; his work is based upon original documents, some of which were long supposed to be lost; and he has given from unquestionable and authentic sources, all the circumstances connected with the melancholy event of Servetus' trial, which the impartial student of history needs in order to determine the measure of blame belonging to the several parties concerned in it. M. Rilliet exhausts this much disputed topic; and though our readers will find in an earlier volume an article expressly devoted to it, we would gladly, if our limits allowed it, lay before them the results at some length, brought out in the small but masterly volume of the author just named. He shows most conclusively that Calvin was, at this time, very far from being "the almost Pope of Geneva," as Mr. Dyer asserts. The government of Geneva was then composed of men belonging to the two extreme parties, at the head of which were Perrin and Calvin, and the magistrates who held an intermediate position. These neutral councillors without being as openly hostile to the Reformer as the Perrinists, were by no means strongly attached to him. "They had not so eagerly," says M. Rilliet, "espoused the cause of the Captain-general as to forget that of the republic. These masters of the majority (the neutrals) were less occupied with what might promote or thwart the wishes of Calvin, than with what menaced the vital interests of the republic. The unanimity of the Swiss churches in condemning Servetus—his attacks against doctrines till then held sacred in every communion—the promises of justice

* Its title is, "*Relation du Procès Criminel Intente a Genève en 1553, contre Michel Servet, redigée d' apres les Documents originaux, par A. Rilliet.*"

given to the magistrates of Vienne—the exhortation to severity from those of Zurich and Berne—the troubles which the partisans of novel opinions had already produced in the churches of the Reformation—all these contributed to separate the guilt of Servetus from his rivalry with Calvin in the minds of his judges—to make them forget the theologian, and think only of the criminal.” After examining all existing documents with the dispassionate accuracy of a judge, M. Rilliet declares with reference to the final action of the council, that Calvin was not only not the instigator, he was not even consulted. “Local considerations disappeared before the general welfare; or if they had any influence, it was to make the council comprehend that after having punished the heretic they would be placed in *better circumstances for resisting the ecclesiastical pretensions of the Reformer.*” If any confirmation of this view were necessary, it is to be found in the fact that Calvin and his colleagues in vain put forth all their efforts to change the nature of the punishment of Servetus. “The judicial usage triumphed over the request of Calvin. It is to him notwithstanding, that men have always imputed the guilt of that funeral pile, which he wished had never been reared!”

In the true spirit of that “moderation and impartiality” by which, says Mr. Dyer the present age should be distinguished, but of which, as we think we have shown, his own volume evinces a sad deficiency, M. Rilliet closes his discussion with an observation which we must not omit. “Viewed by our own consciences, which the faults of the past have enlightened, the sentence is odious; according to law it is just.—Let us deplore the sentence of the judges, without attacking their motives; for we could not do so except by profiting by a privilege which was refused to them—*the benefit of time.*” We shall only add that these conclusions arrived at by a man who has no sympathy for the creed of Calvin, after diligent and impartial examination of all the original documents, are just the reverse of those which Mr. Dyer has been pleased to put forth. He labours throughout the whole of his long chapter on this subject, to show that Calvin was the ruling spirit of the scene—prompted by a desire for personal revenge as much as by a

zeal for theological truth—stimulating the flagging efforts of the councillors—acting with doubtful sincerity when seeking to commute the punishment—and finally exciting the horror even of Farel by his bloody bigotry; we apprehend that our readers will not find it a difficult matter to decide which of these opposite conclusions bear the stamp of truth.

As we stated in the outset of this article, our aim has been not so much to defend the character of Calvin, as to show that the volume before us, as a biography of the Reformer is worthless, that it is pervaded by a spirit of prejudice against him, and that its apparent if not real object is to disparage his reputation. Calvin was neither infallible nor faultless; he was not exempt from error in opinion, nor from mistakes in conduct. He had his infirmities like other men and other Christians. Strange indeed would it have been if amid his incessant labours, and his almost incessant sickness, his earnest struggles against the libertines of Geneva and his many contests with the opposers of God's truth, he had never uttered a hasty word, nor displayed a ruffled temper. It is idle to look anywhere on earth for such a miracle of equanimity. But those who knew him best loved him most; the bitter tears shed by men unused to weep, as they stood around his dying bed, and heard the last echoes of his potent yet kind voice, were the tokens of an affection of no common tenderness. He was hailed by his own age—"the great divine"—"the theologian;" and there are in our own days, many indications that the time is not distant when the predictive poetry of Buchanan respecting him, shall be completely fulfilled.

Non tamen omnino potuit mors invida totum
Tallere Calvinum terris; aeterna manebunt
Ingenii monumenta tui; et livoris iniqui
Linguida paulatim cum flamma residerit, omnes
Religio qua pura nitet se fundet in oras
Fama tua.

ART. V.—*The Life of Luther ; with Special Reference to its Earlier Periods, and the Opening Scenes of the Reformation.*

By Barnas Sears, D. D. Philadelphia. American Sunday School Union. 1850. 12mo. & 18mo. pp. 528.

THERE is certainly not in our language, if indeed in any other, a compendious Life of Luther, which is so truly founded on original authorities as this. For certain purposes, and for a certain class of readers, Michelet's sprightly book is serviceable, and it is made up in a good degree of materials drawn from the Reformer's own times, and generally from his own words. But how is it possible for the great champion of gracious justification to be portrayed by one, however gifted or faithful, who has not the slightest love for his chief truths? The English biographies were in the first instance made out of the Latin annals; and for two centuries they have copied one another. Presbyterian scholars of the older sort are familiar with the names of the venerable works we mean; Spalatin, Myconius, Sleidan, Scultetus and Seckendorf, among historians; and Melancthon, Cochlaeus, Selnecker, and Melchior Adam, among biographers, strictly so called. We purposely omit those who wrote in German, from the excellent Mathecius downwards. To these our popular compilers have had small recourse, which may account for the loss of interest which has befallen every paragraph or utterance of Luther, which they introduce. Translations of translations have in some instances reduced the knotty, savoury sayings of Luther to the tamest platitudes, if not to sheer nonsense. What is worse, errors of fact have been propagated, in book after book, deviating more and more from the truth as the stream became more remote from the original sources. Large tracts of time, including momentous portions of experience, have been passed over in silence. External transactions of comparative insignificance, or apocryphal anecdotes, have filled the place which ought to have been occupied by the struggles of Luther out of the monkish cell into gospel liberty.

The case has indeed been different in Germany, especially since the celebration of the third centennary of the Reforma-

tion, which gave rise to a surprising number of works relating to that period. Within a few years many new biographies of Luther have appeared, and the indefatigable German scholars and antiquaries have exemplified their herculean power of rummaging libraries, deciphering manuscripts and verifying dates. Shorter and livelier books have been issued, with and without illustrations, in profusion, with every diversity of tendency and predilection. To the proper biographies we must add all those church histories, general and special, which include the Reformation period; and the very literature of this one subject, as is well known, would fill a whole number of our work. Marheineke's *History of the Reformation*, a work without rival or parallel among modern objective histories, is in reality a life of Luther; and Merle d' Aubigné's excellent volumes give more space to the topic than to any other. Yet, with the exception of the last, English literature has sustained little modification from all these streams of continental discovery, and presents nothing better than the honest but cumbrous accumulations of the Milners and their continuator. We have intimated, moreover, that, with scarcely an exception, the English memoirs, even when most elaborate, derive all their material in the way of extract and correspondence from writings in the Latin language. How well soever this might do, in cases where Luther and his coevals wrote in Latin, it plainly left untouched that greater and richer magazine of works and letters in his incomparable and untranslatable German. Even after the appearance of the entire correspondence of Luther, as edited by De Wette with singular care and skill of critical collation,* and after repeated editions of his works, including that of the late lamented and pious Otto von Gerlach, the English press, teeming with reprints and epitomes, brought to light no single biography drawn from direct and thorough research. England, it may safely be said, has no such work; and for the nearest approach to it she, as well as America, must be indebted to the American Sunday School Union.

The author of this memoir is an eminent minister of the Baptist Church in Massachusetts, well known both as a pro-

* See Review in our volume for 1830, p. 504.

fessor and editor, and also by numerous publications connected with literary subjects. For any work relating to the Evangelical Churches of the Continent he may claim a fitness possessed by few in America; for he enjoyed remarkable advantages in some of the German capitals of learning and theology, and has added to the stores thus acquired by assiduous study, directed particularly to the numerous works connected with the German Reformation. We ought to add that he has one qualification which has been wanting in most who have previously undertaken to deal with the life of the Reformers, to wit, a thorough acquaintance with the structure and development of the German language, founded on the examination of its more ancient form. How necessary this will be apparent to those who reflect that by far the larger part of the documents to be consulted for such a work as this are not only in this tongue, but in that transition-form of it, which marks the passage to the newer German, to which Luther above all men gave the forming hand. In every part of Dr. Sears's labours, we have occasion to verify this statement, in observing the exactness of his apprehension, his discrimination of words, his recognition of idioms no longer prevalent, and his adroit exactness in giving the corresponding English phrases. If he sometimes fails, it is in the attempt to achieve what we regard as an impossibility, the reproduction of old German diction by similar archaisms in English, the consequence being a mingling of the style of two or even three different periods.

This is, so far as we remember, the most elegant typographical product of the Sunday School press, being adorned with steel engravings, besides more than twenty vignettes and other illustrations in the letter-press. The portrait of Luther is the most agreeable we have ever seen. Those of his wife and of Melancthon are little less so; both appear to be from plates executed in Germany. The interior of Luther's chamber is worthy of being purchased separately. Then we have, from an authentic source, views of the Augusteum or University showing Melancthon's house; Luther's old monastery; the parochial church of Wittenberg; the castle of Wartburg, and the Reformer's famous seal.

It is pleasing to observe how fully and zealously Dr. Sears takes the side of orthodox Christianity in his narrative. Even where there is no heresy, nor even error, a biographer may betray the cause by artful selection, disproportionate amplification, in a word by the *suppressio veri*. In these respects the author gives the chief place to religion, to saving truth, and to those parts of truth which are the object of faith, and which, as he shows, were the germinating principles of the Lutheran Reformation. Hence his account of the young Reformer's experience, on all those points which tended to make him a reformer, is searching and complete beyond what we have anywhere read. And the friends of old-time theology will be rejoiced to know that a book for the youth of America (perhaps of other countries) gives no uncertain sound on the vital subjects of original sin, atonement and justification. It is surprising to find that after several centuries of research so many errors should be still copied from book to book, respecting the early life and conversion of the reformer. These are corrected in numerous instances by the author, and in such a way as to remove all doubt. In much of this service he has been aided by the indefatigable research of Jürgens, whose work on Luther has extended to three octavo volumes. Among points of interest, thus cleared by Dr. Sears, may be specified the worldly condition of Luther's father, misapprehended by Michelet; the relations of the young monk to Staupitz; and the dates and stages of his gradual illumination.

The only dissatisfaction which any reader will be likely to feel, is that there is a certain disproportion in the parts of the work, the last twenty years being despatched in less than sixty pages, out of five hundred, as the law of the composition. This is fairly avowed in the title page, where we are told it is "with special reference to its earlier periods and the opening scenes of the reformation." There are also several obvious reasons why this course should have been pursued, among which is the fact that the whole of Luther's later life presents him in a new character, in consequence of the polemics induced by the sacramentarian differences. As a whole, the work is one which takes a high rank among the biographies of Luther, and promises to be the instrument of incalculable good, in the promotion of evangelical orthodoxy.

ART. VI.—*The General Assembly.*

The General Assembly of our Church met, agreeably to appointment, in the Central Church in Cincinnati, May 16, 1850. The Rev. Nicholas Murray, D.D., Moderator of the last Assembly preached the opening sermon from Ephesians v. 25-27. The Rev. A. W. Leland, D.D., of South Carolina, was elected Moderator, and Rev. W. W. Eells, of Newburyport, Mass. was chosen temporary Clerk.

Memorial to Congress.

The Rev. Dr. R. I. Breckinridge moved on the morning of Friday May 17th, that a committee be appointed to prepare a memorial to Congress expressing the views of the Assembly and of Presbyterians generally respecting the preservation of the National Union and the Federal Constitution.

“Dr. Breckinridge said that he presumed there could be no dissenting opinion here or in the United States, that such a movement is timely and proper. Ordinarily it is doubtless best that the Church of Christ should keep as far as possible from all the political agitations of the day, but great crises may arise when the danger is so imminent and so much is at stake, that it would be criminal neglect of duty for the Church to withhold the expression of its opinion and wishes. Such a crisis is now impending. It is not certain that it can be averted. If it does come, and the result so much to be deplored is accomplished, it would be the greatest calamity that could befall this country, and God’s people, next to the extirpation of the Christian religion from the earth.

“Our Church occupies a peculiar position: extending into almost every State, and stretching over the whole country; embracing slaveholders and non-slaveholders; yet it has remained united; while other churches have failed to maintain the Union, we have succeeded. We are therefore in a position to say decidedly that the Union may be preserved. What we have done for one hundred and fifty years, may be done hereafter. Let us not dictate, but respectfully express our opinion that this great calamity which may be averted, ought to

be averted, and that we look to Congress and to God to avert it.

The subject was made the order of the day for Monday next, at three o'clock.

In the afternoon, however, the vote to make this subject the order of the day for Monday, was reconsidered and Dr. Breckinridge's resolution was called up. Its adoption was opposed by Dr. Spencer, Messrs. Hervey, Dickey, Reynolds, Barber, and Indge Fine. The last mentioned gentleman moved the indefinite postponement of the subject. The principal grounds of opposition insisted upon were, first that the Union was in no real danger, and secondly, that it was inexpedient for church courts to meddle with politics. The resolution was advocated by its mover and Mr. Mosely, on the ground that the Union is in real danger, and that the Church was bound to exert its influence in averting so great a calamity as the disruption of the states. The motion for postponement prevailed, yeas 103, nays 79.

Church Music.

The committee previously appointed on this subject reported that unforeseen circumstances had delayed the publication of the book of church music which had been reported to the last Assembly. After some debate the committee was continued with powers.

Cheap Religious Newspaper.

A committee on this subject had been appointed by the last Assembly, from which two reports were presented, one in favour, and the other in opposition to the establishment of such a paper. We have actually expressed our opinion as adverse to the plan of the Assembly attempting to provide a paper to be under its control and patronage. A desire to gratify those who were in favour of the scheme, and the conviction that its public discussion would tend to settle the mind of the church on the subject, induced us to insert in a recent number of this Journal an elaborate paper from one of the most prominent advocates of the measure. Our own convictions of the impolicy and impracticability of any such enterprise have been

strengthened by reading the debates in the Assembly; and having as an act of courtesy presented to our readers in a former number, all that could be said in its favour, we think it proper to devote the few pages at our command on this topic to a statement of the leading objections to it, as they were urged on the Assembly. Some of these objections are given in a condensed form in the report presented by the Rev. Dr. Lord, of Philadelphia, which we insert in full. Dr. Lord said he concurred in the views of the majority of committee in opposition to the establishment of such a paper:

“1. Because he believes the measure pecuniarily impracticable, unless the proposed paper shall be also cheap in respects far more essential than the price of subscription, that all calculations founded on the presumption of obtaining forty thousand subscribers, and their undeviating prepayment, so as to avoid all loss, are, if plausible, deceptive, and would be proved so by experience.

“2. Because he is entirely opposed to taxing the church at large, as the friends of the measure propose, for the establishment of such a paper, as it would unnecessarily multiply collections, and interfere with the success of those which are absolutely necessary to carry forward efficiently the Institutions of the church, while it is probable, that one half the sum which it is contemplated thus to raise, would be sufficient to supply the really poor with any one of the local papers now established.

“3. Because he believes that religious newspapers can be best sustained by private enterprise, and that to interfere with such enterprise by an attempt at centralization in a colossal church establishment, would be unpopular, anti-republican, injurious to individuals and dangerous to the church itself. If successful in breaking down such enterprise, it would become dangerous to the church, by having thus removed the various sentinels which now stand and watch on the walls of our Zion.

“4. Because he is convinced that the idea and practice of cheapness may be carried too far, that its moral effect on the church may prove injurious, that there are too many ready to avail themselves of the Assembly's sanction of the principle

to carry it out in its application to other matters besides a weekly paper; and that, in the end, this cheapness falls heavily on the labouring classes. Capitalists and employers are not first nor chiefly affected by the reduction of prices. They can save themselves, at least to some extent, by a corresponding reduction of wages. The real and oppressive operation of the thing is on those who do the work. It grinds the face of the poor. And the evils of this cheap system are already becoming great, in our country. The church should have nothing to do with it, except to condemn it. That benevolence which lives by exactions on the bones and sinews of the poor, is a heaven provoking enormity.

"5. Because the proposed measure involves great if not insuperable practical difficulties of this kind,—such as would arise in the choice of a competent editor, the embarrassment to which he would be subject in pursuing an impartial and independent course, while constrained by his position to speak for all, when at the same time there must and will be among them diversity of sentiment; the constant and often unpleasant discussions which a review of his course would occasion in the Assembly, year after year, engendering strife instead of harmony.

"6. Because the Assembly itself would be placed by the proposed measure in an improper and wrong position.

"First, by being liable in law, or in honour, for such pecuniary deficiencies or obligations as the want of sufficient patronage or the occurrence of reverses which no sagacity can always guard against might originate; and,

"Second, by being really responsible for the character of the paper, whilst its actual control over it could be only infrequent and imperfect.

"Such is the mere outline of the reasons, stated not argued, in view of which the undersigned feels himself constrained to concur in the report of the majority."

To this we subjoin an outline of the remarks of the Rev. Dr. Hoge, who said,

"1. He believed that the experiment of establishing a newspaper for the church would prove to be a failure. It would meet with such decided opposition from all other papers now

in existence, that it would be unable to get such a circulation as would be necessary to ensure its support.

"2. Such a paper with the seal and impress of the Assembly, is undesirable in itself. Here would be the one paper as the organ of the church, and the others avowedly in opposition to the Assembly. The peace and unity of the church would be thus destroyed, and perhaps the disruption of the church would be the result.

"3. The operation of the church paper would be dangerous to the order and purity of the church. It may be beautiful in theory, but we are old enough to know that theories, however beautiful and dazzling, may be worthy of the severest condemnation. However much may be said of the supervision to be exercised we may be sure that it will be made the organ of a party. What would have been its power for evil twelve or fifteen years ago? and who knows but there may arise, and soon, another state of things, rendering it equally dangerous and disastrous? I am no prophet, but I venture to say, in ten years a party will arise that might destroy that organ.

"4. It is impracticable to sustain such a paper. There is not such a unity of mind and binding together of opinion in our church as to make such a paper successful. It is a free church; freedom of mind and thought is characteristic of our church: and the press must be free. You cannot place it under restrictions, without destroying its utility. It is said we may as well control the newspaper, as books and tracts. But there is an essential difference. These boards are to express opinions on specific subjects. The contrary is true of the periodical press. It must have freedom to put forth its opinions on all subjects, at all times. Otherwise it ceases to be valuable, and becomes decidedly mischievous.

"5. Leaving out of view the idea of establishing *one* paper, and taking that of exercising control over all Presbyterian papers, I have only to say, that it would be vexatious and troublesome, fettering the mind of the church, and in the end would be intolerable. I think the church exercises as much control now as is desirable. If the ministers and members do not like the way a paper is conducted, they may stop its circulation among them. This is control enough.

“6. Differing from some brethren, I do allege that our religious newspapers are at too high a price to come within the means of a large part of our families. True they might deny themselves some luxuries and take a paper. But this we cannot expect them to do. And I do know families who cannot find the means to pay for a paper at three dollars a year. If you would have these papers widely circulated, you must put them at a price that will bring them within the means of the people.”

Judging from the course of the debate the prevailing sentiment of the Assembly seemed to be very generally and strongly against the proposed plan. In a spirit of concession, however, the following resolutions were finally adopted.

Resolved, That while the General Assembly is at present unprepared to take any step towards the establishment of a religious paper or papers designed for more general circulation, especially to meet the wants of families living in the remoter sections of the church, and enjoying the means of grace only in a limited degree, still it does regard such a work as full of momentous results, and worthy of the most serious and prayerful consideration.

Resolved, That the whole subject be recommended to the careful consideration of the churches, and that a committee be appointed to make it a matter of further investigation and inquiry, and report the results to the next General Assembly Resolutions adopted.

Under this resolution, the following committee was appointed:

Rev. Dr. McGill, Rev. Mr. Barber, Rev. Dr. J. W. Alexander, Rev. Dr. W. L. Breckinridge, and Mr. J. D. Thorpe, to which were added, on motion, Rev. Mr. Hamill and Rev. Dr. McKinley.

Foreign Missions.

The committee on this subject made the following report which was adopted.

The committee to whom was referred the Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, submit to the Assembly the follow-

ing statement and propositions, as to the results of their examination of that important and impressive document.

“The General Assembly recognize with a deep sense of gratitude to the Great Head of the Church, the marked tokens of His special favour on this good and great work during the past year. Our Missionaries have been protected in the midst of great perils—the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noonday. On one of our stations, the Spirit of God has been poured out in special effusions, and the hearts of our Missionaries greatly encouraged in beholding the work of the Lord prospering in their hand. We have manifest evidence of an increase of interest amongst our people in this work. For these indications of the care of our Heavenly Father, and his benediction on the cause committed to our care, we desire to feel the obligations we are under to thank God, and to engage with increased zeal and energy in furthering the work. In accordance with the facts and statements above alluded to, we recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

“1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly call the special attention of the members and elders of the churches to the pressing want of additional labourers among the Indian tribes; and they would express their earnest hope, that during the year this want may be fully supplied.

2. “*Resolved*, That the Assembly view with satisfaction the commencement of a system of thorough education for the youth of Liberia. And they hereby direct the Board to proceed as fast as means may be afforded in the erection of suitable College buildings, and in the endowments of Professorships and Scholarships, in sufficient numbers to meet the growing wants of this infant Republic; and for this purpose the Board are hereby authorised to open a separate account for such donations in aid of this object as may be made by the friends of education in Liberia.

“3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly record their thanksgiving to God for his blessing upon the labours of our brethren in the great Missionary fields of India, Siam, and China; and they would earnestly exhort the churches to sustain these important missions by enlarged donations, and especially by

earnest and importunate prayer for the presence and helping of the Holy Spirit, without which all human agency will be in vain.

"4. *Resolved*, That the present condition and wants of Papal Europe demand the increased attention and exertions of the Board, and that the Assembly call the attention of the Churches to this most interesting field and urge them to more prayer and effort, and that the already weakened power of the Man of Sin be utterly destroyed, and his followers be brought into the glorious light and liberty of the children of God. And the Assembly would urge upon the Churches, that their donations for this purpose be made through their own Board, as the most economical and appropriate mode of communication with our Evangelical brethren in Europe.

"5. *Resolved*, That Missions among the Jews have a peculiar claim upon the prayers and patronage of God's people.

"6. *Resolved*, That the report of the Board be approved and referred to the Executive Committee for publication."

The Hon. Walter Lowrie, Secretary of the Board, made a very interesting statement as to its operations and prospects. He first presented the condition of the Indian tribes, among whom the missions of the Board are established. There are but two objects that can induce men to go among these people: to make money or to do good, and it was found that the men whom the Government sent among them to educate them, were very unsuitable men to promote their spiritual welfare. To carry on missions among them, a large number of laymen are wanted, of suitable spirit to go there. Five tribes have been offered to us as fields of our labour, on this side of the Rocky Mountains, as well as on the other, and we can do nothing for them for want of suitable men and women to supply them. The means are furnished, and what we now want is the men to go. Africa, Western Africa, is now a field of great interest and importance. The missions are no longer experimental. In Liberia, they are aiding in laying the foundation of an educational system of permanent influence. They want a system to train not only a native ministry, but physicians and teachers for that field. We have an excellent school with fifty to seventy scholars taught by one of the

elders there. We are greatly in need of teachers for that mission. A young man educated for the ministry, had recently offered to go there as a teacher, and a man in the South had offered to give \$500, a year, for five years, to promote education in Liberia.

The missions in other parts of the country, were also exhibited, and it was greatly encouraging to hear of the prospects of usefulness in that part of the world.

Northern India.—Five young men are now ready to go to this field. Fifteen native students are in process of training for the ministry, and in a short time, the force will be doubled. Four printing presses are at work sending off ten millions of pages every year. The Secretary entered into and gave a most pathetic and impressive picture of heathenism there, especially the degradation of the female sex, and the influence of the example of social intercourse of the missionary and his wife upon the native population. He also discussed the propriety of missionaries returning home, and showed that when a man loses his health, it is, in all its aspects, desirable for the cause at home and abroad, that he should come back.

Siam.—It is a day of small things here, but an immense population is to be brought under the power of the gospel. We only need to extend our operations there to reach the most extensive system of superstition in the world.

China.—The mission here needs immediate enlargement, and the means to give the people the printed page should be greatly increased, he showed the wonderful results to be anticipated from the speedy communication now opening with China by the way of California.

Mr. Lowrie closed his statement, which was listened to with deep interest, by referring to Papal Europe, and showed the encouraging signs of the times in that field. He remarked that there was a strong tendency toward Presbyterianism among the reformed churches there, and he handed a letter to the Stated Clerk to read, from Brussels, showing the great encouragement there is, to prosecute our labours there, and gratitude for what has already been done.

Mr. Lowrie said we have a perfect organization to send money to Europe, and promote this work; but there is an-

other society that is aiming to do the same work, in the same field, and comes into our churches to solicit funds for its support. This produces confusion, and takes from our treasury a large amount of means that we should receive, and could most usefully employ. Some of our most respected brethren have taken decided grounds against the admission of these agents.

The Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge offered a resolution additional to those now before the Assembly, on foreign missions, requiring that an additional number of pages be set apart, in the Home and Foreign Record, for the Foreign Missionary Board.

The last Assembly had appointed a committee which had established a monthly periodical for all the Boards, and five pages only are allotted to the circulation of intelligence from our wide missionary field. It is not enough. The Board has far less facility and space for diffusing intelligence than formerly, and instead of diminishing she ought to enlarge her means of spreading the knowledge of her operations among the churches.

Dr. Van Rensselaer said that the committee of the last Assembly had not yet reported, and until the Assembly heard from it, no action ought to be had on this resolution. A contract had been made by which one private enterprise had been given up, and the Record for the church had been established, each Board agreeing to a certain number of pages for its own use in the paper. It would be unjust, he said, to the other Boards to order the enlargement of the space allotted to one, while the rest were restricted.

After some further conversation the subject was postponed. This is a complicated question. Two things however we presume will be generally admitted. First that the space at the command of the Foreign Board is altogether inadequate; and secondly, that from the nature of their operations it is not necessary or desirable that the Boards should be on an equality in this respect. It is evident, for example, that the Board of Foreign Missions must have far more to spread before the church, than the Board of Publication. At the same time, the additional space required by the former can hardly be

granted to it in the pages of the Record without injustice and injury to the other Boards. We understand the proposition of Dr. Breckinridge was modified so as to allow each of the Boards, at their discretion, to enlarge the space in the pages of the Record.

Domestic Missions.

The Rev. Mr. Happersett read the annual report of the Board of Missions of which the following is an abstract :

“Number of Missionaries, 570, who have laboured in twenty-five States, and in California and Oregon, and Minnesota. Additions on examination, 2500 ; Certificate, more than 2000 ; Churches organized, 60 ; Church edifices built, 140 ; Forty thousand children in Sabbath Schools. A large number of Bibles and tracts and books of the Board of Publication have been distributed. These Missionary churches have contributed about \$10,000 for Foreign and Domestic Missions. Encouraging reports of the observance of the Sabbath, and also the cause of Temperance, have been received. In California a Presbytery has been formed, and two churches organized, and the houses of worship sent out to the brethren there.”

The committee to whom this document was referred subsequently submitted the following report :

The Committee to whom was referred the Report of the Board of Missions have attended to that service, and have examined the document presented with all the accompanying papers, and are highly gratified to find, in the details, ample evidence of the steady onward progress of this very important instrumentality for advancing the cause of true religion throughout the wide extent of this growing country, and while they do not institute any improper comparison between one form of benevolent operation and another, but would bid them all God speed, yet they cannot refrain from saying that the cause of missions in our land is productive of great good, and ought to find a response in every heart. After such consideration as we have been enabled to give the subject, your Committee would respectfully submit to the Assembly, for their action, the following resolutions :

1. *Resolved*, That the report be adopted and published under the direction of the Board.

2. *Resolved*, That, in view of the widely extending operations of the Board, and the constantly increasing need of funds, it be earnestly recommended to all the churches to make new and strenuous efforts to enlarge their pecuniary contributions, in aid of all the objects contemplated by the Board; a duty that we are greatly encouraged to press upon the churches, from the fact stated in the report, that during the past year much more has been received into the Treasury from *church collections* than in former years.

3. *Resolved*, That the wants of California, Oregon, and other new parts of our wide spread territory, as brought before us in the report of the Board, joined with the good which we have reason to believe may be effected in those portions of the country, are such as to demand the special regard of our Church, and fully justify the Board in the large expenditures which they have thought it proper to make.

4. *Resolved*, That the efforts of the Board of Missions to benefit the many thousands of foreign population who are cast upon our shores, is worthy of all praise, and should be commended to the churches for their countenance and support.

5. *Resolved*, That, in looking at the results of the labours of the year, and considering that *five hundred* ministers have been sustained, either in whole or in part, while preaching the gospel in the more destitute parts of our land; that *sixty* new churches have been *organized*, more than 140 houses of worship built, and at least 2500 persons brought into the churches by profession, a large portion of whom we have reason to believe, were hopefully converted during the year, together with the encouragement felt by our missionaries while labouring among the coloured population at the South; when these results are considered, surely the people of God should lift up their hearts in gratitude to Him, and take courage for all coming time.

And whereas, It is understood that Dr. Wm. A. McDowell, who has for many years filled the office of Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Missions, has resigned that office, the Assembly cannot let this opportunity pass without bearing

testimony to the fidelity, diligence and wisdom with which he has conducted the affairs of the Board, and assure him that he carries with him into his retirement the full confidence of this Assembly in him, as well as their prayers for his happiness in his declining years.

It appears an overture had been presented, praying the Assembly to take action on the subject of giving greater efficiency to the Board of Missions, to enable it to keep up with the rapid extension of the population of our country. The committee of bills and overtures recommend the adoption of the following resolution on this subject, which was agreed to, viz:

Resolved, That a committee of nine selected from different portions of the church, be appointed to consider this matter, and report to this Assembly.

The following gentlemen were appointed on this committee, James Hoge, D. D., N. Murray, D. D., J. C. Spencer, D. D., A. W. Mitchell, M. D., N. L. Rice, D. D., W. L. Breckinridge, D. D., S. S. Davis, D. D., R. Nall. Dr. Hoge, the chairman of this committee, subsequently submitted the following report:

The committee to whom was referred the subject of devising a method of giving greater extent and efficacy to the operations of the Board of Missions, have considered it carefully and earnestly, and propose to the Assembly the following views and measures for their consideration:

“A great work, which is important to the Church and the country, in a degree that is not easily estimated, has already been performed by the Board of Missions. During the time that has elapsed since its organization, many Congregations and Sabbath Schools have been established, the Gospel has been preached to great multitudes, many destitutions have been supplied, very many souls been brought to the Saviour, and the Church has been greatly edified by this instrumentality. The whole amount of good which has been accomplished in this way for the welfare of the Church and the glory of God, can be known only in eternity. And yet there seems to have been the beginning, instead of the completion of the work of giving the full ministrations of the gospel to that portion of the population which falls to our share. With proprie-

ty, then, we may inquire,—How shall we more fully do this work? In answer to the inquiry, it is proposed that the Assembly shall make the following arrangements:

I. The Board of Missions shall hereafter consist of members; and this number shall be appointed by this Assembly; one-third of whom shall serve one year, one-third two years, and one-third three years; and after the present appointments, one-third of the number shall be appointed by each General Assembly. Of the whole number, one-half shall be Ministers and one-half Lay-members of the Church.

It shall be their duty to be present at all meetings of the Board; shall be necessary to form a quorum; and their travelling expenses, if any are incurred, shall be paid out of the general funds.

They shall have power to elect their own officers, as heretofore, except the Secretaries: to make all rules and by-laws which may be necessary; to fill vacancies in their body, and in the office of Secretary, until the next Assembly shall have filled such vacancies; and they shall in general have the management and control of the whole work of Missions and Church extension in the United States.

II. There shall be two co-ordinate Secretaries, whose particular duties shall be defined, and the performance of them shall be directed and supervised, and their compensation shall be determined by the Board.

The Secretaries shall be elected by the General Assembly, and they shall hold their office during the pleasure of the Assembly. But a Secretary may, for urgent reasons, be suspended from his office by the Board, until the next meeting of the Assembly.

III. As it is deemed highly necessary that the several Synods shall be fully engaged in Domestic Missions, it is also proposed that the Assembly consider these further arrangements:

1. That it be enjoined upon each Synod, at its next annual meeting, to elect a Committee on Missions, with a Secretary, or Agent, (whose salary shall be fixed by the Synod,) who shall be charged with the whole subject of Missions within the bounds of Synod.

2. That each Synod shall, at its annual meeting, draw up

an estimate of the probable amount of the contributions of its Churches for the year next ensuing, and a statement of the number of Missionaries needed within its bounds, and shall forward the same, as soon as practicable, after said meeting, to the Assembly's Board.

3. That the Board shall, at the earliest day practicable after the above statements are received, meet and determine the number of Missionaries to be allowed each Synod, with the aggregate compensation, of which notice shall be immediately given to the Synodical committees, who shall thereupon nominate the Missionaries and name the salary for each to the Board, in order that commissions may issue.

4. That it is hereby enjoined upon every Church in connection with this body, to take up annually a collection for this object: and the Synods are charged with the oversight of this injunction. The collections to be paid over to the Synodical Secretaries, and by them deposited within the bounds of the Synods respectively, subject to the drafts of the Treasurer of the Assembly's Board.

JAMES HOGE,

Chairman of the Committee.

We sincerely rejoice in this decisive expression of the opinion of the Assembly against such innovations. Organic changes, except in cases of real emergency, are great evils, and therefore should be very rarely resorted to. Our Boards have answered well. They are highly conservative bodies. They prevent the concentration of power in a few hands. If they are either abolished or rendered inefficient every thing is thrown under the control of a small executive committee. To such committee it might be very pleasant, at times, to be perfectly independent, except so far as a nominal responsibility to the Assembly is concerned. We say nominal responsibility, for it can scarcely be more. The Assembly is too large a body, sits too short a time, and has too much to do, to allow of its exercising, in ordinary matters, a real controlling supervision over executive officers. It is the ultimate court of appeal in great cases. But the Board can be called at any time, can prolong its sessions, can concentrate its attention, and in a manner really effective inspect, the action of the executive committee. This is a great security, and a great relief to the

committees themselves. It throws the responsibility from some six or eight on a body of sixty or eighty drawn from every part of the church. It is true the attendance on the meetings of the Board is not always large ; but it is generally a body several times more numerous than its executive committee ; and cases of real difficulty, can hardly fail to secure an adequate attendance. On many occasions the healthful action of the Board in modifying or revising that of the committee has been gratefully acknowledged by the executive officers themselves. It is not organic changes we want. Executive ability is all that it is necessary to make the Boards, with their present organization, answer all the ends of their appointment. This is shown not only in the great enlargement of the operations of the Board of Missions under the long and faithful administration of its late secretary, Dr. William McDowell, but in the ease with which the new department of church extension was engrafted on the other operations of that Board. If they are blessed in securing the services of a man of efficiency and of true constructive intellect, we doubt not the church will see the Board of Missions expand itself into proportions adequate to the growth of the country, and the great subject of ministerial support thoroughly discussed and satisfactorily disposed of.

Board of Education.

The Committee to whom the report of the Board of Education was referred made the following report which was adopted, viz :

“ The committee to whom was referred the Thirty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church (1850) beg leave to state to the Assembly that upon the examination of the Report, they find it to consist of three departments or sections.

“ 1. Some very appropriate and highly valuable remarks upon the general importance and bearing of the educational operations of the Presbyterian Church, embodied in the first fourteen pages of the manuscript portion of the Report.

“ 2. The second division comprises the notice or history of the educational operations of the Board during the past year,

and completes the manuscript portion of the Report, which exhibits a progress truly encouraging, and calls for gratitude on the part of the Church to her Great and Divine Head. This progress is cheerfully demonstrated by the growing prosperity of both branches of the important work intrusted to this Board by the Assembly. viz: The superintendence of the ministry, and the fostering care of seminaries or institutions of learning from the primary school, where the elements of a scriptural morality and sound theology are inculcated, to the Theological Hall, from whose disciplinary appliances the student is ushered upon his field of labour. The Report exhibits an increase in the number of candidates over that of the preceding year, and an advancing prosperity in the schools, academies, and colleges within the oversight of the Presbyterian Church. But while your committee recognize in the operations of the Board a highly adequate ability, fidelity, and vigilance, on the part of the official agencies on whom its highly important trusts are devolved, they cannot but regret the apparent want of an interest on the part of the great body of the Church in this department of the grand field of her moral and spiritual enterprise commensurate with the issues to be wrought out. The cause of missions, so dear to the Church, is in an important sense dependant upon the onward progress of the cause of ministerial education. It is here within the limits of this department of the Church's hallowed enterprise that the foundation is laid, and the susceptibilities elicited, and the appliances put in requisition for the qualification of an instrumentality by which the Home and Foreign field of Missionary enterprise is to be cultivated, replenished, and adorned, and to be indifferent to this fountain from which such streams are expected to flow, appears to your committee an inconsistency, for which, as a Church, we cannot too severely inculcate ourselves, so long as the present apathy continues to exist in the congregations generally, throughout our borders. Your committee therefore hope that the members of this General Assembly, in returning to their respective fields of labour, may endeavour to hold up prominently before the views of their congregations the claims which

this cause is worthy of maintaining in their prayers and sympathies and contributions.

"3. The third division of the report is embodied in a printed circular or pamphlet, entitled 'Suggestions towards improving the plans of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America;' and contains some very valuable hints and suggestions concerning the modification and expansion of the present plans of the Board's operations.

"As expressive of the sense of this Assembly upon the entire report, your committee beg leave to offer the following resolutions:

"1. *Resolved*, That this General Assembly, believing Christian education in all its departments to be connected with the preservation of the best interests of the Church and State, cherish a high sense of the importance of the measures of their Board of Education, whose aim is to secure the religious instruction of our youth in schools, academies and colleges, and to assist candidates for the ministry in their preparation for the sacred office.

"2. *Resolved*, That this General Assembly record their gratitude to God for the general prosperity which has attended the operation of the Board during the past year, as indicated in the increase of candidates for the ministry, and in the increase of schools, academies and colleges, under the supervision of the Presbyterian church.

"3. *Resolved*, That the third division of the Annual Report, embodied in the printed pamphlet entitled 'Suggestions towards improving the plans of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,' be commended to the consideration of the next General Assembly thereby affording to the Presbyteries more ample opportunity to examine the views it contains, and enabling the Board to digest a system of rules and regulations in conformity to the changes proposed and illustrative of the practical working of their plans according to their contemplated modification.

"In behalf and by order of the Committee.

"JOHN A. SAVAGE, *Chairman*.

When the report of the Board was presented to the Assem-

biy, the Rev. Dr. Baker moved its adoption and made a series of instructive and interesting remarks in relation to Texas, the field of his labours, especially in reference to the interests of education in that extensive and important state. He stated that most other denominations had taken precedence of the Presbyterians in Texas in this matter; but that the Presbytery of Brazos had made arrangements for founding a college at Huntsville. A very favourable charter had been obtained from the legislature of the state, and eight thousand dollars, in addition to an eligible site for the college-building, had been subscribed by the inhabitants of the town. This is a very important and promising enterprise, which must commend itself to the best wishes and co-operation of Presbyterians in every part of the country. Dr. Baker we understand is devoting himself with his characteristic energy to soliciting funds for the establishment of this college. We trust he may meet with abundant success.

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, said, "he did not expect to have an opportunity to say anything on this Report, when it might hereafter be brought up, and must say a word now. He was disposed generally to allow the gentlemen at the head of the Boards to shape their general action. They might be supposed to be better acquainted with the requirements of the case, and they were held accountable. For no secretary had he more respect than for the secretary of the Board of Education; but when great principles were brought in question, he felt bound to express his mind, under any circumstances. The Boards are all our own, and to be loved; but he did not agree with his father, that because one of them must have a ginger-cake, all must have the same.

"A great change in the Board of Education was now proposed. Originally this Board was designed to select poor and indigent young men of fair promise, and superintend their education for the ministry. If it is proposed that the Presbyterian Church take up the whole subject of education, or education of all Presbyterian children, or all academical or college education, he objected to it. If this were to be done, it would not be best to do it through this Board, designed for the training of poor and pious young men for the ministry,—

a Board located, too, in one corner of the Church. If this is to be done by the Church, it must be done much more largely than as a collateral matter of this Board of Education.

“Again, he thought the General Assembly ought to consider well before they determined that we ought, as a church, to embark in the matter of universal education. We ought to be cautious how we gave countenance to this principle. In his judgment, if there was a calamity which could befall the Presbyterian church and the country, of a temporal or ecclesiastical nature, it would be that the whole knowledge, power and prudence of the entire Presbyterian Church should be abstracted and kept by itself. Moreover, the amount of money, time and labour required by the new suggestions of this Report for a general system of parochial high schools, &c., would require an amount of money, time and labour, which would be much better expended in another way. Millions and millions of money, and efforts no man can calculate, will be necessary to accomplish an object which, if it were accomplished, had perhaps better be undone.

“He had carefully examined the system of parochial schools, in other countries, and ventured to say, that no such system as was here proposed had ever existed any where. In Scotland, the system was connected with the union of Church and State, and, in proportion as that tie was weakened, were the Scotch people abandoning the parochial school system, and, if we go on as desired, by the time they have gotten off their old shoes, we will have put them on. But he was not now discussing the question, and would proceed no further.

“The first two resolutions were then adopted, and on the fourth which refers to the new plans of the Board,—

“Rev. Dr. Hoge said: He would prefer that this part of the Report be referred back to the Board of Education, with instructions to them to report fully on the proposed changes to the next General Assembly, and made a motion to this effect.

“Rev Dr. Van Rensselaer said, this report was not intended to commit this Assembly. The report already went much into detail as to the plan proposed. He was willing it should be referred back to the Board.

“Rev. Dr. Hoge wished the Board to state specifically

what amount of means and money would be required to carry out this plan. He had read this part of the report somewhat carefully. He thought the plan, as presented, was rather theoretical than practical.

“Dr. Hoge's resolution to refer the matter back to the Board was then carried.”

We regret that the able secretary of the Board had not the opportunity of unfolding before the Assembly and the church the modifications which he has proposed, and the principles on which those modifications rest. The matter is of so much importance that every opportunity should be embraced of bringing it prominently forward. It is perhaps well that some delay should occur in the adoption of the suggestions of the report by the General Assembly; but it is a pity the subject was not discussed. It appears from the printed pamphlet accompanying the Report, that the proposed modifications have reference mainly to the following points. 1st. The mode of giving assistance to those under the care of the Board. 2d. The conditions on which that assistance is to be given, and 3d. The class of persons to be thus aided.

As to the first of these points the true principle undoubtedly is that those who devote themselves to the service of the church are entitled to a support from the church. This is but one application of the more general principle that the labourer is worthy of his hire. The application of this principle to the case of those who preach the gospel is universally recognized. It is however no less applicable to those who are preparing for that work. They give themselves up to the service of the church. If already prepared, she receives and sustains them. If they are able to prepare themselves at their own expense, very well. If not, the church is bound to give them at her expense the necessary training. Every civilized state acts on this principle. Youth are every where trained for the service of the state at public expense, for all those branches of the public service for which special professional training is necessary. Youth are placed in military schools to be educated for the army, or on board of national vessels to be qualified for the navy. And almost every church, in every age, has had its schools for training young men for the ministry free of all

expense to themselves. It is wrong therefore to regard those who are thus educated by the church for her own service, as recipients of alms. This unhappily is done at least to a certain extent, and is injurious in its influence both on the church and the candidates for the ministry. For some reason a distinction is made between receiving the avails of a scholarship and being on the funds of the Board. The former is not felt to be a degradation; the latter is in a measure regarded as a painful dependance. We see no substantial reason for this distinction, but as it is actually made not only by the young men, but also by others, it is wise in the Board to change the form of their benefactions, and instead of doing as is now done, allowing those under their care so much a year, establish scholarships in our various seminaries, colleges, and academies. It is not of course intended to make permanent foundations, the interest of which is to support the incumbent, but simply to give a new form to the annual appropriation. The incumbent will be regarded as a bursar in a college; or a recipient of the income of a scholarship in a seminary. No objection can be made to this, and if it changes the aspect under which the appropriation is viewed, it will be a decided and great advantage.

There is one feature of this part of the plan, however, with regard to which we feel some difficulty. It is proposed that these scholarships "shall be bestowed upon candidates as awards of merit." We do not see how this principle is to be carried out. If there were a limited number of scholarships in a college or seminary, for which there were numerous candidates, then we could understand how a selection of the most promising of these candidates could be made, and scholarships granted them as rewards for previous diligence and good conduct. But we presume that the Board propose to give every young man who leaves the academy a scholarship in a college, and every graduate of a college a scholarship in a seminary, provided these applicants are not deemed unfit for further support. The scholarships therefore will be given not to a certain number of distinguished candidates, but to all who pass muster; i. e., to all who are not dismissed for incompetency or bad conduct. If this is the case, they cease to be

“awards of merit;” any more than the allowance granted the cadets at West Point, or the salaries of our pastors. It is indeed proposed on page 5, of the “Suggestions,” that “a few premiums in the form of larger scholarships, or of fellowships in each of our Theological Seminaries,” should be offered. This as far as it went would meet the objection above stated; but of course only to a limited extent. It would be only these “larger scholarships” which would have this character of “awards of merit.”

There is another difficulty as to this point. We do not see who are to act as judges of the respective merit of the candidates. Our candidates do not all come under the cognizance of the same body of examiners. They are scattered over the whole of the church. A young man may be superior to the few with whom he is compared in one place, and thus adjudged worthy of an “award of merit;” though inferior to many in other places, with whom he cannot be compared. This difficulty would indeed be avoided by assuming a fixed standard by which to judge, and not take simply the best of those who offer. The actual operation of the plan however would require the latter mode, the comparative estimate of all the applicants; and we do not see how this can be made.

Besides this, what is meant by merit? and how is it to be estimated? It would be easy to judge of the comparative scholarship and talents of a number of candidates; but this is only one, and not the most important, form of excellence in a candidate for the ministry. Piety, temper, prudence, and energy are not to be left out of view. It might well happen that the best scholar would not be the most promising man. The merit of moral excellence and temper though so important, can not be determined by a board of examiners—and therefore every thing on this plan would be apt to turn on literary proficiency. Besides we question very much the propriety of introducing the principle of emulation among theological students. We throw out these reflections for the consideration of those concerned, not in the way of opposition to the plan, which in its essential features we heartily approve.

The second modification proposed relates to the condition on which aid is to be given to those under the care of the Board.

At present assistance is rendered only on condition that the recipient pledge himself to enter the ministry, or to refund the money expended on his education. It is proposed to do away with this pledge. It is urged that it is manifestly improper to exact of a boy just entering an academy the pledge, that after some eight or ten years he will become a minister. He is too young to know his own mind intelligently; he can have no adequate apprehension of his gifts for the sacred office; we cannot tell whether he can conscientiously, after such a term of years, regard himself as called of God to take on himself the work of a minister. He is placed in a false position in being required to decide this momentous question at the very commencement of his literary course. When the time comes for him really to ponder it, he finds it already decided; and he cannot reverse that decision without a loss of character and a heavy pecuniary penalty. This is undoubtedly wrong. The church has no right to place her children under such temptations to enter the sacred office, uncalled of God. Another objection to the pledge is that it commits the church as well as the candidate. The church assumes that the youth who applies for assistance on entering the academy, is a proper subject to be regarded as a candidate for the ministry. She so considers him. He is recorded as such in the minutes of the presbytery or of the Board. He is so reported to the General Assembly. How manifestly unwise is it thus to determine this question before his talents, his disposition, his piety have been or can be subjected to any adequate test. This premature judgment has often to be revoked. "Almost all the failures of the Board of Education have occurred in the academical and collegiate courses." The church is either pained and her organs brought into disrepute by the failure of those prominently held up as suitable candidates for the ministry; or she is constrained, contrary to her better judgment, to introduce into the sacred office unsuitable men simply because she has committed herself, and has had them so many years under training. It is evident that we should have much greater security by rejecting all such premature engagements on either side. Let it not be decided that a man is to be a candidate for the ministry, until he is prepared to enter on

his professional studies. Then he may know himself, and be known to the church.

These and other considerations of equal weight are urged by the Secretary of the Board with great force for the abolition of the pledge. We fully concur in this view of the subject. We have for years regarded this feature of our educational operations with growing disapprobation, and we greatly rejoice that from the right quarter a movement has been made to get rid of this unsightly and galling chain. Dr. Van Rensselaar states that out of sixty replies received "from the friends of education in every presbytery of the church," all but one were in favour of abolishing the pledge in the preliminary course, and that one "only expressed a doubt." We think the pledge therefore is as good as dead. Hundreds of liberated consciences and untrammelled hands will thank the worthy secretary for their deliverance.

The third modification proposed relates to the class of persons to be educated. Hitherto the assistance of the Board has been confined to poor and pious young men preparing for the sacred ministry. It is proposed, in the first place, not to restrict the Board any longer to aiding candidates for the ministry. Pious young men, whatever may be their views as to their future profession, will be eligible to the proposed scholarships in academies and colleges. This almost necessarily follows from the abolition of the pledge. That abolition supposes the incumbent to be left free to act on his own sense of duty as to what profession he shall choose when he has completed his collegiate course. Many therefore, it is to be presumed and desired, who have been educated by the church, will enter her service as teachers, physicians, lawyers, merchants, and agriculturalists. The church will gain much by this addition to her educated children. But in the second place, it is proposed that a profession of personal religion shall not, in all cases, be insisted upon as essential to eligibility to an academical or collegiate scholarship. It will be permitted to the Board to receive promising youth of good moral character, and give them the advantages of a liberal education. Can this be objected to? Would not every man rejoice if it were in the power of the church, as it ought to be, to offer to every

one of her youth the advantages of such a training? Is not such an education a great blessing and a great talent? Does not experience teach that a large part of the conversions among the young take place during the time they are in the academy or in college? And would it not greatly multiply the resources of the church, increase her strength in educated men, and enlarge her field of choice for ministers and teachers to have the number of those to whom a liberal education is accessible, increased? Many who now object to the education scheme because designed only for ministers, will be likely to co-operate cheerfully in this enlarged scheme of benevolence; while those who prefer that their contributions should be confined to the education of ministers, can of course, be gratified.

The great objection to this scheme is its expense. Where is the money to come from to educate not only the ministers, and teachers of the church, but all who would be glad to get the advantage of a liberal education. This difficulty is not so formidable as it appears. In the first place, the Board commits itself to nothing. It only undertakes to appropriate what the church confides to its care for the purpose of education. The expenditure must be limited by the supplies. And we can see no objection to allowing those who are willing to give, to contribute their money for general educational purposes. This indeed has already received the sanction of the Assembly in authorizing the Board to aid in sustaining colleges and academies, the benefits of which are extended to all classes. A second limitation to profuse expenditure is to be found in the consideration, that it is not every pious young man, much less every merely morally correct applicant for assistance that the Board proposes to receive. They will doubtlessly use the funds committed to their care discreetly. Aiding first those who have the ministry in view; then those who in addition to promising talents have the recommendation of hopeful piety; leaving, so to speak, only the surplus of their funds and moneys specially appropriated for the purpose, to be employed in the education of youth of superior gifts who make no profession of religion.

So far from feeling objection to this proposed enlargement

of the operations of the Board, we think the church is under great obligations to its Secretary for the expansion he has already given to its operations, and for the still larger principles and plans which he has now brought forward. It is by expansive schemes alone that we can keep up with the spirit of the times, and, as our Scottish brethren would say, can overtake the work God has given us to do.

Board of Publication.

“The Rev. Dr. Leyburn, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Publication, read their annual report, which gave an encouraging view of the operations of the Board during the year. The following is an abstract of said report :

During the year ending March 31st, 1850, the Board of Publication have added to their Catalogue twenty-five new works. The total number of books and tracts issued during the year is 383,500, being an increase of 121,750 over last year's issue. Receipts during the year from donations and sales of books, \$57,238 40. The circulation for the year has exceeded by nearly fifty per cent. that of the previous year.

The number of colporteurs employed during the ecclesiastical year ending March 31st, sixty-three ; about twenty have since been added to that number. The fields of these colporteurs are in seventeen different States.

The entire cost of the new buildings of the Board was \$20,-291 47, which has been paid.

Dr. Leyburn said, in conclusion, that the Board was constantly called to come into contact with other voluntary associations, which were doing the same work ; and he urged the Assembly to take some action that would secure the contributions of our own churches to our own board. The Board of Publication ought either to be abandoned, or supported vigorously. It is often discouraged, when it sends out agents, to find the churches turning a cold shoulder to it, and preferring other associations of a similar character. This Board ought to be placed on an equal footing with the other Boards of the church. It was sometimes urged that it had an endowment to begin with ; but so had the Tract Society ; and yet the latter was constantly receiving large collections from the churches.

The Rev. Mr. White of Virginia, and the Rev. W. E. Schenck, of New Jersey, both spoke in strong terms of the importance of the operations of this Board as they had come under their own observations.

"The committee on the report of this Board presented the following resolutions, which were adopted.

"1. *Resolved*, That the Assembly are highly gratified at the wisdom and zeal with which the Board have prosecuted the business entrusted to them, and that gratitude is due to the great Head of the Church for the signal success which has crowned their efforts.

"2. *Resolved*, That the Assembly have established this Board for the purpose of supplying the Church and the world with a religious literature as far as practicable; that the Board have thus far met to a gratifying extent the expectations of the Assembly; and that the Synods, Presbyteries, and people, ought to give the preference to our own Board over any other institutions established for similar purposes.

"3. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as our ecclesiastical system furnishes an admirable instrumentality for efficiently carrying out the system of colportage now prosecuted by the Board of Publication, it is recommended to Synods or Presbyteries to appoint committees, whose duty it shall be to superintend their operations within their bounds.

"4. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly views with lively interest the evidences received through the Board of Publication, our corresponding brethren, and other sources, that an increased and increasing interest is manifested in the study of the Shorter Catechism.

"5. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Board of Publication to publish a richly illuminated copy of the Shorter Catechism, interspersed with interesting and instructive illustrations, adapted to the understanding and consciences of children and youth.

"6. *Resolved*, That the Assembly recommend to the Board of Publication to consider the propriety of publishing a monthly paper for Sabbath schools."

Overture No. 3, On Church Members.

This was a memorial from the Second Presbytery of Phila-

delphia asking the General Assembly to take such action in the case of members of the church who remove, without certificate, or who fail, for a length of time, to attend upon the ordinances of the gospel, as will secure constitutional and uniform action throughout the Presbyterian churches.

“As there is no provision in our form of government, or discipline, to meet such cases, and as it would be inexpedient for the General Assembly to make a regulation on the subject, which would have the force of a constitutional rule, the Committee on Bills and Overtures recommended that the following be sent down to the presbyteries for their decision:

“Shall the form of government be amended by adding this clause at the end of chapter 9?

Sec. 6. “They shall also have power to remove from the list of communicants, those who by long continued absence, without a regular dismissal or other equivalent causes, are improper persons to be retained as members of the church.”

“Mr. Morris gave the reasons which had induced the Presbytery to which he belonged to ask this alteration. There are many members of churches out of reach of discipline, and absent for years, and their names ought not to be continued on the roll.

“Dr. Hoge said, that it is proposed now to do regularly, what has been done heretofore irregularly. It is simply to omit from the list of members the names of persons of whom the Church has no knowledge.

“Dr. R. J. Breckinridge contended that there is no use for such a power, and it is liable to unspeakable abuse. Pastors and elders should do their duty in keeping watch of the members. There may be churches, not well watched, where the thing has become an evil. But you will often find these absent ones re-appearing; and they will be greatly grieved to find their names stricken off. If you want to put an irresponsible power into the hands of the Session, so that they may turn members out when they will, without form of trial, pass this provision, and you will have it. It is a settled principle of our Church, that a man who has given himself to the Church has made an irrevocable covenant, and you are trenching upon some of the most fundamental principles, sanctified

by two or three centuries, when you propose to strip a man of his rights, and turn him out of the Church without trial. He besought his brethren to pause before taking any step toward such a measure as this; and to test the sense of the house again, he moved to lay the proposition on the table. Carried."

It seems to us that there is a wrong principle in this overture and in the answer which it was proposed should be given to it. There are two distinct theories respecting our ecclesiastical constitution. The one is that it is the grant of powers; the other is that it is a limitation of powers, i. e. a treaty entered into by primary church organizations as to the manner in which they shall exercise the powers inherent in them and derived from Christ. The latter is unquestionably the true view. A church session does not derive its power to admit members or exercise discipline from the constitution. The constitution simply states that such and such powers pertain to a church session; and the various church sessions embraced under the constitution agree to exercise those powers in a certain way. Neither does a presbytery derive from the constitution the right to ordain or to depose from the ministry. If independent it could exercise those rights at discretion; but when associated with other presbyteries interested in its acts, it stipulates that it will ordain only under such and such circumstances. The reason of this is obvious, a man ordained by one presbytery becomes, as a member of synod, a judge over the members of other presbyteries. They therefore, have a right to a voice in the matter. Hence all presbyteries thus associated enter into an agreement as to what qualifications they will demand in candidates for ordination, and in general as to the principles on which they will exercise their presbyterial powers. And such an agreement is their constitution. It is not therefore a grant of powers, but a stipulation between the associated presbyteries as to the manner in which they will exercise the powers inherent in them. It follows from this that a session or presbytery is simply bound by contract not to violate the constitution, but the exercise of its prerogatives is not circumscribed by that instrument. It can do what it pleases, as a church court, provided it infringes on no article of its contract with other

courts, and on no principle of the word of God. It has no need therefore to go to the General Assembly to ask power to do what from its very nature as a church court it has the right to do. A session must have a right to say who are the members of the church over which it presides. It might as well ask for power to erase from its roll the names of the dead, as to seek authority to say that those who have left them and wandered off no one knows where, have left them, and are no longer under their watch and care. The memorial, however, seems to assume that no session has any power in the premises but what it derives from the constitution; and the committee of Bills and Overtures proposed to add a section to that instrument to the effect that church sessions "shall have power to remove from the list of communicants those who from long absence," &c., as though such assumption were correct. According to our view the sessions have all the power they need in this matter inherent in themselves, and we therefore rejoice that the overture was rejected by the Assembly.

Complaint of the Rev. J. T. Smylie.

This was a complaint of the Rev. Mr. Smylie against the Synod of Mississippi. On the recommendation of the judicial committee the case being found in order, the usual mode of proceeding was adopted. This was an action in which a clergyman, the Rev. J. H. Van Court, had caused his slaves to cut sugar cane, on the plea of necessity, on the Sabbath. When arraigned for it informally in an interlocutory meeting of his presbytery, he expressed his sorrow that circumstances had rendered it necessary for him to act as he had done, and said he had no idea that the thing would ever occur again. The presbytery voted that this confession was satisfactory, and when the clerk made a record of the proceeding, the presbytery ordered it to be stricken out. Of this action Mr. Smylie complained to the synod. The synod allowed the presbytery to vote in the decision of the case, and sustained their action. Of this Mr. Smylie complained to the General Assembly.

Messrs. Beach, Mosely, Packard, Beatty and Templeton were heard in defence of the synod. They maintained that Mr. Van Court's confession was satisfactory; that the synod

had fully condemned cutting sugar cane on the Sabbath; that as there was no accuser in the case the presbytery was not bound to make a record of their action; and that, as it was not strictly a judicial case, the presbytery had a right to vote upon it when it came before the synod.

"The Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, appeared, at his request, in behalf of the complainant. He argued that both on account of the inadequacy of the confession, and the refusal to make a record, there was ground of complaint. Presbytery has a right to make a record or not, in an interlocutory meeting, but is responsible for the exercise of that discretion. They ought to make a record and keep it *in retentis*, that, if any one complains, the higher court may judge in the case."

The roll was called for members to express their opinion, and the vote being taken, it appeared that 124 voted to sustain the complaint; 40 to sustain in part; and 4 not to sustain. A committee was appointed to draw up a minute expressive of the sense of the house in the case. That committee made the following report which was adopted, viz:

"1. That the decision of this Assembly in sustaining the complaint of Rev. Mr. Smylie against the Synod of Mississippi, is not to be regarded as deciding the merits of the original question; that is, the guilt or innocence of the individual in respect to whom this case originated.

"2. That the Presbytery of Louisiana should have recorded the results of the interlocutory meeting referred to in the complaint.

"3. That the Synod acted unconstitutionally, in permitting the Presbytery of Louisiana to vote on the adoption of the report of the Judicial Committee on the complaint of Mr. Smylie.

"4. That the Synod should have placed on its records the above mentioned reports.

"5. That the Presbytery of Louisiana erred in pleading the limitation of time for the non-compliance with the resolution of the Synod referring this whole case to them for a full investigation.

"6. That the case be remanded to the Presbytery of Louisiana, according to the resolution of the Synod, for such action as is demanded by the Book of Discipline.

"7. That the decision of the Assembly, together with the foregoing minute, be recorded in the minutes of the Synod of Mississippi, and of the Presbytery of Louisiana."

Western Seminaries.

The public attention has of late been called to the subject of theological education in the west. Several prominent ministers of our church entertain the opinion that there should be but one theological seminary in that portion of the church, and that Cincinnati was the most eligible place for its location. In order to carry out these views, several meetings were held designed to favour the union of the two existing seminaries at Alleghany and New Albany, in a new institution to be established at Cincinnati. The result of these meetings, as we understand, was a decision to found a new seminary at Cincinnati, and to invite the other institutions to unite with the new enterprise on terms to be subsequently agreed upon. This gave rise to a protracted discussion, it being understood that the friends of the existing seminaries were opposed to the proposed union, and to the establishment of a new institution at Cincinnati. This subject was brought before the Assembly in two ways. First, by the report of the committee on the annual report of the seminary at Alleghany; and secondly, by overture. One of the resolutions recommended by the committee was the following, viz:

"That inasmuch as repeated movements and discussions have agitated the public mind, touching the permanency of the present location of this Institution and impressions unfavourable to the permanent prosperity of the Seminary cannot fail to result from the continuance of such proceedings, the General Assembly considers it timely and proper to say distinctly that it considers the present location of the Seminary in all respects as permanent as any acts of this body can make it; that it sees no reason to justify the further agitation of that question; and considering the past history and present condition of the Seminary, it knows of no ground on which the interposition of the General Assembly, for the removal of that Seminary from its present location, would be either just or politic."

Dr. Hoge remarked in regard to this resolution "that he should be constrained to vote against it. It did not accord with his own views, and never did. He opposed the location of the Seminary at first, and had ever since been opposed to it, and might feel constrained at a proper time to enter his dissent from it in the resolution.

"Dr. Herron expressed great regret at hearing such an opposition from his venerable friend. He asked who located the Seminary? The General Assembly. Who had approved it at every stage of its progress, for the last twenty-two years, at each annual meeting? The General Assembly. The Assembly appointed the first Board of Directors and the first Professor. It was not an institution gotten up outside of the Presbyterian Church, and without authority. He then went into the history of the Assembly Seminary, and said scarcely anything had ever been given to it, except by the friends in its vicinity. He argued that the Assembly had no power to remove it, and he hoped they would not now repudiate all their former acts on this subject.

"Judge Fine said he was a member of the Assembly which located the Seminary at Alleghany. He thought at that time Cincinnati a better place than Pittsburgh; but, after hearing all the reasons, he came to the conclusion that Pittsburgh was a proper site, because around it they had all the materials for such an institution. But the question now is not location, but letting it remain after it has been located—not shall we build up, but shall we pull down. He thought it ought to remain, and that Cincinnati now was a proper site for another institution further west, and would raise both hands for one here, if the funds were offered us to found one.

"Dr. Hoge again explained that he did not propose a removal, nor had he ever done so. He never made opposition to it, but only to its location. He had assisted it in his feeble way, but did not now, nor did he ever favour its location.

"Dr. Herron expressed his gratification at his venerable friend's explanation of his position—perhaps he had stated his friend's position in rather too strong a light.

"Dr. R. J. Breckinridge said he hoped the resolution would

pass without serious opposition. The interests of the institution were seriously compromised by this constant agitation about its removal. Its immediate friends felt this. The committee were unanimous that it ought to cease. They had not introduced any extraneous questions into their resolutions, and he thought the Assembly ought to do all in its power to stop this agitation. They ought to say the question of location is settled. They now know nothing that can ever make it proper to break it up and remove it somewhere else. He was perfectly willing to take up the whole subject of Seminaries in the West and settle it; and he considered that the Assembly never could be in a better position to do so than now; but that question ought not to be mixed up with this one.

Mr. Brown, of Ohio, said he considered the resolution perfectly gratuitous. We, as an Assembly, had done nothing to indicate any desire to remove it. He should vote against it, though a friend of the Seminary.

Mr. Cleland, of Illinois, said he thought the Seminary properly located, but he could see no necessity for this resolution. It looked like going out of the house to hunt up business. The report of the committee is perfect without it. He therefore moved to strike out the 4th resolution from the report.

This motion was lost by a large majority.

Dr. Murray moved to lay the resolution on the table, as the subject would come up in another form. This motion prevailed.

When the subject was resumed, the Rev. Mr. McIlvaine moved as a substitute for the resolution above mentioned, the following, viz: "That the Assembly regards the location of the Western Theological Seminary at Alleghany city as permanent, and all agitation of the subject of its removal [*now* or hereafter] as inexpedient and unjust." The words *now* or *hereafter* were on motion stricken out, and the substitute adopted: and then the whole report of which it formed a part was adopted without dissent.

The overture on this subject asked the Assembly to express its mind on the following subjects:

"That it has no direct control over the New Albany Semi-

nary, and will not interfere with the Synods which have established and are conducting it.

“That it regards the location of the Western Theological Seminary as finally settled, and will discountenance any scheme for its removal.

“That it does not approve the scheme to establish a third Theological Seminary at Cincinnati.

“Without expressing any opinion upon these propositions, the committee report the overture for the consideration of the Assembly.”

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge desired permission to offer the following resolution :

“*Resolved*, While the General Assembly regrets that any serious difference of opinion should exist in any part of the Church, in regard to any of the great movements for the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world, and while it would willingly and gladly do all that may be proper, on its part, to compose and settle all such differences, it does not see its way clear, at the present time, to express any opinion in regard to the existing and contemplated Seminary west of Alleghany.”

This resolution after some discussion was adopted by a large majority.

Marriage of Christians with Heathen.

A memorial from the Presbytery of Ningpo, in China, asking for advice from this General Assembly on the subject of the marriage of professing Christians with the heathen. The committee recommend that it be answered as follows :

“In performing the work of missions among the heathen, many difficulties will arise which will require great wisdom and forbearance, and which only can be overcome by a wise application of scriptural rules. Of this kind are the cases respecting marriage, which will frequently occur so long as a great majority of the people are heathen. And this application of these rules must be made with a sound discretion, and be very much modified by particular circumstances.

“That the apostolical direction, ‘be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers,’ is the advice of the Lord by the

apostle, and is to be observed carefully in all cases as far as practicable, is true. But, like other divine injunctions, it must be applied in all cases with due consideration of the circumstances. It is not, therefore, in the circumstances stated in the Overture, to be regarded as sinful universally and necessarily for a Christian to marry a heathen; nor is a Christian to be subjected to discipline on this account, unless the circumstances show criminality, and require the infliction of censures: of which circumstances the missionaries are the best judges."

When this report of the committee came up for consideration at a late hour in the sessions of the Assembly, a motion was made to refer the whole matter back to the presbytery of Ningpo, without an expression of opinion, or any judgment on the question presented. This motion was carried. The missionaries, therefore, are left to their own discretion in the premises. This perhaps is wise, though the answer proposed by the committee is probably as definite as the Assembly, under any circumstances, would have been fit to give.

Ordination.

The Rev. Mr. Hughes, of the committee on the Minutes of the Synod of West Tennessee, recommended that the Records be approved, with the exception, that the Synod sanctioned the action of the Holstein Presbytery in ordaining a licentiate, when but two ministers were present. The Committee recommended that the Assembly express their strong disapprobation of this measure, and declare that the Synod should not have countenanced the proceedings of the Holstein Presbytery.

Mr. Walter Lowrie moved that the exception be stricken out from this Report.

Dr. William L. Breckinridge could not believe that any one could wish the General Assembly to give its sanction to a proceeding so irregular as this so-called ordination. On the subject of a quorum, our book is specific, and no matter for what reason the third minister withdrew, there was no presbytery when he was gone. He did not know whether any elders were present or not. He had said before that he would **as leave be ordained by the Moderator and the elders present as**

any other way; but that is not the question. There were not the requisite number of ministers here to make a quorum, and therefore it was no presbytery. He solemnly protested against the Assembly giving its sanction to such a proceeding.

The Rev. Dr. Doak, (one of the fathers of Presbyterianism in the West,) remembered all the circumstances of this case. At that very session there was a quorum present, by whom all the trials and preliminary exercises were approved, and the candidate was actually on his knees, and the hands of the two ministers were on the candidate's head, when they discovered the third brother had absented himself. They consulted as to what should be done, and concluded that as every thing else had been done in so orderly a manner, the want of a third minister's hand was not indispensable, and they therefore proceeded to ordain him. It seems hard that one single member of a presbytery should arrest the proceedings of a presbytery in such solemn circumstances, and before a large congregation. They admitted there was the appearance of wrong. He did not know whether the third brother had gone out of the house or not.

Rev. Mr. Coe acquiesced in the views of Dr. Breckinridge, as to the necessity of a presbytery to ordain, but did not think the disorderly withdrawal of a brother should vitiate the whole proceedings.

Rev. Mr. Dickey contended that the absence of this member did not vitiate this ordination. It was not necessary that every member present should lay on his hands, and the fact that this brother did not lay on his hands did not withdraw his consent. All the preliminary proceedings had been regular.

The Moderator stated the question was simply whether ordination could be performed by less than three ministers or not.

Mr. Lowrie said that was not the question, but that the question was whether the Assembly should approve the proceedings of the Synod, which, while they allowed the ordination to stand, censured the irregularity.

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge said, in his view the error lay in the

statement that the third member was not present. One of the ministers had here stated that he did not know whether he was in the house or not. All the proceedings had been regular up to the point of laying on hands, and then because this member did not come forward and lay on his hands, they presumed he was not there, whereas he was ecclesiastically present.

According to any understanding Dr. Breckinridge had as to the ordination of ministers, it was very hard to say out of the Bible, that two ministers or two elders might not ordain Presbyterially. Our doctrine was simply *plurality*. It would not be a *regular* Presbyterian ordination where three ministers were not present, but it would be *valid* where there was plurality. He had once gone to Princeton to ask Dr. Miller where the idea of "three" came from, and he said it was impossible for him to tell. Suppose an Episcopal minister were to come to us, would we not acknowledge his ordination, though it was done by one man? In his judgment, two Presbyterian ministers and seven elders (as in this case were present) were equal to an Episcopal Bishop! He thought they might just as well have objected to this ordination because those seven elders did not lay their hands on.

This man, moreover, was within, he might say, the almost imperceptible proximity to ordination, and no one could say exactly at what point that act would not be consummated. Under such circumstances, he would not be for uprooting serious matters for such minute points. The Synod did just what was right.

Dr. William L. Breckinridge regretted to appear again, especially in opposition to his brother, for whose opinions he had so much respect. The more ingeniously you maintain that this man came within *a line* of ordination, the more clearly you show that the thing was not actually done. As to whether the third member took himself off, we cannot go behind the record, which declares that he was not there. On this the whole question turned. The question is not whether we would receive a minister ordained in another Church, but whether a Presbytery can be constituted without "three ministers."

Rev. Dr. Murray said, the question is a very simple one

between irregularity and invalidity. The ordination here is irregular, as the Synod state; but they refuse to say that the ordination was invalid, and this the committee wish the Assembly to censure. He was persuaded the Assembly would not concur in this censure, and thereby pronounce this ordination invalid.

Rev. Mr. Hays concurred with Dr. Murray.

Rev. Mr. Clarke could not agree that the whole of this irregularity consisted in the absence of the third minister. There was a Presbytery, and the hands of three ministers were not indispensable to ordination.

Dr. Murray took the chair, and

Rev. Dr. Leland said that a quorum of a Presbytery required the presence of three ministers; and as soon as either of these withdrew, that ceased to be a Presbytery. Up to a certain point, there was a presbytery here; but when the highest act of an ecclesiastical body was to be done, it was found that one member had withdrawn. There was then no Presbytery and the ordination was consequently invalid. Installation can be performed by a committee of two ministers, but the power of ordination cannot be delegated.

Rev. Mr. Hodgeman contended for the validity of the ordination.

Rev. Dr. Hoge said this may seem to some a trivial matter, but it involves a great principle. To declare an act of this nature invalid involves very serious consequences. This person has been ministering to a congregation from that day to this. He has discharged all the functions of a minister. Will this Assembly, without imperative reasons, declare all this invalid? He would not, for one, unless under something that could be shown to be biblical authority. All preliminary proceedings were entirely regular. If there is any defect in this case it is of form and not of substance. The setting apart in ordination is the form, the governmental act whereby he was essentially made a minister, was done in full Presbytery; and in full Presbytery the public act was ordered to be performed, and two of their number ordered to perform it. This then they had a right to do. We should consider the difference as to the nature of ordination and installation. Both are de-

clarative, and not governmental acts; and if installation is valid when performed by two ministers, so also is ordination.

Rev. Dr. Rice. The Presbyterian Church is regulated by the Bible, as the great and highest resort, and the Confession of Faith as its exponent. Whilst the Confession of Faith requires three ministers in order to ordination, it no where declares that without three, there can be no ordination. Nor does the Bible any where specify "three" as the number necessary to ordain. It simply requires plurality. When we wish to determine what is regular, we go to our Form of Government; if to ascertain what is valid, we resort to the Bible. If two ministers are present, we cannot say that the Bible does not sanction the ordination. The number specified in our book is merely for prudential reasons.

Rev. Mr. Lloyd said, that in Western New York, where he lived, their Synods had been disowned because of irregularity: he would have the Assembly consistent, and censure irregularity here. There was no presbytery when this act was done, and it should not be sanctioned.

The exceptions in the report were stricken out, and the synod was not censured for approving the conduct of the presbytery in this ordination.

In this decision we presume the great body of the Church will concur. As the brethren, whose remarks are quoted above, state, there is the greatest possible difference between irregular and invalid. Rules are laid down for security and to be faithfully observed in ordinary circumstances. But the neglect or violation of the rules prescribing how a thing ought to be done, does not vitiate the thing done. In many countries and churches there are rules regulating the celebration of marriage, but how monstrous would it be that the disregard of such municipal regulations should make the marriage void. That this is sometimes done, as in Great Britain, is justly regarded as a grievous injustice. Some years ago it was decided that a marriage in Ireland solemnized by a presbyterian minister, where one of the parties was an Episcopalian, was no marriage. It would be a decision of like though of less enormity, to affirm that an ordination by less than three ministers was no ordination. As Dr. R. J. Breckinridge well remarked, we recognise

the validity of orders in the Episcopal church, and all classes of Presbyterians have always done so, with what consistency then can we maintain that three or even a plurality of ordainers is absolutely necessary? A plurality may be desirable in all possible cases; the precise number three may be the safest minimum that could be fixed on as the general rule, but there is nothing in the nature of ordination, and nothing in the laws of Christ which makes that number essential. We have derived the rule from the old canon law, as laid down in the earliest councils of the Christian church, which required the co-operation of three bishops in the ordination or consecration of another bishop. This became the universal law of the church, and of all churches, and was from its obvious wisdom adopted by the different classes of Protestants at the reformation. But it has ever been regarded as a prudential municipal arrangement, necessary to the safety of the church but not to the validity of the service. In our own church the same principle has been acted on. In the early part of our history it was customary to ordain by a committee of presbytery as well as by the presbytery itself. The Rev. Dr. Leland indeed, is reported to have said, "Installation can be performed by a committee of two ministers, but the power of ordination cannot be delegated." If this means simply that under our present constitution such is the rule, it may be correct. But if, as we suppose was intended, the sentence quoted means that according to the principles of presbyterianism "the power of ordination cannot be delegated," it is obviously contradicted by the practice of our own church, by the express enactments of the Westminster Directory, and the history of the church, in all its presbyterian branches.

The fact that a single minister ordains elders not merely in the midst of his session, or parochial presbytery, but when acting as an evangelist and organizing churches, shows, at least to those who make ruling elders to be bishops, that according even to our present constitution a single bishop may ordain others to the episcopate. This, however, is not our argument. The real question is what is ordination, and what is essential to the transmission of the ministerial office. All admit that under our constitution, which accords in this mat-

ter with the general law of the church, three ministers should be present and co-operate in the ordination services. Any departure from this rule is an irregularity, to be justified only in cases of emergency. But the departure, even when not justifiable, is to be censured as disorderly, but not considered as rendering the ordination void.

Question of Privilege.

“ Judge Leavitt stated that the Rev. A. Swaney, Commissioner from the Presbytery of Steubenville, had gone home on account of sickness in his family, and that the Rev. Dr. Beattie, his alternate, being now present, he moved that Dr. Beattie take the vacant seat.

“ Dr. W. L. Breckinridge asked if the Assembly had not decided against this practice in years past.

“ Dr. Hoge cited one case, and the Moderator read another from the minutes, where the alternate had first taken his seat, and on the arrival of the principal had vacated it in his favour.

“ Dr. R. J. Breckinridge argued that it was contrary to the established order of the Church, and dangerous in its operations. He denied the relevancy of the cases cited, and resisted the present application.

“ Judge Leavitt stated that there was no collusion here between the principal and his alternate; the former had been called home by sickness in his family, and the latter happened to be here, without the least idea of taking his seat. But the presbytery had rights, and if the alternate is here in the absence of the principal he may claim the seat.

“ The House so decided and Dr. Beattie was admitted.”

It used to be a very common thing for the principal to give up his seat to his alternate. But as this was seen to give a very great advantage to the presbyteries near the place of the Assembly's meeting, the rule was adopted of refusing to allow the alternate to take the place of his principal. And that rule has been generally adhered to. Since the Assembly has adopted the plan of changing yearly its place of meeting, the reason for the rule is less stringent than it was.

SHORT NOTICES.

ART. VII.—*The Gospel its own Advocate.* By George Griffin, LL.D. New York. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. 1850.

To some it may seem, that new treatises on the Evidences of Christianity are not needed, since the subject has already been presented in almost every variety of form ; but, in our opinion, we cannot have too many well written books on the evidences of divine revelation, for every author has something peculiar to himself in his manner of presenting the argument ; and this peculiarity may be suited to a certain class of readers, who feel the force of reasoning in a certain way, which, presented in a different form, had failed to produce complete conviction. But even when a new book contains only the old arguments, presented in the usual form, many will read it for the sake of the author, whose character is known to them ; or, merely because it is new.

There is also a great advantage in having treatises on religion written and published by laymen, distinguished for their learning. The same truths which have been repeatedly uttered by clergymen, come with more force to the minds of many readers, when presented by scholars, who have no secular interest involved in the subject. These are supposed to be more impartial, and not under the influence of prejudice. And we cannot but esteem it a peculiarly valuable circumstance, when gentlemen of distinguished abilities in the legal profession undertake to discuss the evidences of Christianity ; because from their constant experience in sifting testimony and weighing evidence, they acquire a remarkable sagacity, in discriminating between the true and the false. We do, therefore, esteem it an occasion of gratitude, and exceedingly favourable to the cause of revelation, that such eminent jurists as Simon Greenleaf, Esq., and George Griffin, Esq., men highly distinguished in their own profession, and of unblemished character, have been induced carefully to examine the evidences of the Christian religion, and to give to the public the results of their investigation.

In regard to the volume before us, we cannot say, that there is much novelty in the arguments adduced, or in the mode in which they are exhibited; but the argument is presented not only with perspicuity, but with vivacity and elegance of style. It is deemed unnecessary to give an analysis of the work. An inspection of the table of contents will satisfy the reader, that the author has brought out the most important points in discussion. The prominence given to the heathen testimonies will have a salutary effect on sceptical minds. We would direct the attention of the reader, particularly to Dr. Griffin's remarks on Hume's sophism; and also his answer to the learned Gibbon.

In the chapter on the New Birth there are striking peculiarities; indeed the author's strength seems to be here laid out. We admire his zeal and ability, and admit a large part of his argument; but after some thought we are not convinced that his choice of terms is the best, or that his proof reaches as widely as is intended. Mr. Griffin, let it be observed, maintains strongly, that 'Regeneration is a miracle,' properly so called; wrought by the special power of God against the laws of fallen nature; that as such it may be pleaded in evidence everywhere and all times; that every communicant in the Lord's Supper professes that, according to his best belief, he has been the subject of this miracle; that this is equal to a deposition in court; and that these depositions amount to hundreds of millions. The new birth is therefore a standing miracle. The age of miracles is not past, for this is the mightiest of them all; and it incontestably establishes the inspiration of the Sacred Oracles. In these statements there is much that we believe, even in regard to the probative force of Christian experience, and we assuredly will not fall below the author in magnifying the mighty power of God in the new birth. But how far the experience of this power is quotable as against opposers, and how far the new birth should be ranked among testificatory wonders, and how far communion in the eucharist is declarative *ipso facto* of a persuasion that he who communicates has undergone the great change,—these are questions still at issue between us and the respected author.

We take pleasure in recommending this small volume to the

careful perusal of all who may be annoyed with sceptical doubts, respecting the divine origin of Christianity.

The Dulcimer; or the New York Collection of Sacred Music, &c., &c. By I. B. Woodbury, Organist and Director of Music at the Rutgers Street Church, Editor of the American Musical Review, and author of various musical works. New York. Huntington & Savage. pp. 352.

The indiscriminate praise of a whole book of music would argue interested motives, haste or incompetence. There are in this things which we like and things which we dislike. We highly approve the cheapness, compactness, and fulness of the work. We are assured it contains about seven hundred tunes, upwards of one hundred and twenty-five select pieces, and about a hundred elementary exercises and divertisements, making in all nearly a thousand particulars; and that among these are three or four hundred old tunes, of which some have been almost forgotten, though they were prized by our forefathers. We find with pleasure a large proportion of the classical melodies which have acquired association with favourite psalms and hymns; and that the harmony of these has been restored from the ignorant and chance-medley arrangements of untutored musicians. We have represented here about two hundred composers, and tunes suited to sixty different metres, with chants, anthems, sentences, and set pieces, for every occasion which may demand vocal music. All this is methodized and presented under the guidance of a compiler, who appears to be at home in his profession, and familiar with the best masters. On the other hand, we are inclined to object to this very exuberance and diversity of style and subject. Just so far as the book is a cyclopaedia of compositions, it tends to interfere with that severe and chastened music which is inseparable from the ideal of the ecclesiastical genus. This, we are aware, is exactly in correspondence with the prevailing demand, and will give the collection a wide circulation. We may even add, it deserves this, on the ground of skill and elaborate preparation; and because a copious magazine of this sort is necessary to instructors. Yet for religious purposes, we should prefer a part to the whole.

We further apprehend that the abridged method of printing the chants, though it saves room, will increase the embarrassment of scholars. The Oratorio of Absalom, which concludes the work, has some exquisite morsels from Haydn, Beethoven, Rossini, David, and others. Yet we cannot but wonder to see such music wedded to such words as sundry of the effusions which appear in this Oratorio; as, for instance in No. 24, 'On to battle;' No. 5, 'Forgive my brother;' and No. 7, 'Ah, see now the sacrifice on altar they're slaying, The fire is descending it lights up the sky.' We insist upon poetry as well as music; if for no other reason, that the musical profession may not be thought to gain its pleasures at the expense of intellectual progress. After these strictures, we gladly acknowledge the debt we owe Mr. Woodbury for the great amount of truly good music he has here brought together, at a price which we have formerly known to be paid for what was less than a tenth in quantity, and inexpressibly inferior in quality.

A Practical Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians, in a series of Lectures, adapted to be read in social meetings. By the Rev. William Neill, D.D., author of Biblical History, etc. Philad. W. S. Martien. 1850. 18mo. pp. 328.

There are more voluminous expositions of this epistle, yet we believe the brief work before us will be both welcome and edifying. All that proceeds from the pen of the venerable author is characterized by sound judgment, biblical knowledge, and orthodox opinion, and his numerous friends will be glad to find him still bringing forth goodly fruit in his retirement. As we doubt not the meditation of these lectures gave him heartfelt pleasure, we are sure they will accomplish his desire for prolonged service among God's people. Readers will find it not so much critical or scholastic, as hortatory and experimental. As the divisions do not average more than ten pages, they may be read with ease even on busy days, by private believers. We desire for the pious labour the usefulness which it seeks.

Report to the Corporation of Brown University, on Changes

in the System of Collegiate Education, Read March 28, 1850. Providence. pp. 86. 8vo. 1850.

This pamphlet is ascribed to President Wayland. It has increased interest from the general expectation that the changes here suggested will be realized. It proposes a radical reform in the methods now existing, and consequently is much occupied with the disclosure of defects and abuses. Beyond the circle of a particular college it has a value for all similar institutions, and embodies a mass of important historical and literary statements. We think it an exaggeration to say that almost the whole time of undergraduates at Cambridge is devoted to the study of mathematics. A preponderance in this direction there certainly is, but any one who has ever seen a volume of Examination Papers know that this statement is too strong. The points of chief moment in the report may be thus summed up. The time allotted to each study must be determined by its relative importance. Every student should study such branches as he chooses, under advice of his parent or guardian. Every course which is begun should be carried on to its completion. Certificates should be given of the degree of proficiency attained. Academical degrees, as now given, *pro forma*, should be abolished. It strikes us as passing strange, that in a report so matured, so extensively reviewing college systems, and so deeply aiming at new foundations, no single hint is given that in every one of the particulars, the amendments here proposed have been (some of them for years) in actual operation in the University of Virginia.

The Anglo-Saxon Language ; Its Origin, Character, and Destiny : An Address delivered to the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association, of Cincinnati, Dec. 11, 1849. By A. Campbell, President of Bethany College Virginia. Philadelphia: printed for Walsh & Everson. 1850. pp. 31.

THIS Pamphlet, for which we are indebted to an unknown hand, has given us a very strong impression of its author's powers of elocution and popular address. We can easily imagine, that its round generalities, enunciated with consummate

elocutionary art, would make his hearers stare with astonishment. The extraordinary eulogium, quoted on the cover, from the *Daily Press* of Cincinnati, proves thus much at least; though we are utterly at a loss to find in the Discourse itself the evidence of "profound learning and wondrous powers of reasoning," ascribed to the author, unless it be in the arithmetical process, by which he proves, that in the year 2015, the United States will contain 2,025,000,000 Anglo-Saxons. It is true that in the historical portion of the address, there are references to some old philological authorities, (the most recent and pertinent of whom is Sir William Jones); and a declaration of the author that he has made "very considerable research into the antiquities of both European and Asiatic History;" but the only use made of these authorities is to cite from them, with indiscriminate acceptance, opinions that have been exploded or superseded along with those which have passed into the established etymology of the day; and notwithstanding his "very considerable researches," he seems to be most comfortably unconscious of the profound and learned labours of distinguished European scholars, on the very subject of his discourse within the last twenty years. The consequence is just what might have been anticipated. We have the "Teutones, Goths, Celts, Gauls, Angles, Saxons, and Normans"—the very enumeration, beautifully disregarding every principle of classification—treated as a single line of uninterrupted national descent. The patronymic, German, is authoritatively pronounced to be a mere corrupted *alias* for Gomerian; and thus by a single bold cut of his ethnological scalpel, the author makes his way through the tangled meshes of countless tribes, distinguishable and affiliated, up to their ancestral source, in the first-born son of Japheth. And as though this were not enough, it is intimated on a subsequent page, that the High German is to be classed with the "other *Slavonian* dialects spoken in Austria, Hungary, Poland and Russia!

Not content with thus mixing the blood of distinct and hostile races, whose undying enmity, even to this day, might have suggested the probability of distinct origin, the author treats his hearers to the old and oft told story of the Saxon

cironiclers, about the alliance sought by the Britons, at the suggestion of Vortigern, with their continental neighbors and friends, the Jutes, Angles and Saxons; as if it were not only veritable, but unquestioned history. There is clear internal evidence that the story commands his fullest credence; and we may be running some risk, by intimating a doubt about its truth. As a matter of precaution, therefore, it may be well to shelter ourselves under the wing of one of the latest and best authorities upon the subject, who affirms that "these traditional details, bear no nearer relation to the real history of Anglo-Saxon England, than the story of Æneas, as related by Virgil, does to the real history of the foundation of Rome." Even the very names, *Hengist* and *Horsa* are by some of the ruthless modern historical critics of the Anglo-Saxon period, degraded into epithets, derived from the ensigns that flaunted in the van of these implacable enemies of Britain, 'the Dragons of Germany,' as they are called by the bards.* The whole story may easily have been an invention, to give color of right, to the first successful predatory incursions, of those restless, freebooting Saxons.

But the portion of our author's history, which strikes us as decidedly original, is that in which he informs us that Julius Cæsar found the British Islands occupied by numerous tribes of "Gauls, Celts, Belgæ, Cimbri, *Germans* or Gomerians" and other varieties of Asiatic growth, for which we cannot now find an appropriate name." "In process of time, however, and after many a hard fought field he Romanized them all as the Germans before had Germanized the old Celtic Britons—a more ancient tenantry of the Island." What our Lecturer means by this we are utterly at a loss to conjecture. The thing was done he expressly tells us in the time of Julius Cæsar, in the 55th year before the Christian era. What Germans had "Germanized the old Celtic Britons," before that period we cannot imagine; and how well Julius Cæsar Romanized them, every school boy knows. And then, to crown

*Hengist, it is well known, signifies a stallion, and Horsa, as still in modern Danish, a mare. The snow-white Steed, still appears as the Ensign of Kent in England as it anciently did in the shield of the Old Saxons in Germany, and is even now borne on the shield of Brunswick Hanover. See Palgrave's History.

all, we are informed that after a desperate and fruitless "struggle of almost five centuries," (the author must, from the connexion, mean with the Romans,) "the Britons called for foreign aid and obtained it. The Jutes, the Angles and the Saxons, promptly obeyed the summons." We think the author would be puzzled to find authority even in the chronicles or the historical ballads of the Anglo-Saxons, for the statement that the Angles, and their confederated Saxon tribes, were invited over by the Britons as allies, to terminate a struggle of almost five centuries against their Roman rulers! This, we presume, must be one of those "depths of learning," alluded to by the Cincinnati Editor; where the best sounding lines at our command, are unable to find bottom.

Another curious piece of history, which after repeated perusals, still excites our wonder, may be found in the paragraph at the bottom of the 18th and top of the 19th pages. We feel almost tempted to quote the passage as a conundrum, for the purpose of trying the ingenuity of our readers, as we are free to confess, that our own has been fairly baffled in the attempt to suggest a solution.

After a few declamatory pages as to the character of the Anglo-Saxon language (the author, we presume from the context, means the English language,) the question of its comparative superiority is soon settled, on the obvious ground, that we can translate all the learning of all other languages, into our own, and "do it so perfectly, that the translation shall be fully equal to the original. As some one said of Pope's Homer: 'if all records were obliterated, and the chronology of nations lost, a time might come, when the wonder would be whether Pope translated Homer or, Homer Pope.'" "This with me," the author triumphantly says, "if not the most logical, is at least the most popular and appreciable way of deciding the question."

As to the hypothesis so confidently assumed in regard to the destiny of the Anglo Saxon (English?) language, viz: that it is "to become the universal tongue, spreading over all lands, and elevating, regenerating, and redeeming all people," we have no definite opinion to offer.

Of course, however, it follows from this that the "destiny"

of this race, of whom we Americans are so soon to number more than two thousand millions, is clear and inevitable. The "Universal Yankee Nation," is no longer a joke, but involves if not serious history, at least assured prophecy.

That the Lecture contains some bold and striking thoughts, and is well adapted to produce a strong impression on a promiscuous audience, we are free to concede; but when it is claimed that the Lecturer "displayed a depth of learning and vastness of intellectual vision truly astonishing," it will be seen from what we have said, (though it is not a tithe of what we might have said to the same purport, if it were worth our while,) we must beg leave respectfully to cast our vote among the *non liquets*.

The Annual of Scientific Discovery: or a Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art, exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology, Zoölogy, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities. Together with a list of recent Scientific Publications; a Classified list of Patents; Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men; an Index of Important Papers in Scientific Journals, Reports, etc. Edited by David A. Wells, of the Lawrence Scientific School, Cambridge, and George Bliss, Jr. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1850. 12mo. pp. 392.

This crowded title page supersedes the necessity for any further description of this volume. It is really a table of contents, rather than a title page. The plan of the work has been long familiar to science, in the old world. To attempt to show its convenience and utility, would be like setting up a formal vindication of the art of printing, or anything else that the wants of the age have rendered a matter of simple necessity. Most of our readers are anxious to keep an eye to the progress of science. In doing this, there are two principal difficulties. The first arises from the vast number of persons devoted to scientific researches, and the consequent number, size, and expense of the Journals, or Reports, in which their researches are recorded. It is no longer possible for men engaged in other professions, to keep up with the Journalism of

the day. The second difficulty is that of discriminating between what is true and false, or valuable and worthless, in those branches of knowledge, with which laymen are in a great measure unacquainted. To remove these difficulties supposes, of course, a highly respectable order of scientific qualifications on the part of the compilers or editors of works like that before us. This is the only point about which our readers will need any endorsement from us. We are happy to be able to say, that not only in our own judgment, but in that of much more competent critics than ourselves, the work is well executed. It is recommended in unqualified terms, by Professors Agassiz, Horsford, Wyman, Dr. Gould, and Lieut. Maury: and as evidence of its adaptation to the popular want, it may be mentioned, that it has already gone to the second edition. The editors propose to continue the work from year to year.

A Discourse on the Spiritual Power of the Roman Catholic Clergy. Delivered before the Synod of Kentucky, October, 13, 1849. By Edward P. Humphrey. Louisville: Hull & Brother, Printers. 1850.

This strikes us as one of the most effective, popular discourses we have yet seen, among those called forth by the late revival of the controversy with Rome. The author's method is characterized by clearness, vigour and logical order. He sets out with an analysis of the Romish definition of the Church, as given by Bellarmine; for the purpose of showing the necessary presence, and predominant power, of the clergy, not simply as a ministry, but as a priesthood: and then proceeds to draw out by logical consequence, the elements of despotic power necessarily involved in this theory of the Church. He confines himself, however, to the exhibition of the powers vested by it in the inferior clergy. The topics brought into the discussion, are, the Power of the Clergy over the Faith of their subjects—the Doctrine of the Sacraments—Auricular Confession—the Prerogative of Absolution—and the doctrine respecting Purgatory. These are produced, not for the purpose of heated appeals to popular prejudices, but in order to show how the Church of Rome has constructed out

of them, the most compact, massive, and appalling structure of despotism, the world has ever seen.

Practical Sermons: To be read in families and social meetings.

By Archibald Alexander, D. D. Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1850. pp. 571.

This is an elegantly printed volume, adorned with an engraving from the fine portrait of the author by Nagle. It must be a source of great gratification not to Presbyterians only, but to all evangelical christians, to see our Boards so successfully engaged in the publication and dissemination at so cheap a rate of works of this character.

The Story of William Tyndal; My own Bible; and The ungrateful child.

The Shepherd Boy of Bethlehem; William and his Dog; Profane Swearing; and the Sailor Boy of Eimeo.

These tracts form two elegant little volumes designed for children. They are among the recent publications of the Presbyterian Board.

Systematic Benevolence. Premium Essays. American Tract Society. pp. 87 and 76.

The former of these Essays is from the pen of the Rev. Parsons Cook, of Lynn, Mass. The author of the other is the Rev. Samuel Harris, Conway, Mass. They relate to a very important subject. God has always required of his people to contribute to the support and extension of the church. Under the old dispensation the mode and the measure of these contributions were determined by law. Under the New Testament economy Christ has left both to the free will of his people. For three centuries the liberality of Christians proved sufficient for the establishment and rapid extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. When the power of religion began to decline, confidence in the voluntary contributions of the faithful declined also, and those in authority thought they must prop up the church by legal enactments. From that time to this, in much the greater portion of Christendom, legal

provision for the support and extension of the institutions of religion, has been made and enforced by civil pains and penalties. Even in this country it was slowly and with many misgivings that the church gave up her dependance on the state. She has however been constrained to let go her hold on man, and trust to the promise and Spirit of God. This is a happy exchange. A child always carried in the arms continues feeble. When forced to go alone it rapidly increases in strength. Such has been the experience of the church. How instructive and encouraging, on this subject, has been the history of the Free Church of Scotland! The experience of the church in this country is scarcely less cheering. But a great responsibility is connected with this higher state and privilege. If God honours his church by confiding to her voluntary agency the support and extension of the gospel; he will bless her the more if she be faithful to her vocation; but her degradation and depression will be the greater, if she prove unworthy of this great trust. It is not a matter of course that Christians will do their duty in this matter. Means are necessary to secure their fidelity. These means are instruction and the exhibition of the true motives to obedience. It becomes, therefore, a matter of primary importance that the people should be imbued with correct principles; that they should be made to see clearly their duty, and to estimate aright the consequences suspended on their fidelity. Great care should be taken that the truth on this subject be clearly presented; that giving money should not be urged either as a means of righteousness, or as a means of thrift. Let the motives presented be elevated. Love to the Lord Jesus Christ is the great comprehensive Christian motive. He gave himself for us; and it is very little we can ever do in return.

The doctrine of the Church of England as to the effect of Baptism in the case of Infants. With an Appendix containing the Baptismal services of Luther and the Nuremberg and Cologne Liturgies. By William Goode M. A. F. F. A. Rector of St. Antholin, London New York: Sandford & Swords, 1850. pp. 562.

There is an intimate logical connexion between the theory of

the church and the theory of doctrine. The Romish system of doctrine necessarily leads to the Romish theory of the church. The two indeed are so united as to be almost identified. The Protestant scheme of doctrine, on the other hand, with a like necessity, determines the theory of the church. According to Romanists the outward church is an institute of salvation. It is a visible corporation imbued with the power to sanctify and save. Christ gave the Holy Ghost to the apostles. They communicated the gift and the power to transmit it to their successors, the bishops. These confer the Holy Ghost on priests in ordination by the imposition of hands. The possession of this gift renders the sacraments as administered by them efficacious in conferring grace. By baptism the guilt of original sin is cancelled; inward corruption is removed; inherent grace is communicated; and the recipient is made a child of God and heir of heaven. Without Baptism no one, infant or adult, can be saved; because that rite is the only appointed means of conferring, in the first instance, the benefits of redemption. The grace of baptism, however, may be lost by mortal sin. When thus lost it can only be restored by the sacrament of penance. All who are within the church and obedient to its rites and rules are saved; all out of the visible church perish. This theory (with the exception of what relates to penance) has always had its advocates in the Anglican church. And under the name of Puseyism has of late years become specially conspicuous.

The great doctrine of the Reformation was justification by faith alone. Men are saved by grace, through faith. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life. He that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him. Faith is confessedly a personal act. It is receiving the record God has given of his Son. Faith, therefore, and not the sacraments, is the great means of salvation. The benefits of redemption are not conferred by external rites; but being received by faith they are represented, sealed and applied anew to believers in the sacraments. We are united to Christ therefore not by union with the outward church; but being united to Christ by faith we become thereby members of his body, which is the true church.

It would seem to be impossible to unite the doctrine of justification by faith only, with the doctrine of justification by baptism. They are radically different views of the gospel. And they cannot coalesce. Historically, therefore, they have never been long united. Rome holds the doctrine of justification by baptism, and considers the doctrine of justification by faith a deadly heresy. Protestants hold justification by faith, and it would seem, must repudiate the other doctrine. Consistent Protestants have ever done so. But many have sought a middle ground.

One theory has been that baptism in the case of infants does in all cases, when rightly administered, convey the benefits of the redemption. But men may fall from grace; and when by actual sin they forfeit the privileges conferred in baptism, then they must repent and believe, and be saved in the way in which Protestants represent.

Others again deny that Baptism actually conveys a new nature. It simply secures the remission of the guilt of original sin, and power to repent, believe, love God, and keep his commandments. If that ability is duly cultivated and exercised, salvation is secured; if it is lost or neglected, all the benefits of baptism are forfeited.

It was in the former of these two ways the Lutherans endeavoured to reconcile the doctrine of baptismal regeneration with the great doctrine of the reformation. The Reformed church, however, of which the church of England, in the days of her purity and youth, was proud to consider herself a branch, was precluded from that view. The Reformed church, and no branch of it more thoroughly and zealously than the church of England, held the doctrine of personal election and perseverance of the saints. They believed that whom God calls, them he also justifies, and whom he justifies them he also glorifies; that the gifts and calling of God are without repentance; that where he has begun a good work, he never fails to carry it on to salvation. If therefore all baptized infants are regenerated, they would give the evidence of holiness in their lives, and be finally saved. As this is confessedly not the case, the inference seems irresistible that, according to the doctrine of the Reformed, they could not have been regen-

erated. It has, therefore, been the characteristic doctrine of the Reformed that the grace of God is not tied to Baptism, that it comes at the time, long afterwards, or never, according to the inscrutable purpose of God; that the design of baptism therefore is not to convey, in the first instance, the benefits of the covenant of grace, but to seal to those within the covenant the possession of its blessings, on the condition of faith.

It seems to be the object of Mr. Goode to show that as the church of England was for a hundred years after the reformation, thoroughly imbued with the reformed faith (i. e. Calvinism,) it could not have held either the Romish or Lutheran theory of baptismal regeneration. We believe this argument is valid and unanswerable as far as the real faith of the church is concerned. But it does not prove that baptismal regeneration is not the doctrine of the Prayer Book. That book, as every one knows and concedes, was a compromise. It was constructed with the view to change as little as possible the forms of public worship, and to conciliate as far as possible those who adhered to the Romish faith. The two questions therefore seem to us perfectly distinct: What is the faith of the church of England considered as a body of professing Christians? and, What is the doctrine of the book of Common Prayer? The inconsistency between the language of the latter and the faith of the true representatives of the former, has always been a great let and hindrance, which can never be taken out of the way until the Prayer Book is reformed.

The Doctrine of Holy Baptism; with remarks on Rev. W. Goode's "Effects of Infant Baptism." By Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A. M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Phila: H. Hooker. 1850. pp. 300. 12mo.

In opposition to Mr. Goode, Mr. Wilberforce contends that "the gift of a renewed nature" is conveyed to all baptized infants; that the early English reformers were not Calvinists; and that the authoritative divines of the English church all taught the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

Archdeacon Wilberforce belongs to the German school. He has succumbed to the new philosophy, and adopted that form of mystic theology which has its foundations in the pantheistic

principles of Schleiermacher. It is a very dangerous experiment to attempt to separate principles from their legitimate results. This is the experiment which is now in the process of trial by a large class of the disciples of Schleiermacher in Germany, England and America. Whether that distinguished man was, strictly speaking, himself a pantheist, may be a matter of dispute; but it is not denied, by the most competent judges, that pantheism was the basis of his peculiar system. He could not, and avowedly did not believe the doctrine of the Trinity, of a two-fold nature in Christ, or of atonement and justification by the imputation of righteousness. Justification with him was really subjective. It is more than we can understand how those who adopt his principles, can still retain their faith in these doctrines. Such is the pliability of his system that it accommodates itself easily to the peculiarities of doctrinal Romanism. As to the question of baptismal regeneration, the two systems come into close contact. According to Romanists the visible church is in such a sense the body of Christ, that all who by baptism are united to the church, are thereby united to Christ and made partakers of his spirit and life. According to the disciples of Schleiermacher, the church is the continuance of the incarnation; the divine and human were united, or manifested as one in Christ; men are saved by him and made partakers of this deified humanity; or of the human nature of Christ which is one and the same with his divine nature. Humanity in him was divinity. The humanity of Christ, therefore, is the principle of our regeneration, according to Mr. Wilberforce. And as we are united to Christ by being united to the church, and as union with the church is effected in baptism, it is by baptism that we are made partakers of Christ's humanity and thus regenerated. The whole theology of this school is a hybrid system, and had it the principle of propagation, would be more to be dreaded than Romanism itself.

The Unity of the Human Races proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason and Science. By Rev. Thomas Smyth, D. D. New York: Geo. P. Putnam. 1850.

This work has all the characteristics of its author, with

which the public are well acquainted. We need not therefore commend it to their notice. The subject will command for it general attention. We regret that it came into our hands at so late an hour, as to render anything more than this advertisement impossible.

The Psalms : Translated and explained, By J. A. Alexander, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. vol. I. New York : Baker & Scribner, 145 Nassau St. 1850. pp. 436.

The author states in his preface that "he has aimed exclusively at *explanation*, the discovery and statement of the meaning." The work is especially designed for ministers who may well be left to erect a doctrinal, devotional or practical superstructure on the exegetical basis here offered. We understand the second volume is passing rapidly through the press.

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ART. I.—*The Works of Algernon Sidney, 1722.*

MILTON has well said; "A commonwealth ought to be as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and as compact in virtue as in body." But what ought to be seldom is, and what is really good on earth is seldom in perfection. The trail of the serpent is seen everywhere. Yet this is no reason, why the best things in the highest degrees should not be earnestly sought. The school-boy may be but a blotter of paper for a long time, nevertheless he should have good copies before him all the time, lest in imitating he should incurably learn a bad hand. No man can do a better civil service to his country than to hold up before the young the best models of states and statesmen. When political virtue lives in the poor-house, political liberty goes to jail. This is ever true. Therefore he who wishes well to men, should study and adduce the bright examples of former days, for the admiration and benefit of his own and future ages, and so much the more as living instances are rare.

Very few names in the history of the past are more entitled
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to celebrity among freemen than that of Algernon Sidney. Strange as it may seem it is yet true that the world has for a long time been disputing about the year of his birth, some insisting that he was born in 1617, and others, with better evidence perhaps, that he was born in 1622. His father was Robert, earl of Leicester. His mother was Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. At the age of ten, he accompanied his father into Denmark, and at fourteen years of age into France, to which countries his noble sire was ambassador. Even at that age it was said of the boy that "he had a huge deal of wit, and much sweetness of nature." In 1641 his father was lord lieutenant of Ireland. When the rebellion broke out, Algernon went to that island with his eldest brother Philip, lord viscount Lisle, commanded a troop of horse, and distinguished himself on all occasions by his gallantry. In the year 1643 he had liberty from Charles I. and from Leicester to return into England. In August of that year, he landed in Lancashire. He was taken in custody, and carried to London by order of Parliament. He was there prevailed on to take a command under them, and in the May following he was made captain in a troop of horse in the regiment of the earl of Manchester, who was at that time Major General of several counties. He soon won distinction at the battle of York and in other engagements, became governor of Chichester, then went to Ireland, became Lieutenant General of the horse, received the thanks of Parliament for his good services, returned to England and became governor of Dover. In 1648, he was nominated one of the judges of that guilty monarch, Charles I. but for some reason unknown he did not sit in the case. He served the Parliament and the cause of liberty faithfully as long as the government was of a republican form. But when Oliver Cromwell set aside the Parliament and ruled by force of arms, Algernon Sidney denounced the usurpation in open and fearless terms. He never would act with him nor for him; but to the extent of his power opposed him and his son Richard. Indeed on his trial Sidney called Cromwell "a tyrant and a violent one" and added, "you need not wonder I call him a

tyrant, I did so every day in his life, and acted against him too."

But when Richard Cromwell resigned and the long Parliament was restored in May, 1659, and ordained that "to secure the liberty and property of the people, both as men and Christians, and that without a single person, kingship, or house of Lords, and to uphold the magistracy and the ministry, he gave in his adhesion and became one of the Council of State. On the 5th of June, 1659, he was nominated, with Sir Robert Honeywood and Beelstrode Whitelock, Esq., to mediate a peace between the kings of Sweden and Denmark. Soon after he with Whitelock and Thomas Boone, appointed in place of Honeywood, who had declined, set out and reached Elsinour, on the 21st of that month. His conduct in this negotiation, as might be expected, was every way honourable. But General Monk, Admiral Montagu, and many others secretly engaged to Charles II. were now exerting all their power to hasten the restoration of the Stuart dynasty. Montagu returned suddenly to England, to be ready to serve the rising interests of his frivolous master. But Sidney remained in the North of Europe. In June, 1660, he writes a letter to his brother expressive of great doubt as his own future course; and again on the 22d of July, 1660, stating that he was about to leave Denmark for Hamburgh and Holland but was very uncertain as to his subsequent career. Under date of August 30th, of the same year, his father wrote him a letter, which certainly was none of the kindest, but it is not necessary to give it entire. Yet one or two things are worthy of notice. He says to his son that there is a report in England that when he was in Copenhagen he wrote in a volume of the university, these words:

—"Manus haec inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem,"

and put his name to it. His father also says it is reported that he had said to one who spoke of the guilt of the death of Charles I. "Do you call that guilt? why, it was the justest and bravest action that ever was done in England or any where else." No wonder his father regarded it unsafe for him to return to England under these circumstances, and so

advised him. He accordingly remained on the Continent, visiting Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Rome, [Belgium, Holland and France, until 1677, when he obtained leave to return and a particular pardon. He did all he could to divert the nation from a war with France, then so much spoken of, fearing that the army trained abroad would on the return of peace, be turned against the liberties of his own country. This involved him in suspicion, some charging him with being a pensioner of France, than which nothing could be more untrue. There was no just cause of war with France at that time. Love of country was undoubtedly his ruling passion on this occasion. He twice stood candidate for Parliament, viz: in 1678, for Guildford, and in 1679, for Bramber, but was defeated, his own family in the last case being against him, and his brother Henry being his successful competitor. But his mind was firm, his principles uniform, and his courage undaunted. Nothing could induce him to truckle at the footstool of power. His enemies were active, suspicious, and unprincipled, and in 1683 he was arrested on a charge of treason. When examined before the king and council as to the rye-house plot, he refused to do more than assert his readiness to vindicate his own innocence against all charges brought against him, in conformity with British laws. He was cast into the tower where he lay till the 7th of November, when he was brought by *habeas corpus* to the bar of the court of the King's bench, then filled by a set of detestable monsters. On the 21st of the same month he was tried and found guilty. On the 26th, he was brought up and sentenced. On the 7th of December, 1683, he was, at the age of sixty-one years, executed in a manner too brutal to relate. The next day his body was interred with his ancestors at Penshurst.

In his character the most prominent features were sweetness of temper united with a courage that nothing could intimidate. He was conscientious unto death. Not an instance in all his life has been found when he swerved from candour, truth, and honour. All his impulses were generous and asserted personal independence. If he sometimes carried his assertion of his rights to what seems to us an extreme, let us remember that in opposing the encroachments of tyranny,

there is but one only safe motto, "*Obsta principiis.*" Dr. Hutcheson, of Glasgow, often told of him that when in France and hunting with the French king, Sidney was mounted on a fine English horse whose form and spirit greatly pleased the king. The king sent him a message offering to buy the horse at his own price. He replied that he did not choose to part with him. The king determined in defiance of all the decency of his position and of all the hospitalities due to a stranger and a gentleman, to take no denial, and directed money to be offered, and whether he accepted or not, to take possession of the horse for him. This was made known to Sidney, who immediately took a pistol and shot his steed, saying, "My horse was born a free creature, has served a free man, and shall not be mastered by a king of slaves." Let cowards gape at such an act. Let the scrupulous censure it. But by so much as a man is better than a horse, and by so much as absolute liberty is better than degrading servility, by so much was this conduct more noble and praiseworthy than anything that can be expected from the base and vile. Indeed love of liberty was an everburning passion with Sidney. When serving the Parliament in the war, he bore this only motto, without figure, "SANCTUS AMOR PATRIAE DAT ANIMUM." Nobler sentiments of personal independence were never uttered than those he expressed in his long exile from his country for about eighteen years succeeding the Restoration.

Hear him in reply to the importunity of some friends, who desired his return: "I am sorry I cannot in all things conform myself to the advices of my friends. If theirs had any joint concernment with mine, I should willingly submit my interest to theirs; but when I alone am interested, and they only advise me to come over as soon as the act of indemnity is past, because they think it is best for me, I cannot wholly lay aside my own judgment and choice. I confess we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country. I have a particular love to mine. I hope I have given some testimony of it. I think that being exiled from it is a great evil, and would redeem myself from it with the loss of a great deal of my blood. But when that country of mine, which used to be

esteemed a paradise, is now like to be made a stage of injury : the liberty which we hoped to establish oppressed ; luxury and lewdness set up in its height, instead of piety, virtue, sobriety and modesty, which we hoped God, by our hands, would have introduced ; the best of our nation made a prey to the worst : the parliament, court, and army corrupted ; the people enslaved ; all things vendible ; no man safe but by such evil and infamous means as flattery and bribery ; what joy can I have in my own country in this condition ? Is it a pleasure to see that all I love in the world is sold and destroyed ? Shall I renounce all my old principles, learn the vile court-arts, and make my peace by bribing some of them ? Shall their corruptions and vice be my safety ? Ah ! no ; better is a life among strangers, than in my own country upon such conditions. Whilst I live, I will endeavour to preserve my liberty ; or at least, not consent to the destroying of it. I hope I shall die in the same principles in which I have lived, and will live no longer than they can preserve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies ; but, as I think, of no meanness. I will not blot or defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when God should cast me into such a condition, as that I cannot save my life but by doing an indecent thing, he shews me the time has come, wherein I should resign it : and when I cannot live in my own country but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think he shews me, I ought to keep myself out of it. Let them please themselves with making the king glorious, who think a whole people may justly be sacrificed for the interest and pleasure of one man, and a few of his followers ; let them rejoice in their subtilty, who, by betraying the former powers, have gained the favour of this, not only preserved, but advanced themselves in these dangerous changes. Nevertheless, perhaps they may find, the king's glory is their shame ; his plenty the people's misery ; and that the gaining of an office or a little money is a poor reward for destroying a nation, which, if it were preserved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the most glorious in the world ; and that others may find, they have with much pains purchased their own shame and misery, a dear price paid for that, which is not worth

keeping, nor the life that is accompanied with it. The honour of English parliaments hath ever been in making the nation glorious and happy, not in selling and destroying the interest of it, to satisfy the lusts of one man. Miserable nation! that from so great a height of glory is fallen into the most despicable condition in the world; of having all the good depending upon the breath and will of the vilest persons in it! cheated and sold by them they trusted! infamous traffic, equal almost in guilt to that of Judas! In all preceding ages, parliaments have been the palace of our liberty; the sure defenders of the oppressed; they, who would formerly bridle kings, and keep the balance equal between them and the people, are now become instruments of all our oppressions; and a sword in his hand to destroy us; they themselves led by a few interested persons, who are willing to buy offices for themselves, by the misery of the whole nation and the blood of the most worthy and eminent persons in it. Detestable bribes, worse than the oaths now in fashion in this mercenary court! I mean to owe neither my life nor liberty to such means. When the innocence of my actions will not protect me, I will stay away till the storm be over-passed. In short, where Vane, Lambert, Haselrigge cannot live in safety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in England, I should have expected a lodging with them; or though they may be the first, as being more eminent than I, I must expect to follow their example in suffering, as I have been their companion in acting. I am most in amaze at the mistaken informations, that were sent to me, by my friends, full of expectation of favours and employments. Who can think that they, who imprison them, would employ me, or suffer me to live where they are put to death? If I might live and be employed, can it be expected that I should serve a government that seeks such detestable ways of establishing itself? Ah, no; I have not learnt to make my own peace, by persecuting, and betraying my brethren, more innocent and worthy than myself. I must live by just means, and serve to just ends, or not at all. After such a manifestation of the ways by which it is intended the king shall govern, I should have renounced any place of favour, into which the kindness and industry of my friends might have advanced me, when I

found those that were better than I, were only fit to be destroyed. I had formerly some jealousies; the fraudulent proclamation for indemnity increased them; the imprisoning of those three men, and turning out of all the officers of the army, contrary to promise, confirmed me in my resolutions not to return. To conclude, the tide is not to be diverted, nor the oppressed delivered; but God, in his time, will have mercy on his people. He will save and defend them, and avenge the blood of those, who shall now perish, upon the heads of those, who, in their pride, think nothing is able to oppose them. Happy are those, whom God shall make instruments of his justice in so blessed a work! If I can live to see that day, I shall be ripe for the grave, and able to say with joy, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.' Farewell. My thoughts as to king and state depending upon their actions, no man shall be a more faithful servant to him than I, if he make the good and prosperity of his people his glory; none more his enemy, if he doth the contrary. To my particular friends I shall be constant in all occasions, and to you a most affectionate servant."

Any right-minded man would rather be the author of such a letter, written under such circumstances, than enjoy the fame of having founded Nineveh, built the walls of Babylon, or erected the pyramids of Egypt. The very names of those who reared these stupendous monuments of the Nile are gone from among men, the pride of him of Babylon sent him to eat grass in the field, and the Persian soon had his city; and Nimrod and Ashur the son of Shem are made the antagonist claimants for the honour of founding Nineveh, nor would mankind gain any advantage by settling the dispute. But the sentiments of this letter are immortal and will make great and good men of all who embrace them. He who believes with Milton in his celebrated prayer that tyrants "shall remain forever the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot and down-trodden vassals of perdition," will not lack an Isaiah to sustain his creed, and cannot fail to bring his tribute of homage to such sentiments as Sidney has here recorded. Nor will they ever utterly perish, until private and public virtue shall be driven from among men, and,

standing bleeding before God's throne, shall cry for a hasty winding up of human affairs by the awful assizes of the last day, and by a universal conflagration of the heavens and the earth. What miserable drivellers of our own day are those who find no warm sympathies with such a man and with many like him ! An English clergyman of the last generation, has had the candour to say that, "many, no doubt, who obtained an undue ascendancy among the Puritans, in the turbulent days of Charles the first, and even before that time, were factious, ambitious hypocrites ; but I must think that the tree of liberty, sober and legitimate liberty, civil and religious, under the shadow of which, we, in the establishment as well as others, repose in peace, and the fruit of which we gather, was planted by the Puritans, and watered, if not by their blood, at least by their tears and sorrows. Yet, it is the modern fashion to feed delightfully on the fruit, and then revile, if not curse, those who planted and watered it." Yes, even in this land of freedom, there are men base enough in heart to express sympathy with those who persecuted the Puritans. The Puritans ! Who were they ? Some tell you they were men of whom the world was not worthy. Others denounce them as unfit to live. But what is the truth ? The Puritans were chiefly of four classes. These were the Independents, a small, intelligent, pious body of men, not numbering in all London two thousand, but by their great learning and high moral character exerting a powerful influence over the realm. Next come a respectable and pious body of ministers and laymen in the established church of England, numbering among its brightest ornaments such men as Richard Baxter. Next we see that large body, who borrowed their notions of doctrine, discipline, government, and liberty from Geneva, Holland and Scotland. They had vast learning, much piety and great numbers. These three classes of men laboured long and faithfully to fill the land with sound knowledge. Every year their power was more and more felt, until it was evident they were soon to be in the ascendant on all great questions of morals and government. Then rapidly politicians forsook their old associations and began to act with the religious Puritans. This fourth class, the Political Puritans, consisted of two classes, first the en-

lightened and genuine friends of the liberties of the people, who were pleased to unite their efforts with all, who were like-minded, and secondly, the men, who are always ready to suit their actions to the times in order, if possible, to be leaders. This despicable class of time-servers is commonly not very small. When they joined the Puritans, they wore the lankest hair, whined and canted most extravagantly in scripture phrase, and carried sanctimoniousness to the grossest extremes. These very men, on the Restoration, (so far as they were admitted to the royal favour,) were as loose as their profligate master could well have desired. But they were at all times a minority. The great body of the Puritans acted from principle, and nothing could change them. Algernon Sidney was one of them. John Hampden was another, John Milton was a third. The illustrious men already named, with hosts of others, swelled the company of the patriots to an immense size. If the time shall ever arrive, when the memory of such men shall not be venerated, liberty will be no watchword, and Englishmen and their descendants will be ready to do the behests of selfish, petty tyrants.

It is impossible to read "the trial of Algernon Sidney" without sentiments of a righteous indignation. It covers sixty-five pages. His apology on the day of his death covers thirty-two pages. Here we have exactly one hundred quarto pages, in which is the record of as much wrong, illegality and brutality as can perhaps be found in the same amount of transactions in any tribunal, the Inquisition hardly excepted. He was imprisoned contrary to the provisions of Magna Charta, reaffirmed by many parliaments, which require two credible witnesses, or a free confession. The law allowed imprisonment before conviction only for custody and not for punishment. Whereas Sidney was kept and treated as if sentence were already passed. His private personal property was seized by the minions of power and dispersed, he and his friends knew not where, before he was brought before any court. The bill found by the grand jury was not upon evidence, but on the request of the attorney. The indictment was long, perplexed and confused. In it no overt act was distinctly set forth. The meetings of the alleged conspirators

were said to have been on the thirtieth of June and many other days both before and after; whereas he was then, and for some time before and afterwards until his death a close prisoner. He was at his first hearing and throughout his trial denied counsel, though he asked it, and urged his want of acquaintance both with statutes and the forms of legal proceedings. When he offered a special plea, already prepared, it was refused, unless he would make it peremptory, so that if it were over-ruled, he could be no further heard. He was thus forced to a general issue on an indictment, which he never saw, and a copy of which was refused him throughout the trial, although he heard it read. The jury consisted not of peers, or gentlemen, or even of freeholders. The right of challenging for cause was utterly denied, and every challenge was required to be absolute. The jury was packed, and was in part named by the infamous Graham and Burton, two vultures employed by the court to procure the death of innocent men. Four witnesses were brought into court to fill the minds of the jury with terrible ideas of treason somewhere, but not one of them could say anything against Sidney. Then came forward the ever infamous lord Howard with his rhetorical flourishes, a man who had not for years enjoyed the confidence of any gentleman; a man, who had repeatedly appealed to heaven for his sincerity in declaring that he knew nothing that could affect Sidney's good standing for loyalty, but who by his cowardice had been driven to what himself called "the drudgery of swearing" away the lives of others in order to save his own. The peerage of England have commonly been men of a high sense of honour as to truth, but this miserable creature was not fit to be a nobleman in Newgate. Three eminent peers, two gentlemen of quality, cousins of lord Howard and other witnesses entitled to credit showed him to be one of the basest of men, and not entitled to the least credence, even when solemnly appealing to God. This monster of depravity was the only witness against Sidney. To make up the deficiency of witnesses some unfinished, unpublished pieces of paper, said to have been found in Sidney's closet, were brought in. Yet it was not proved that Sidney had written them; or that he had shewn or published them. They were evidently

old and the statute required treasons to be prosecuted in six months. When these papers were brought into court, they were not all read, but only parts of them and only such parts as pleased the prosecution. The presiding judge was George Jeffreys, a name as certainly doomed to infamy in all coming ages, as that of Judas Iscariot. His drunken and bloody brutality is now confessed the world over. With him was associated Wythins, a coarse, ignorant drunken monster. The charge to the jury was full of prejudice, violence and coarseness. There is even reason to suspect that Jeffreys had access to the jury after they retired.

It is extremely revolting to our feelings to dwell on these details. Nothing is more trying to our temper than the annals of cruelty, especially cruelty practised under the name of law and authority. But he, who would serve his generation wisely, must not be scared away from investigation of the past, under the belief that human nature is now better than formerly. Such trials as those of Sidney teach great lessons, and the friends of freedom ought to study them well. We have heard from our childhood of the value of an *independent judiciary*. In its origin the phrase had a very good sense. For a long time the crown both appointed and removed judges at pleasure. Such a judiciary could not be expected to act with impartiality. Britons did not rest until an act was passed, by which the judges held their office until removed for cause by impeachment fairly tried. This was indeed a great point gained. The whole history of nations shows that the judiciary is almost without exception strong enough, and when freed from intimidation by popular violence, or royal behests, it is surely independent enough for all good purposes. But it is monstrous that the property, liberties or lives of mankind should be sacrificed to the incompetency, or malice of judges under any plea whatever. What can be more revolting than to see a drunken debauchee or an old dotard or a self-conceited youth, who never knew much law and has forgotten that, ministering in the temple of justice. He must have seen but little of the wants of our country, who has not witnessed cases of spitefulness, gross ignorance, and lordliness in the bench.

It is impossible to read the history of State Trials in any period of the history of England without being appalled at the enormous amount of wrong done. This remark applies to so late a period as the latter days of George III. Sir John Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon, was a terrible prosecutor ; and one has but to read the speeches of Lord Erskine to find his sensibilities excited to the highest pitch for the unhappy victims of legal persecution at a time, to which the memory of some still living runs. When we hear freemen, who live in a land where constructive treason is unknown in judicature, speaking in glowing terms of the liberties enjoyed under the British Constitution, we shrewdly guess that if they had stood in the place of Lord George Gordon, or Thomas Hardy, or James Hadfield, they would utter very different sentiments. Lord Coke has indeed given this law maxim for judges:—“*Qui haerit in litera, haerit in cortice,*” but a much greater man than he has given us two other maxims far more true and safe: “*Cum recedit a litera judex transit in legislatorem,*” and “*non est interpretatio, sed divinatio quae recedit a litera.*”

Our readers have noticed that but one witness (and he unworthy of credit) was brought forward to prove the treason of Sidney. On nothing do human rights depend more than on correct laws and a correct application of the laws of testimony. Therefore, it can never be a matter of indifference to any wise man what those laws are, and what usages prevail in courts of either criminal or spiritual jurisdiction. On the subject of the necessity of two witnesses we venture to give a short quotation from Sidney's apology. “I must,” says he, “ever insist upon the law of God given by the hand of Moses, confirmed by Christ and his apostles, whereby two witnesses are necessarily required to every word and every matter. This is received by all that profess the name of Christ, and so understood by all, that no man in any place can be put to death, unless two or more testify the same word or thing. The reason of this is not because two or more evil men may not be found, as appears by the story of Susanna ; but because it is hard for two or more so to agree upon all circumstances, relating to a lie, as not to thwart one another : and whoso-

ever admits of two testifying several things done or said at several times and places, conducing, as is said of late unto the same ends, destroys the reason of that law, takes away all the defence that the most innocent men can have for their lives, and opens a wide gate for perjury, by taking away all possibility of discovering it. This would be far more mischievous in England, where there is no law of retaliation, than other countries, where a false witness undergoes the same punishment as should have been inflicted upon the accused person, if his words had been found true. But the law of England doth require two witnesses unto the same thing in the statute, Ed. VI. and the stat. 3 Eliz. 2 and 13 Car. 22." He then argues with great power that if the modern doctrine prevail, we may all say in the language of one of the worst magistrates Rome ever had, '*scituros neminem se invito reperiri posse insontem.*' In these sentiments we express our hearty concurrence. They are essential to the preservation of human rights. The passages of scripture bearing on the case are numerous and clear, as Numbers xxxv. 30, Deut. xvii. 6, and xix. 15, Matt. xviii. 16, John viii. 17, and 1 Tim. v. 19. The apostolic canons admit the same rule and point to the scriptures as authority. We have long observed that no small portion of the cases of appeal and complaint in our higher church courts are those, in which there has been a neglect of this great and essential principle by the court, in which process commenced.

Mention has been made in the quotation from Sidney of the "law of retaliation." To many readers the word sounds harshly, because it is commonly applied to private revenge. But Sidney has given the true meaning of the phrase. The law is a good one.

The conduct of the lord Howard, whose testimony, in the case of Lord Russell, did by no means tally with his testimony in the trial of Sidney reminds one of the old proverb—a liar ought to have a good memory. Verily it is even so. Rhetorical flourishes in the witness-box are as much out of place as in the pulpit. In both cases they are a poor substitute for plain truth. Preaching is testifying. The more clear the mind and words of the witness the better. But we dismiss further thoughts on this trial.

That, which above all other things has made Sidney a benefactor to his race is his immortal work on government. It covers five hundred and eight pages quarto, and is an imperishable monument of his genius, learning and patriotism. It is divided into three chapters (a modern would say books.) The chapters are divided into sections (which a modern would call chapters.) The first chapter contains twenty sections; the second chapter contains thirty-two sections; and the third forty-six—in all ninety-eight distinct topics of discussion. We will give the titles omitting the numbers. The first chapter contains these sections: The Introduction; The common notions of Liberty are not from School-divines but from Nature; Implicit faith belongs to fools, and Truth is comprehended by examining principles; The rights of particular nations cannot subsist, if general principles contrary to them are received as true; To depend upon the will of a man is Slavery; God leaves to man the choice of forms of Government, and those who constitute one form may abrogate it; Abraham and the Patriarchs were not kings; Nimrod was the first king during the life of Cush, Ham, Shem, and Noah; The power of a Father belongs only to a Father; Such as enter into society, must in some degree, diminish their liberty; No man comes to command many unless by consent, or by force; The pretended paternal right is divisible or indivisible, if divisible it is extinguished, if indivisible universal; There was no shadow of a paternal kingdom amongst the Hebrews, nor precept for it; If the paternal right had included dominion, and was to be transferred to a single heir it must perish, if he were not known, and could be applied to no other person; The ancients chose those to be kings who excelled in the virtues that are most beneficial to civil societies; God, having given the government of the world to no one man, nor declared how it should be divided, left it to the will of man; If a right of dominion were esteemed hereditary according to the law of nature, a multitude of destructive and inextricable controversies would thereupon arise; Kings cannot confer the right of father upon princes, nor princes upon kings.

The sections of the second chapters have these titles: That it is natural for nations to govern or to choose governors, and

that virtue only gives a natural preference of one man above another, or reason why one should be chosen rather than another: Every man that has children, has the right of a father, and is capable of preferment in a society composed of many: Government is not instituted for the good of the governor, but of the governed; and power is not an advantage but a burden: The paternal right devolves to, and is inherited by all the children: Freemen join together and frame greater or less societies, and give such forms to them as best please themselves: They, who have a right of choosing a king, have the right of making a king: The laws of every nation are the measure of magistratical power: There is no natural propensity in man or beast to monarchy: The government instituted by God over the Israelites was aristocratical: Aristotle was not simply for monarchy, or against popular government; but approved or disapproved of either according to circumstances; Liberty produces virtue, order, and stability; slavery is accompanied with vice, weakness, and misery: The glory, virtue, and power of the Romans began and ended with their liberty: There is no disorder or prejudice in changing the name or number of magistrates, while the root and principle of their power continues entire: No sedition was hurtful to Rome, till through their prosperity some men gained a power above the laws: The empire of Rome perpetually decayed, when it fell into the hands of one man: The best governments of the world have been composed of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy: Good governments admit of changes in the superstructures, whilst the foundations remain unchangeable: Xenophon, in blaming the disorders of democracies, favours aristocracies, not monarchies: That corruption and venality which is common to courts, is seldom found in popular governments: Man's natural love to liberty is tempered by reason, which originally is his nature: Mixed and popular governments preserve peace and manage wars better than absolute monarchies: Commonwealths seek peace or war, according to the variety of their constitutions: That is the best government, which provides best for war: Popular governments are less subject to civil disorders than monarchies, manage them more ably, and more easily recover out of them: Courts are more subject

to venality and corruption than popular governments: Civil tumults and wars are not the greatest evils that befall nations: The mischiefs and cruelties proceeding from tyranny are greater [evils] than any that can come from popular or mixed governments: Men living under popular or mixed governments are more careful of the public good, than in absolute monarchies: There is no assurance that the distempers of a state shall be cured by the wisdom of a prince: A monarchy cannot be regulated unless the powers of a monarch are limited by law: The liberties of nations are from God and nature, not from kings: The contracts made between magistrates and the nations that created them, were real, solemn, and obligatory.

The sections of the third chapter are as follows: Kings, not being fathers of their people, nor excelling all others in virtue, can have no other just power than what the laws give; nor any title to the privileges of the Lord's anointed. The kings of Israel and Judah were under a law not safely to be transgressed. Samuel did not describe to the Israelites the glory of a free monarchy, but the evils the people should suffer, that he might divert them from having a king. No people can be obliged to suffer from their kings what they have not a right to do. The mischiefs suffered from wicked kings are such as render it both reasonable and just, for all nations, that have virtue and power, to exert both in repelling them. It is not good for such nations as will have kings, to suffer them to be glorious, powerful, and abounding in riches. When the Israelites asked for such a king as the nations about them had, they asked for a tyrant, though they did not call him so. Under the name of tribute, no more is understood than what the law of each nation gives to the supreme magistrate for the defraying of public charges; to which the customs of the Romans, or offerings of the Jews have no relation. Our own laws confirm to us the enjoyment of our own native rights. The words of St. Paul, enjoining obedience to higher powers, favour all sorts of government no less than monarchy. That which is not just is not law, and that which is not law ought not to be obeyed. The right and power of a magistrate depend upon his institution and not upon his name. Laws were

made to direct and instruct magistrates, and, if they will not be directed, to restrain them. Laws are not made by kings, not because they are busied in greater matters than doing justice, but because nations will be governed by rule and not arbitrarily. A general presumption that kings will govern well is not a sufficient security to the people. The observation of the laws of nature is absurdly expected from tyrants, who set themselves up against all laws; and he that subjects kings to no other law, than what is common to tyrants, destroys their king. Kings cannot be the interpreters of the oath they take. The next in blood to deceased kings cannot generally be said to be kings, till they are crowned. The greatest enemy of a just magistrate is he who endeavours to invalidate the contract between him and the people, or to corrupt their manners. Unjust commands are not to be obeyed; and no man is obliged to suffer for not obeying such as are against law. It cannot be for the good of the people, that the magistrates have a power above the law; and he is not a magistrate who has not his power by law. The rigour of the law is to be tempered by men of known integrity and judgment; and not by the prince, who may be ignorant or vicious. Aristotle proves that no man is to be entrusted with an absolute power, by shewing that no one knows how to execute it, but such a man as is not to be found. The power of Augustus Cæsar was not given but usurped. The regal power was not the first in this nation; nor necessarily to be continued, though it had been the first. Though the king may be entrusted with the power of choosing judges, yet that by which they act is from the law. Magna Charta was not the original, but a declaration of the English liberties. The king's power is not restrained but created by that and other laws; and the nation that made them can only correct the defects of them. The English nation has always been governed by itself or its representatives. The king was never master of the soil. Henry the First was king of England by as good a title as any of his predecessors or successors. Free nations have a right of meeting when and where they please, unless they deprive themselves of it. The powers of kings are so various, according to the constitutions of several states,

that no consequence can be drawn to the prejudice or advantage of any one, merely from the name. The liberty of a people is the gift of God and nature. No veneration paid, or honour conferred upon a just and lawful magistrate can diminish the liberty of a nation. The authority given by our law to the acts performed by a king *de facto*, detracts nothing from the people's right of creating whom they please. The general revolt of a nation cannot be called a rebellion. The English government was not ill constituted; the defects more lately observed proceeding from the change of manners and the corruption of the times. The power of calling and dissolving parliaments is not simply in the king. The variety of customs in choosing parliament-men, and the errors a people may commit, neither prove that kings are or ought to be absolute. Those kings only are heads of the people, who are good, wise, and seek to advance no interest but that of the public. Good laws prescribe easy and safe remedies against the evils proceeding from the vices or infirmities of the magistrate; and when they fail, they must be supplied. The people for whom and by whom the magistrate is created, can only judge whether he rightly performs his office or not. The person that wears the crown cannot determine the affairs, which the law refers to the king. Proclamations are not laws. A people that is not free cannot substitute delegates. The legislative power is always arbitrary, and not to be trusted in the hands of any, who are not bound to obey the laws they make. The coercive power of the law proceeds from the authority of parliament.

Such are the topics of argument in this great work on Government. Those, who will read it through will probably agree with distinguished men, who have declared that the loss of Cicero's work in nine chapters "*De Republica*" is, to all the ends of liberty, well repaired by Sidney's Discourses. When its principles shall be well understood and honestly carried out, earth will keep jubilee. Of Sidney, Burnet has said: "He had studied the history of government, in all its branches, beyond any man I ever knew." A new and handsome edition of this work is called for and would do great good to the youth of this country, not that our people have

any considerable tendency to monarchy, much less to absolutism; but many are republicans for reasons unknown to themselves, and avowed friends of liberty, without knowing the difference between liberty and licentiousness. The editor of Milton's *Eikonoklastes*, says, that "Algernon Sidney's Discourses concerning government are the most precious legacy to these nations." The nations that are here mentioned are those under British rule. But much that is valuable in the British constitution is also found amongst us. We are concerned to know the history of our liberties, the price paid for them, the perils they have encountered, and the victories they have achieved. If these topics shall ever cease to be interesting subjects of inquiry to Americans, our liberties will be gone and probably forever. Already influences, hostile to our institutions, are at work. If met and opposed in time with fearlessness and ability, they will prove harmless in the end as to the great cause. But if they shall be connived at for a while, and the nation lulled into security, they will hasten to subvert the fairest fabric of political wisdom the earth ever saw.

The work to which Sidney's is an answer, is entitled, "*Patriarcha*," and was written by Sir Robert Filmer, who seems to have regarded absolute monarchy as the only lawful or desirable form of government on earth. We had intended to give one or two of Sidney's sections entire, but find that they would make this article too long. Every intelligent reader of this work must be struck with the fact that it is the great arsenal, whence the friends of freedom in Britain and America, have drawn their weapons for the last two hundred years. Many of the very words, phrases and propositions, which have become consecrated in the war of freedom, are here found laid up as in a storehouse. We do not say that Sidney was the first, who presented them to the world. Many of them we know he did not. Indeed, it has been our belief for a long time that the political tracts written against the house of Stuart were the ablest the world has ever seen. Men wrote at the peril of their liberties and lives. Their opponents, in some cases at least, were giants in learning. Royal gold was showered upon the defenders of arbitrary power. The stake

on both sides was immense. England never had men of more solid learning than in the seventeenth century. Milton has well described his country when he says: "Lords and Commons of England behold now this vast city; a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection: the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth, then there be pens and heads there sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas, wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching Reformation; others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a toward and pregnant soile, but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies?" Warburton too has said that in the middle of that century, "the spirit of liberty was at its height, by a successful struggle against court oppression, and it was conducted and supported by a set of the greatest geniuses for government the world ever saw." It was in the days of such men, that Sidney thought out his great work on government. In reading it nothing strikes the mind more than his prodigious learning. Not an author of any note seems to have escaped his examination. Moses and all the prophets, Josephus, Philo, Aristotle, Plato, Xenophon, Livy, Tacitus, Cicero, Plutarch, in fine, poets, historians, lawgivers, metaphysicians and patriots of all ages and countries seem to have brought iron and stone and timber and gold and silver and precious stones to strengthen or adorn this splendid edifice. The great maxim pervading the whole work and giving it unusual value in the eyes of sober men is that suggested by Livy—*Potentiora legum quam hominum imperia*. The will of men, the king not excepted, must bow to the majesty of law. The closing sentence of the whole work is in these words: "If we examine our history, we shall find, that every good and generous prince has sought to establish our liberties, as much as the most base and wicked to infringe them."

One cannot but notice in the history of the world how mankind are affected by examples both good and evil. Nero, Caligula, and Domitian filled the Roman empire with petty tyrants. Pope Alexander VI. and his son Cesar Borgia had myriads of imitators. The Duke of Alva and Aquaviva breathed their spirit into thousands. Charles IX of France had thousands greedy to do the work of blood at his nod. Evil example is peculiarly contagious. But the history of the world is not without instances of the power of example for good. In literature what a constellation of bright stars appeared in the days of Queen Anne. Their light shines to this day. In love of country what illustrious men were our own fathers of '76. It is true that times make men. But it is more true that men make the times, that is, they stamp upon each succeeding age its peculiar features. Great as was Washington it cannot be doubted that he often kindled his torch light of liberty at the fires of his compatriots, as all of them did at his. If Washington had never been born, these states would have been free and independent, perhaps not so soon, perhaps with not so little loss of life and treasure, but with as much certainty as ever attends events of that nature. The millions of free hearts, surrounding him, made Washington, under God, what he became. Just so in the days of Sidney, patriots took counsel together and roused each other's noblest thoughts and emotions to a higher pitch. John Hampden, who fell in defence of the liberties of his country; John Milton, who has immortalized himself no less by his political than by his poetical writings; Coke, who with all his oddities will ever be recognized as a great constitutional lawyer; Selden, who yet stands unrivalled in the range and accuracy of his knowledge, in all matters touching human rights and obligations; Matthew Hale, who deserves to be surnamed the Just, were of that age and poured streams of light on the most important subjects of inquiry. In the same age lived Pym, Vane, St. John, Ludlow, Philips, Bradshaw, Fairfax, Eliot, Seymour, Thomas Scot, Challoner, Neville, Henry Marten, Sandys, Haselrigge, Fleetwood and hosts of others, whose names are never to be mentioned, but with a profound obeisance to their abilities and worth. Had Sidney been but half a man by nature, and

yet mingled freely with such giants and patriots, he could not have been unworthy of notice. But bringing with him into the world more genius than commonly falls to the lot of even able men, and having such stimulus to study as his age and country gave him, he became a terror to tyrants and the idol of freemen.

Nor will his name ever cease to be honoured by the good and wise. Hume indeed with characteristic adroitness speaks of him as "this gallant person," yet soon after calls him "this singular personage." He says he had too much "greatness of mind" to deny his participation in the conspiracy of Charles II. Macaulay says but little of him, and strangely adds: "He died with the fortitude of a stoic." Clarendon gives not his character at all. Burnet says: "He was a man of most extraordinary courage," and adds, that "he seemed to be a Christian." He also says a good deal to his disparagement. But Burnet had two great faults. He wrote too much, and had very little discrimination. Whether Sidney's magnanimity were stoical or Christian, let candid men judge by his prayer when the brutal Jeffreys pronounced with brutal ferocity, the cruelest sentence we ever read: "Then O God, I beseech thee to sanctify these sufferings unto me, and impute not my blood to my country nor the city, through which I am to be drawn; let no inquisition be made for it, but if any, and the shedding of blood that is innocent must be revenged, let the weight of it fall upon those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness sake." So also in the paper which he delivered to the sheriffs on the day of his death, he says: "The Lord sanctify these my sufferings unto me! and though I fall as a sacrifice to idols, suffer not idolatry to be established in this land! Bless thy people and save them, defend thine own cause, and save those that defend it. Stir up such as are faint; direct those that are willing; confirm those that waver; give wisdom and integrity unto all. Order all things so, as may most redound to thine own glory. Grant that I may die glorifying thee for all thy mercies; and that at the last thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a witness of thy truth." If this be the fortitude of the stoic, may all be stoics.

It relieves the mind of a good man to know that England

has done all that was in her power to repair the wrongs done to Sidney. He was executed December 7, 1683. In 1688, the detestable Stuarts were spurned out by the whole kingdom, and then began a better state of things. One of the first acts of parliament under William and Mary was to repeal his attainder in an act the preamble of which set forth that "by means of an unlawful return of jurors, and by denial of his lawful challenges to divers of them, for want of freehold, and without sufficient legal evidence of any treasons committed by him; there being produced a paper, found in the closet of the said Algernon, supposed to be his hand-writing; which was not proved by the testimony of any one witness to be written by him; but the jury was directed to believe it by comparing it with the other writings of the said Algernon; and besides that paper so produced, there was but one single witness to prove any matter against the said Algernon; and by a partial and unjust construction of the statute, declaring what was his treason, he, Algernon Sidney, Esq., was most unjustly and wrongfully convicted and attainted, and afterwards executed; therefore that the said conviction and attainder be repealed and reversed, and to the end that right be done to the memory of the said Algernon Sidney, deceased, be it further enacted, That all records and proceedings relating to the said attainder be wholly cancelled and taken off the file, or otherwise defaced and obliterated to the intent that the same may not be visible in after ages: and that the records and proceedings relating to the said conviction, judgment and attainder, in the court of Kings-bench now remaining, shall, and be brought into the court this present Easter term, and then and there be taken off the file and cancelled." We suppose every lover of truth and righteousness will approve of this *expunging*. True, Algernon Sidney, himself, could not be called from the dead, nor is it proof of any high virtue to praise the virtuous dead. The old murderous Jews built and whitened the sepulchres of their martyred prophets. Still, when a great and irreparable wrong has been committed, nature would seem to dictate no less than putting the names of the murderers where they hoped to put the names of martyrs—in perpetual infamy. To Hampden, to Cromwell, to

Bunyan, monuments have been erected in their native land. We have heard of none to Algernon Sidney. His name is happily united with that of Hampden in one of the old and honoured institutions of our country—a school founded in all the ardour for liberty generated by the American revolution. We refer to Hampden Sidney College in Virginia—Virginia, pronounced by Lord Cornwallis as he marched through it, “THIS UNTERRIFIED COMMONWEALTH.” It has been with peculiar pleasure that we have noticed the regenerated vigour of this venerated school, may it flourish more and more, not merely for the honour of the memory of two so illustrious men, though that is by no means to be undervalued, but more for the good and honour of our happy country, and still more for the spread of the knowledge of the great salvation. For that college was founded not only in the glow of pure patriotism, but in the tears and prayers, the faith and self-denial of some of the best Christian men Virginia or the world ever saw. It has educated a President of the United States, many able statesmen, many excellent physicians, and a great body of liberal and distinguished planters and merchants. But, perhaps, the most important service it has rendered, is to be found in the scores of godly ministers it has furnished to edify the church of God.

ART. II.—*The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church: 1850.*

THE work of Christian Missions involves many practical questions of serious moment; to one of which we wish now to call the attention of our readers, viz. the return of missionaries from their field of labour, either for a limited time, or as a permanent measure. We find examples of both referred to in the last Report of our Foreign Board, and similar cases have been reported almost every year. These are recorded with a brief but explicit statement, in each case respectively, of the reasons which led to the temporary or final withdrawal from

the post of previous labour. The Report does not enter into a discussion of the general subject to which we would devote this article. In a document like the Annual Report, which is mainly a narrative, a report of the year's work, no extended remarks on general questions of duty would be expedient. It is assumed that the Assembly, to whom the Report is made, is as well acquainted with the principles on which such questions should be determined as the Board; and there are other and more appropriate channels, through which these questions may be reached by the public sentiment of our body—of which the General Assembly itself is one and the chief. In our view, it is one of the advantages of our system, that the Committees or Boards are not required to enter into any formal or elaborate argumentation concerning the principles involved in their respective departments of work. They are executive bodies, whose official duty it is to carry into effect the will of the Church; but while their members, or individuals, are deprived of no common right to discuss questions of every description, the Church does not wish them in their official character to enter the arena of controversy, nor to trouble themselves with any of the vexed questions of the times. We do not wish even to see our Committees occupied with questions of slavery, polygamy, or any matters of discipline that belong to our church courts. We have a better way of settling these things. The regular action of our ecclesiastical system can readily secure their thorough examination and their happy issue. And yet in the Magazines published by the Boards, while it may not be expedient to open their pages to the discussion of doubtful or controverted matters, our respected brethren entrusted with the charge of these mighty interests may well record their experience and the results of their observation as to the practical conduct of their work. This, we have observed, has been repeatedly done in the pages of the former *Missionary Chronicle*, and more than once in regard to the matter now under our review, the return of missionaries. Our own pages, also, have shown that this subject has been brought before the General

Assembly by the Corresponding Secretary of the Foreign Board.

Careful observers of the foreign missionary work have doubtless often reflected on this matter, though perhaps few persons have considered it in all its bearings. There are also many who stand in doubt of a missionary's returning to his own country. When he goes forth to the foreign field, they would never allow him to leave it. Rather let him give his dying testimony to the heathen of the preciousness of the Gospel, and leave his bones among them, like Joseph, in faith that they shall be carried up to the promised land. They consider it wrong in principle for a missionary to leave his field of labour,—if he is a true missionary, he has been called to his work by the Spirit of God; and they point to the great expense of such returns; the loss of service to the heathen; the discouraging effect on the churches. Nor are these things brought forward in a censorious spirit; they are the honest convictions of some who are sincere friends of Christian Missions. It would give us cordial pleasure, if what we are writing in these pages should lead to remove the difficulties of these brethren. And the subject viewed apart from any special objections, is one which our churches generally should understand in its leading aspects.

The agency by which the head of the Church is pleased to carry the gospel to all nations, is now well understood. It is not by angelic voices that good tidings of great joy are now to be proclaimed to all people, nor by the spirits of just men made perfect. They would doubtless be willing messengers in such an errand, and they could pass with impunity through sickly climes, fulfilling their commission without weariness or any hinderance from the feebleness of their own nature. If a missionary goes from a healthful to a less salubrious country, his health will probably become impaired, his years will likely be fewer in number than if he had continued to live in his native land. But the Church must not abandon the work, because her messengers may be laid aside by sickness, or removed by death. This were to display less devotion to her calling, than is every day shown by men of the world in the ordinary business of life. They do not abandon a profitable

branch of commerce, because it is necessary to send their ships to an African coast; nor do they shut up their work-shops and factories, because their labourers are therein confined for many weary hours to work that is injurious to health, while they are breathing an atmosphere quite different from the air that refreshes the farmer in his fields. The frame work of society, and the employments of men in their every day life, prove that a perfect exemption from the risk of disease or even of death is not looked for by the men of this generation. Surely our Lord did not fail to consider the risk of health, the feebleness of human life, the certainty of many labourers passing early from their work to their reward, when he gave his commandment that the gospel should be preached to every creature. It is to be preached by men, with all their frailty and with their brevity of life. And the Church must consider this, in her work of missions, so that she may perform her duty humbly, faithfully, and wisely.

When a missionary goes abroad, especially if his destination be to one of the eastern missions—in China, Siam, or India, he certainly goes with the desire and expectation of spending his life in the service of the church among the heathen. He believes himself to be moved and called to this work by the Holy Spirit. By the leadings of Providence, an open door is set before him. By the church he is accepted, and sent forth, and supported. He goes forth willingly, though it may be with inexpressible feelings of grief at parting with friends, and going out of the hallowed circle of Christian society to take up his abode in a land of darkness and spiritual death. Yet he goes forth willingly, and not by compulsion or constraint; his is a purely volunteer service; the only constraint he feels is that of the love of Christ and a sense of duty to him as his gracious Lord. And it is his earnest desire that he may be enabled to devote the best energies of his life to the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom among the heathen. This is his solemn purpose, his most sacred desire.

It is a purpose fortified by the strongest reasons. The lowest of these is the expense involved in his outfit and passage to the mission field, which would seem to have been incurred in vain if he leave it. Far higher considerations are

those which bind the conscience of every true minister of the gospel, which would keep any faithful ambassador of Christ at his post, if he found himself connected with a vast community of ignorant, depraved, perishing people, requiring the gospel as their greatest need, and having no one but himself to make known unto them the way of life. If a godly, Christ-like minister would hesitate long before leaving such a congregation in this country, supposing such a one to be found any where in all our borders, how much more must the true-hearted missionary grieve at the thought of withdrawing from his work for Christ among the heathen. Our three missionary brethren who are the only ministers of the gospel among four millions of Pagans, Mohammedans and Sikhs in the Panjáb, could not, we are sure, contemplate the prospect of leaving their work, without having many a sleepless night—without feelings of sorrow which only those placed like themselves could understand. Their sense of obligation to the Redeemer, who has sent them to this work, and their feelings of gratitude to him who has counted them worthy, putting them in the ministry; their deep compassion for the poor, dying multitudes around them, whose perishing condition is daily before their minds and pressing heavily on their hearts; their hope of becoming instruments in the hands of God in the salvation of them that are ready to perish; their interest in the various methods and means employed by them to lead their heathen neighbours to the Saviour; their concern for particular families and individuals, with whom they have become personally and perhaps intimately acquainted; their raised expectation of seeing some young men of promise introduced into the holy ministry; their overflowing joy and tenderness in view of the Christian walk or the happy death of those who have been converted unto God through their labours; these things and others, growing with their greater knowledge of the native language, and making them more influential as ministers of good to the heathen in a precise ratio to the length of their residence among them, all combine to make their ministerial life every year more inseparable from their missionary work. None but the strongest and plainest reasons ought to take such men from their work, even though it were but for a brief

period. No other reasons would satisfy their own hearts, in view of leaving such a sphere of duty.

With these things premised we have yet no doubt that, in the light furnished by the developments of Divine Providence, some men ought to leave the missionary field altogether; while others, if not all, would eventually render greater service to the heathen by a temporary return to their native country. This is a conclusion reached after years of reflection and observation, and yet it is not one to be advocated with undue eagerness. We should be unaffectedly grieved to see it adopted by the churches, unless it can be commended to their best judgment.

We are not embarrassed by doubts as to the principle involved in a missionary's changing his field of labour, for sufficient reasons. His work is no more a work for life than is the work of a minister at home. As a general rule both the pastor and the missionary should continue at their respective posts as long as they can. Our church system and our best convictions are opposed to frequent changes of ministerial occupation. But the missionary must be governed by the same laws of duty as his brethren in the domestic field. There is nothing indelible in his orders as a missionary. Neither himself, nor the committee who appoint him to the work, are exempt from the danger at the very outset of making the greatest mistake of all—that of an engagement for a work to which he has never been called by the Head of the Church. The supposition is an extreme one but it tests the principle. He may find himself clearly convinced at the end of a year that he should never have become a missionary, nor have entered the ministry at all. This mistake may be lamentable, but it surely cannot be irrevocable. Or if his missionary character and qualifications be of the highest order, as were those of the Apostle Paul, the Providence and the Spirit of God may at any time change his field of labour, and assign him work at Jerusalem instead of Antioch—may call him to labour at home instead of abroad.

There are undoubtedly conclusive reasons for the return of some missionaries. A man may find after trial that he cannot acquire the language of the people to whom he has been sent,

and then he will be but a barbarian unto them. It is not every man who can learn a foreign tongue. The want of this talent may be but a slight disqualification for many kinds of duty in the sacred office, but in a missionary it is the most serious defect. Our foreign Committees can commonly guard against the mistake of appointing any one as a missionary, who is not likely to make this first attainment; and yet they are not infallible, and they must greatly rely on the recommendations of those who are best acquainted with the missionary candidate, but whose judgment on this point may prove erroneous. So important is this acquirement to usefulness, under the ordinary conditions of missionary life, that it should be a matter clearly understood, if not expressly stipulated, that no man should continue in the foreign field, who did not within a reasonable period acquire the ability to speak the language of the natives, and this both correctly and fluently. We refer not to excepted cases, occurring under peculiar circumstances, but to the general rule; and its application, whenever called for, would clearly decide the question of a missionary's returning home, inasmuch as the same deficiency would commonly prevent his engaging abroad in any other kind of ministerial duty.

The most frequent cause of the return of missionaries is the failure of health, sometimes of their own, and sometimes of their families. If we are correctly informed, this has been the sole reason for the return of missionaries connected with our own Board, in all but two or three instances. And we presume that the experience of other missionary institutions is not different from this.

It may not be apparent, at first view, why missionaries should leave their fields of labour for this cause. Why may they not use the best means of recovery within their reach, and then calmly commit the issue to the disposal of God, like their brethren at home when called to suffer sickness? The answer to this fair question hinges on the difference between the cases; though even at home a removal from a northern to a southern state, or a winter spent in the West Indies, is often advisable as a means of saving or prolonging life.

We are no advocates, however, of missionaries coming home

for illness of a slight nature or of a temporary kind ; nor are we aware that such instances have occurred in connection with our missions. We do not advocate, moreover, the return of missionaries whose health is impaired, if, with little prospect of restoration at home, they could yet pursue certain kinds of labour usefully abroad. A man of dyspeptic or consumptive habit, for example, might receive injury rather than benefit by returning ; and even if he could hope for some degree of advantage to his health by the change, we should doubt the expediency of his leaving a post where he might be very useful though having but a moderate measure of strength. Neither would we think it expedient for missionaries to seek a change of climate, where there was little hope of recovery or of prolonging life for years. How melancholy the lot of those amongst ourselves often, who are induced to leave the comforts of home, while labouring under fatal disease, to spend a winter at Havanna with the almost certain prospect of dying among strangers ! “ May you die among your friends,” is the beautiful prayer of friends for each other in the East. And this feeling may sometimes have an undue weight with a suffering missionary family, leading them to long for their early home, and its beloved friends to minister around their dying bed, forgetting that Jesus and his angels are present as well in India as in America, and that the flight of the soul to heaven is not longer nor more difficult from the waters of Chapoo Bay than from the most favoured spot in any Christian land. Still farther, we are convinced that cases may occur, in which it is the duty of the members of a missionary’s family to consent to a separation for a season ; the afflicted wife or child, if suitable protection and comfort can be obtained, while seeking to renew health in a distant land, may leave the missionary at his work. It is a painful trial to both parties. But it is one which has been encountered by many, who have not their faith and hope for enduring it. And it is one which some of our own missionaries have not refused to meet. We call to sad but affectionate remembrance that beloved woman, the gifted and cherished daughter of a minister of our Church now entered into his rest, the devoted wife, the affectionate mother, the admirable missionary, who would not

consent to her husband's accompanying her on the long voyage to her own country. Trusting herself and little daughters to the care of Christian friends, whom a kind providence might raise up for her, she turned her face toward her native home. Her feeble step gave little hope that she would live to see those who longed to welcome her return; and so it proved at last. She was called to her rest from the sea that washes the Southern Cape of Africa. But she died in perfect peace, surely no less happy on the Saviour's breast, though surrounded by weeping strangers, than if she had departed from her father's or her husband's arms. And God took care of her children. He also supported her bereaved father in life and her many sorrowing friends. Often in reflecting on the last days on earth of the now sainted CHRISTIANA SCOTT, we have deeply and tenderly felt the power of her Christian piety. She has left us an example of priceless value. She has shown what the grace of Christ can enable his servants to do and to suffer; and how He can make them to triumph over all that the timid heart would fear. It is an example worthy of the martyr age of the Church. We do not doubt the wisdom of her decision to return without being accompanied by her husband. She could hope for necessary attendance and comfort, and she could trust in God for all needed grace. She would not take a true and able missionary from his work. She hoped to return to him again; but if not, their separation would have commenced but a short time earlier, and their reunion would be more happy in a better world. Jesus would richly reward his servants for their sacrifices in his cause. And yet owing to different circumstances all whose health becomes impaired cannot follow her example. Some have not the measure of strength with which she commenced her journey; others may require a more constant degree of attendance; some may be so wasted by disease that their friends could not leave them. Each case should be viewed in its own circumstances.

But the question recurs, Why should a missionary leave his field of labour at all for the sake of impaired health? Why not remain at his post, and there exemplify the power of religion under disease, imparting patience, resignation, confi-

dence in God, and other graces, which the poor heathen have never been taught by their own religious teachers to practice, and the exemplifying of which may greatly commend the religion of Jesus to their affections? As to this, the missionary will have many an opportunity of showing in his conduct the greater virtues of his religion, and its power to give him support and consolation. Death will enter the missionary circle. Trials must be daily endured by its members. But as to the general question, it can be answered in a few words.

It may be viewed as a question of economy, and commonly it will be found that it costs far less for the Board to defray the expenses of the invalid missionary's return, than of his support in the foreign field while incapacitated for his work. Some men, anxious to continue at their post, have remained for a period of two or three years after the failure of their health, unable to prosecute their work, and thereby have unavoidably subjected the missionary boards to a much heavier expenditure than would have carried them to their native land. In all chronic diseases, and in constitutional complaints likely to prove of long continuance, a wise economy would dictate the return of the missionary as soon as evidences of permanent illness are clearly established. A missionary without health, in most cases, is not only unfitted for his own work, but he is a heavy burden on his associates. They may be very willing and indeed most anxious to promote his comfort, but their attendance on his wants is given at the expense of other pressing engagements.

The question may be answered on higher grounds, those of the missionary's usefulness. He hopes to regain strength enough to return to his missionary field; this is his first desire. If this may not be granted, then his hope is, that he may serve the Board in some other department of labour. The results verify both, in the cases of different persons. The most celebrated, probably, of living missionaries was carried in 1835 by anxious persons on board a ship in an Asiatic port whose anchor was already weighed on her departure for Europe. His life was supposed to be trembling on the verge of the eternal world. Every means had been employed for his recovery, in vain; and as a last resort, his physicians

insisted on a long voyage at sea. But how could he leave his great work? What could his associates, then newly entered on the field, do without his counsels? These and other questions faded into insignificance in the apparent presence of death, and also in the eye of faith. The voyage was tried. The missionary was restored to health, honored in awakening a wide and deep interest in "India and Indian Missions" among the churches of his native land, and permitted to return to his chosen work, in which he is still labouring, and in which we trust he will yet spend many long years. The history of modern missions relates many examples of the same kind; and many, also, of missionaries unable to live in a tropical climate, whose lives were usefully spent in the gospel at home. We need not dwell on such familiar facts as these.

While these things cannot be gainsayed, there may remain a feeling of doubt whether sufficient caution is exercised by our Executive and Prudential Committees, in the appointment of those only whose prospect of health is decidedly good; and also a feeling of apprehension, whether missionaries have not themselves been too precipitate in resolving to leave their work. These doubts lie on the surface of the matter; they are among the first things to occur to the mind, in looking at this question. But a closer view of the subject presents different and deeper considerations, which tend to guard both the Committees and the missionaries from injudicious action. To the former, every motive of kindness to the missionary candidate and of consideration for his relations and friends, of regard for the confidence of the churches, of concern for the responsible work entrusted to their charge, enforces the exercise of all possible caution in the appointment of missionaries. The risk of mistakes in this matter cannot be lightly incurred by conscientious men. Nor are they likely to be made. A large amount of knowledge and experience is gradually acquired by our missionary officers on this subject, which is fully and anxiously brought to bear on the case of each applicant for the foreign work,—especially if the field of labour is in a tropical climate. Yet in despite of the best care, it will often be found that persons go abroad whose constitutions are unfitted for their new homes. Nor is this confined to the his-

tories of missionaries. All the caution of the most thorough medical examiners, fortified by every advantage in the immense establishments of the East India Company, does not prevent hundreds of soldiers being sent to India, who go there but to die, or to live but a short time. And to take another example from the same source, the death of scores of British officers does not check for a day the purpose of conquest. More men of distinction and of high social rank fell in the battles with the Sikhs than the American churches have ever sent as missionaries to India—each man mourned over by as wide a circle of personal friends as probably watch the career of any beloved missionary office-bearer in our foreign service. When their hopes are disappointed, our Missionary Committees will seldom have any reason for regretting their want of care in this matter; but they may often have to say, of the fall of labourers abroad as well as at home, “Even so Father! for so it seemed good in thy sight.”

As to the missionaries themselves, the whole matter may in one view of it, be put in a nut-shell. A true missionary, one really worthy of being supported by the church, will never leave his work while he can help it. If he be unworthy to labour as a missionary, of course the sooner he returns from the work the better. In another view of the matter, however, it is very difficult to convey an adequate idea of the feelings of disappointment and sorrow with which the missionary has at last to resolve on going home. The desires and hopes and plans of years resist this measure. The crowds of heathen round about him by their madness after their idols and their ignorance of the way of life, make the most impressive appeals to every gracious feeling in his heart, not to leave them to die. His few brethren at the mission station, deeply sympathizing with him, and trying to support his faith and their own by speaking of the promises, yet disheartened at the threatened reduction of their small number; and their mingled tears often sway their judgment, and lead to his staying long after he should have taken his departure. The apprehension that the churches at home may not feel satisfied with the reasons of his return; the persuasion that many will stand in doubt of his integrity, or will give him credit only for

being fickle-minded: and still more the fear that the cause of missions itself, which he loves in the depth of his heart, will be injured by "so many missionaries returning;" these things will often prey keenly on a sensitive nature, and may prevent that course being followed, which the ablest medical advisers recommend as indispensable, which his missionary brethren cordially approve, and which his own best judgment dictates.

In this matter a man must throw himself upon God and the church. Let him do what he honestly believes to be his duty, and leave the consequences of his decision first to the judgment of his all-seeing and all-gracious Father, and then to the candour and intelligence of the people of God. The end will be peace in his own mind, and no injury to the missionary cause. He may regret that he has not been permitted to continue in his chosen work, and may feel deeply humble under a conviction that he is not worthy of it; but the desire of it was in his heart, and this God will graciously accept. For the rest, what he knows not now, he hopes to know hereafter.

Before dismissing this point, we may add that the regulations of the Board in regard to it seems to be wisely framed. If a missionary finds his own health failing, or that of his wife, after using the best medical aid and obtaining medical counsel, he reports the matter to the Committee, with the action of the Mission to which he belongs. The parties immediately concerned, therefore, and those best acquainted with the object under consideration, are those who are called to act upon it; while their action in each case, must come under the review of the churches at home. This method seems to afford sufficient security against returns for insufficient reasons.

Connected closely with the general subject that has occupied the preceding pages, is another which we cannot now fully discuss. We refer to the opinion entertained by some of those who are most conversant with the missionary work, that it is expedient for missionaries to return home at the end of a given period, say ten or twelve years, on a temporary visit to their friends and the churches.

The objections to this, as a general measure of policy, are mainly two—the great expense involved by it, and the loss of

time to the missionary work. The expense would be nearly met by the missionary's salary during his absence being appropriated to the cost of the journey from his field of labour and returning to it. While in this country his expense would be small. The time taken from his direct missionary work is a more serious matter. These objections would seem conclusive, if such a return would not in the long run secure a larger amount of more effective missionary service. We are strongly inclined to think this would be the actual result. Experience teaches emphatically the frail nature of missionary life and health. This is not surprising. Most mission fields are in tropical climates, and most missionaries are from colder latitudes. Mental application, and Christian solicitude combine with the excessive and long continued heat, to prostrate the strongest constitutions. The missionary differs widely from most other foreigners in regard to the second of these things, and commonly in regard to the first also, while he has seldom the command of large pecuniary means that enables them to counteract in some degree the third. Other foreigners are comparatively men of leisure, free from exhausting solicitude, and able to live in the enjoyment of every comfort that money will command; and yet the European merchants and officers do not escape influences of an African or an Indian climate, though usually their residence in tropical countries extends to but a limited period. Between the wives of these gentlemen and the Christian women who adorn our missions, the comparison as to the probabilities of health is still more unfavourable to the latter. But we cannot pursue this point; and we need only say that the wonder is not in such lands that so many missionaries sicken and die, but that they enjoy so large a measure of health and so long a lease of life. Still the brevity of the one and the uncertainty of the other have often forced on our minds the conviction, that it would be well for the church to try the effect of such a measure as the return of her missionaries on a visit, after a suitable period, to their native land. It would renew their youth, at any rate it would re-invigorate their constitution, and fit them to return to their chosen field, prepared to live longer and to work more efficiently in the vineyard of the Lord. If this should be the

result, then it would be a measure of economy instead of extravagance, and eventually the poor heathen would be gainers rather than losers by their temporary absence.

Other considerations recommend this line of policy. The intercourse of the returning missionaries with the churches would be mutually beneficial. It would enable our brethren to understand better the condition of the Christian community represented by them among the heathen, to keep abreast of the tide of public sentiment in the church and the country, to feel the mighty stimulus of intelligent and Christian mind after being wearied with the ignorance and stupidity of heathenism, to be cheered by the glow of Christian sympathy and affection after being in the solitariness of a vast multitude of aliens in thought and feeling; and on the other hand, it would spread among the churches an immense amount of missionary information, personal and particular, and it would bring the missionary work home to the minds and hearts of our church members as a common work for all, instead of a work for a few selected persons, as it is now too often considered. The result would be every way advantageous; or if otherwise—if in any excepted cases, “few and far between” we are sure they would be, it should be apparent that the returned missionaries were not well fitted for their work, it would be attended with comparatively little difficulty of arrangement or feeling to effect a change in their field of labour. In perhaps all cases, the churches and their missionaries would look for an increased interest in the Lord’s work, from these seasons of missionary communion.

Does not a measure of this kind, moreover, throw a genial light upon the darkest feature of the life and work of a missionary, that which relates to the return of his children? It seems to be an unavoidable necessity that the children of missionaries in most heathen countries should be sent to a Christian land for their education, and in most cases for their permanent home. However wanting in parental affection it may appear to send away to a distant land, to dwell among strangers, the tender lambs of the flock, yet it is quite certain that no other principle than that same parental affection, with its depth penetrated and its warmth vivified by Chris-

tian feeling, would ever lead our missionary friends to consenting to make this greatest sacrifice of all. It is because they see and feel that it is essential to the temporal and spiritual well being of their beloved children that they send them to their fathers' home. In many heathen countries they cannot be so educated as at all to satisfy the judgment or the heart of a European or American Christian; it is with the greatest difficulty they can be saved from the contamination of a heathen example, the deadly blasts of a heathen atmosphere. It is almost impossible, moreover, indeed in the great majority of cases in India or China it is quite impossible to procure fitting employment for them when they grow up. The duty is plain, though it be inexpressibly painful, to part with them for their good—commending them to their covenant keeping God. It is a duty which has blanched many a mother's cheek, and unnerved the heart of strong men. It is a duty which an affectionate parent could perform only under the strongest convictions. Happy for such a parent—twice happy for the missionary mother, if when the last kiss has been given to the little ones on the beach, and the last look is taken of their dimly seen forms on the ship, she can say as she turns to her desolate home, in the heart-moving words of Mrs. Comstock, on the shores of Burmah: "O Saviour! I do this for thee." The missionary has hope that his children will be cared for by his friends and by the churches of his native land. And we are sure there is no other feeling here than that of sympathy and good will towards the children thus placed under the charge of our churches. But the feeling lies deep in every parent's heart, that if possible these separations should be so modified as not to be permanent. If the children become qualified to be missionaries, another door is opened in providence for their returning to their father's field of labour, there may be a re-union. Such instances have happily occurred, and will occur again; but they cannot become the general rule, any more than that all the sons and daughters of our ministers at home should become members of the tribe of Levi. Let it be the policy of the church, however, to welcome her missionaries back at the end of ten or twelve years, on a visit for the benefit of their health and

other worthy objects, and then parents can enjoy the satisfaction of making themselves the necessary arrangements for their oldest children, while if Providence spared their lives, another visit would keep up the acquaintance of parents and children, and afford the privilege of counsel and help in all needful plans for their future and common welfare.

With these views, we commend this important subject to the consideration of our readers.

ART. III.—*An Apology for the Septuagint, in which its Claims to Biblical and Canonical Authority are briefly stated and vindicated.* By E. W. Grinfield, M. A., Editor of the Hellenistic Greek Testament. London: Pickering. 1850. 8vo. pp. xii and 192.

We are more and more struck with the characteristic difference between the theological and biblical writers of Germany and England. We do not now refer to the great minds of either country but to the literary multitude in both. The difference of which we speak is that between the rigorous and formal method of the German and the desultory or colloquial freedom of the English school. Accustomed as we are to hear and speak of German speculation as the wildest that the world has known, we must not forget that even the abstrusest transcendentalism is propounded under formulas of systematic nomenclature and arrangement, which with us are only known in works of the severest scientific character. This fashion, in the hands of original and able writers, never loses its respectability. But when we get down to the third and fourth-rate men it often becomes quite bewildering, so that we gladly turn away from the formal treatise on some trivial subject, with its axioms, definitions, and endless subdivisions, to the desultory and colloquial style, in which the same theme is apt to be treated by a contemporary English writer of precisely the same calibre.

Any attempt to account for this diversity by tracing it to a

constitutional difference in the national mind, is forbidden by the fact that it has not always been so, and that even the most ordinary English theologians and interpreters of scripture in the seventeenth century were as formal and methodical as those of Germany are now. The true solution, we believe, is furnished by the different modes of education and of authorship which now prevail in the two countries. While the English candidate for orders, until very lately, might be said to have no systematic training for his work, nor any training at all beyond the course of his own desultory reading, the German student of theology is marched, with military rigour and precision, through a whole encyclopedia of "sciences" and "disciplines," primary, subordinate, and auxiliary. With the merits of the two modes of professional study we have nothing here to do, but only with their several effects on the externals of professional authorship; and these effects are obvious enough. They are rendered still more marked, however, by the concurrent action of another cause, closely connected with the one just mentioned, but still less remote. This is the difference in what a German would call the *genesis* of books in the two cases. As a general rule, all German works, on learned or professional subjects, are the work of teachers, and grow directly out of their instructions. The university professor prints his lectures, the gymnasial rector or conrector his synopses and collections, originally made for the use of his own pupils. So fixed and settled is this practice, that a work of any learning, or of much pretension to it, by a parish minister is always viewed with some disfavour, and the cases of such men as Bretschneider, Bähr, and Kliefoth, who have risen to high places in the church by literary no less than by clerical accomplishments, are perhaps mere exceptions to a general rule. This academic or scholastic origin of most learned German works affords a further explanation of the elementary preciseness and formality by which they are externally distinguished. Even where the name and outer garment of the lecture or the text-book is discarded, the simplicity with which the learned man begins at the beginning of his subject, and assumes the mind of his reader to be a *tabula rasa* with respect to it, and proceeds with measured step from

small to great, from known to unknown, often betrays the work-shop or the factory to which the *magnum opus* owes its existence. Take up a contemporary English book of corresponding character and equal merit, as to all substantial qualities, and the chances are that you will find it, even though composed in academical retirement, savouring less of the school or auditorium than of the parlour or the combination room, and exhibiting, instead of the elaborate and complicated methods which can scarcely be acquired without experience in teaching, the easy and meandering flow as well of thought as of expression which belongs to the spontaneous meditations of the scholar in his hours of leisure.

Of both these peculiarities there are numberless gradations, arising from personal or local causes, and it is only in extreme cases that either of them is absolutely ludicrous, a condemnation into which the German often falls when the Englishman escapes by his greater freedom from pretension. As to the comparative advantages and evils of the two modes, a reader's estimate is apt to differ at first view and after more mature consideration, and also according to the standard of comparison. At first sight, and ever after as a matter of mere taste, the German extreme strikes the cultivated reader as the error of a pedant or a pedagogue, the English one as that of an amateur or gentleman-scholar. After longer acquaintance, and when measured by a utilitarian rather than an aesthetical standard, the relative demerit of the two may assume a very different aspect. When the object is to while away an hour without wasting it, in a kind of scholarlike or learned indolence, an English book of the most desultory kind above described may be a truly welcome and agreeable companion. But when the object is to find out what the book contains, or what the author means, and why he thinks and teaches as he does, commend us to the most precise and priggish *Lehrbuch* with its infinitesimal divisibility of matter, but with every atom of the system in its right place and a place where you can find it, rather than to the most genteel and flowing allocution on the same theme, in which the whole appears to have no parts, or the parts, if any such there be, are, at the same time, everywhere and nowhere.

All this is by no means an ideal speculation, suggested by the name of transcendental Germany, but an experimental truth which, in the highest degree, savours of the reality. In other words, it is associated, in the closest manner, with the beautiful octavo now before us, which, in point of paper, ink, and press-work, is among the choicest products of the Chiswick press and of Pickering's Aldine book-manufactory. If the merits of publishers and printers could expiate the sins of authors, Mr. Grinfield might well claim to be acquitted without trial. But according to the common law of criticism, he must answer for himself, and of himself we know nothing beyond what we have gathered from this volume and the advertisements appended to it. From these we learn that he is a member of the Church of England; a Master of Arts, no doubt of Oxford or Cambridge; a classical scholar of no mean attainments; a devout believer in the inspiration and divine authority of Holy Scripture; a moderate and soberminded thinker upon all subjects which he touches except one; unusually free from all appearance of vanity or ambition; which is the more remarkable in one who has spent thirty years in a laborious and (to most men) uninviting study, the fruits of which he has given to the world in two works hitherto unknown to us, but of which we may hereafter give a more particular account. The first is a Hellenistic edition of the New Testament, in which it is explained by illustrations from the Septuagint; the other Hellenistic Scholia on the New Testament, derived from Philo and Josephus, the Apocrypha and Fathers. The almost exclusive study of Hellenistic Greek, for so long a period, while it must have placed him at the head of this his favourite department, has not failed to contract and distort his views of other subjects, and if not to originate at least to strengthen habits of weak and inconclusive reasoning, the more surprising because found connected both with learning and with moral qualities, which entitle their possessor to the most unfeigned respect. Of this logical deficiency, or intellectual disproportion, we have been painfully sensible in trying to obtain a clear view of the author's doctrine as propounded in the book before us, and of the grounds on which it rests, the result of which attempt, such as it is, we shall now proceed to lay

before our readers, with a few necessary comments of our own.

The title may be thought a misnomer by a superficial reader of the volume, because instead of being an *apology*, it really asserts a claim or pretension of the highest kind. But this is in strict accordance with the ancient and patristic usage of the Greek word, as applied to those intrepid arguments, in which the early champions of the Christian faith demanded for it, at the hands of heathen emperors and wise men, not toleration or indulgence, but submissive recognition, as of an infallible authoritative revelation. As the word *apology*, however, in its popular and modern acceptation, does not convey to the English reader the true character of Mr. Grinfield's doctrine, it is the more important that it be intelligibly stated, a service which it can hardly be said to have received at the hands of its respected author, but which even the humblest of his critics, who has ascertained his meaning, may, without the least presumption, undertake to do instead of him. That the reader may be in a situation to do justice to this statement and the comments which shall follow it, we beg leave to refresh his memory by a very brief preliminary statement, with respect to the history of opinion on the subject of the Septuagint Version.

The traditional history of its origin is well known. According to its most embellished form, the seventy-two translators, sent from Jerusalem to Egypt at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus, were shut up singly or two and two in cells, and produced as many independent versions, which were found on comparison to tally, word for word. The miraculous part of this account is wanting in the oldest narratives upon the subject. Whether either form of the tradition has respect to the Law in the wide sense as meaning the Old Testament, or in the strict sense as meaning the Pentateuch, is still a matter of dispute. That the whole was certainly not the work of the same hands, and probably not of the same age, is clear from the glaring inequality of the execution, and the difference of Greek style, idiom, and diction, in the several parts. Common to all accounts, and now universally admitted, are the facts, that this translation was completed long before the birth of Christ, and was in common use among the Jews at the time of his appearance.

The contemporary Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus, habitually quote it in their writings. The best historical critics are agreed that it was used even in the synagogues, wherever the Greek language was vernacular or generally known. In the New Testament itself it is continually quoted or referred to. Mr. Grinfield, whose protracted Hellenistic studies entitle him to speak with some authority, maintains that this is true to a far greater extent than is commonly alleged on one side or admitted on the other. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt, that the Hellenistic Jews, for many generations, received the Septuagint as an authentic version of their Scriptures. It is equally certain that they afterwards rejected it, and that between the advent of our Lord and the completion of the Babylonish Talmud in or before the sixth century of the Christian era, a feeling of hostility to this translation had begun to prevail among the learned Jews, and sometimes found vent in expressions still on record that are absolutely ludicrous. Such are the sayings often quoted, that darkness overspread the earth when the Septuagint version was completed, and that the sin of making it, if not of using it, was equal in atrocity to that of making or worshipping the golden calf.

This total change in the estimation of the Septuagint version by the Jews themselves is commonly ascribed to the virulence of anti-christian controversy. The advocates of Christianity after the first generation were familiar only with this form of the Old Testament, and their Jewish adversaries would naturally fall back on the inspired original, as well when the version really failed to give the true sense, as when worsted in argument and anxious for a pretext of retreat. At the same time, this effect would be promoted by the gradual disuse of the Greek language in extensive regions, where the Jews would naturally and most justly prefer the inspired original to a version never perfect and continually growing less intelligible. But whatever may have caused this revolution of opinion and of feeling in the Jews, there can be no doubt that it led, by a violent reaction, to the opposite extreme among the Christians. In proportion as one party learned to depreciate the Septuagint, and to insist upon the permanent and exclusive claims of the

inspired text, the adverse party, to whom that text was for the most part inaccessible, clung to the famous and time-honoured version which to them had so long held the place of an original. The honour which had practically thus been put upon it, now began to be even theoretically claimed for it. A version originally made in the noblest and most cultivated of all human tongues, and subsequently honoured by the composition of inspired books in the same dialect, and by the adoption of its religious terminology, as well as by direct quotations from it, might very plausibly be represented as itself invested with divine authority, and as having thereby superseded the original. This doctrine was not only soothing to the pride but indulgent to the ignorance and indolence of those who were familiar with Greek, either as their mother tongue or as the language of polite and learned intercourse, but who could only make themselves acquainted with Hebrew by laborious exertion, and who shared in the Greek and Roman prejudice against it as a language of Barbarians. From these and possibly from other causes, which we cannot now stop to investigate, the Septuagint became established in the Greek Church, either in theory or practice, as the very word of God, to the virtual if not the nominal exclusion of the Hebrew text.

The next stage in the progress of opinion on this subject is one by no means difficult to trace. In proportion as Greek gave way to Latin in the western provinces, and Jerome's direct translation from the Hebrew supplanted the Greek version, there arose a party whose interest it was to deny the authority which had so long been conceded to the Septuagint. Many of these insisted on transferring the usurped pre-eminence to their own oracle, the Vulgate, while the more enlightened were content to claim it for the Hebrew text, as the inspired original. This claim was urged with new zeal at the time of the Reformation and the Revival of Letters which preceded it. Its advocates, however, still cherished a profound respect for the Septuagint, as a version venerable from its antiquity and signally honoured by our Lord and his apostles. The remarkable agreement, in a multitude of cases, between the New Testament quotations and this version, led some learned men to the conclusion, that although not inspired, it

presented the true sense of the original in a purer form than the existing Hebrew text, which they supposed to have been corrupted, either fraudulently by the Jews or inadvertently by others.

In opposition to this new view of the matter it was afterwards unanswerably argued, that in order to entitle any version to the preference above even a corrupted original, it must be proved to have been made before the alleged corruption, with strict correctness and fidelity, and to have been itself preserved from all corruption; requisitions which can never be complied with by this or any other ancient version. Whatever reasons, therefore, may exist for considering the Hebrew text corrupt, the very same reasons must forbid the substitution of a version for it. At the same time it was argued, that since the Hebrew text could not have been corrupted before Christ, or he would not have sanctioned it, both negatively, by his silence as to any such corruption, and positively, by appealing to the scriptures as they then existed; since the possibility of subsequent corruption was precluded by the mutual vigilance of Jews and Christians; and since the only motive of the Jews must have been the desire to expunge the proofs of Christ's Messiahship, which still exist, and are even said to be stronger in the Hebrew than in any ancient version; we have every reason to believe, that the Hebrew text has undergone less change than that of any ancient version, preserved in the ordinary way, without that extreme and almost superstitious scrupulosity, with which the Jews are known for ages past to have watched over their original scriptures.

The tendency of these considerations was to turn the tables, or invert the mutual relation of the Hebrew and Greek text of the Old Testament. Instead of alleging the corruption of the latter and the consequent necessity of appealing to the former, those who admitted the validity and force of the reasons just recited, but still cherished a traditional respect for the most ancient and most highly honoured of all versions, were obliged to harmonize their views on both points by maintaining that the Septuagint, although at first a perfect or at least a masterly translation, had itself been corrupted by the lapse of time, and was only entitled to

consideration so far as it could be shown to have escaped this alterative process.

From this ground the transition was an easy one to that extreme depreciation of the Septuagint, by which some modern schools of criticism have been distinguished and even characterized. Let it once be conceded that the advantage, not merely as to inspiration, but even as to purity of text, is on the side of the original, and the centrifugal force of these critics is so great as to forbid their stopping short of the opposite extreme. Their fundamental principle is All or Nothing. The Septuagint, if not an authoritative standard, must be absolutely worthless. If not a judge in the last resort, it cannot even be a witness. Such, when stripped of their sophistical disguises, are the shallow and precipitate reasonings, which have led some to the total and contemptuous neglect of this most ancient and important version.

But this ground is too hollow and factitious to be long occupied by candid and enlightened critics; and accordingly we find that in exact proportion as the strongest and the soundest minds of all schools and parties have been sensibly receding from other extreme doctrines in relation to the criticism of the scriptures, there has been a similar and simultaneous recession from this false position with respect to the Septuagint version. It may be regarded as one of the points on which the learned, after many oscillations of opinion, have at length subsided into an agreement, equally removed from the error of the Fathers who regarded the Septuagint version as a second revelation, by which the first had been legitimately superseded, and that of the contemporary Jews, who not content with rejecting its unauthorized pretensions to take precedence of the Hebrew text, repudiated and denounced it as an impious abomination. Individual exceptions there will always be; but the great majority of learned critics at the present day are just as unanimous in condemning both of these extremes, as in condemning those of Buxtorf and Parkhurst with respect to the vowel points, or those of the Hebraists and Purists with respect to the Greek of the New Testament.

Such is the wise and learned compromise, if such it may be called without awakening unfortunate associations, in which

the violent disputes and extreme doctrines of preceding ages have been forgotten but which the author of the work before us now seeks to disturb by the new and startling doctrine here propounded, which is neither simply an advance nor simply a recession, but a monstrous mixture of the two, combining one of the most antiquated forms of opinion on the subject with an inconsistent and incongruous extravagance never before heard of. The doctrine of the work before us is, that the Septuagint version is inspired, and precisely equal in canonical authority to the Hebrew text, or rather paramount to it, on account of its close affinity to the New Testament, arising from community of language, dialect, and diction, and from its being directly quoted in the New Testament itself.

We have called this a new and startling doctrine. Of its novelty, we think, there can be no doubt. Without pretending to assert, of our own knowledge, that it never has been broached before, we rely upon the absence of any such intimation by the author, who is not the man to seek a poor distinction by suppressing such a fact, if known to him. Without directly claiming it, so far as we remember, as his own, he does so indirectly by propounding it, not as a mere curious speculation, but as a practical remedy for evils which he thinks inseparable from all former views, or at least such as none of them has ever yet availed to cure. We call the doctrine startling on account of the effect which it must have, if true, or if received as true, on the whole work of translating and interpreting the scriptures, and the obvious necessity of some contrivance by which interpreters may steer between a version and original alike and equally inspired, but in a multitude of cases quite irreconcilable.

For these reasons we propose to state, as briefly and clearly as we can, the grounds of Mr. Grinfield's theory, so far as we can ascertain them, scattered as they are throughout his volume, with an incoherence so extreme, that, to use a most expressive German figure, they might almost seem to have been snowed into it. From the first page of the text to the last page of the notes, there is a constant iteration of his theme, without ever seeming to satisfy himself by clear and full expression of his own ideas. The effect of this is aggravated by

a very helpless and inartificial style, rendered still more obscure by a peculiar mode of punctuation, which the author has invented for himself, with the usual result of rendering his sentences almost unreadable by others. These facts we are obliged to state in justification of our not attempting to give the author's arguments and reasons in his own words, which would either be impossible or useless, but with all fidelity, as if we were speaking for ourselves.

1. In the first place, Mr. Grinfield seems to think it a priori probable, that before the change from a local and temporary dispensation to an ecumenical and final one, the revelation which had been originally given in the language of the chosen people, and thereby sealed up from the world at large, would be transfused, under Divine direction, into a language more extensively known and common to all civilized and cultivated nations. Such a transfusion would at least make the analogy between the Word and Church of God more perfect. As the latter was to undergo a total change of form before the change of dispensations and in order to it, why should not the former undergo a like change for precisely the same purpose? Now there was such a version of the Hebrew scriptures made, in the interval between the Old and New Testament, into what was then becoming the κοινή διάλεκτος of the civilized world, and under circumstances certainly remarkable, even when stripped of all mythical embellishment. Can this coincidence be purely accidental or without significance? Such seems to be the a priori argument for Mr. Grinfield's doctrine, ever present to his mind, though nowhere very clearly stated.

2. This antecedent probability, arising from the mutual relation of the old and new economy, our author seems to think confirmed by the fact, that when the New Testament was written, it was written in the very language of this ancient version; not merely in Greek, but in that very kind of Greek, that strange local or provincial Greek, the earliest specimens of which are furnished by the Septuagint version. Why was not the New Testament, as well as the Old, written in Hebrew? Because it was no longer meant to be a local but a universal revelation? Why then not in Attic Greek, or in the Macedonian dialect, to which the conquests of Alexander had

imparted such extensive currency? Our author's answer to this question, if we rightly apprehend him, is, because the Old Testament had already been translated into Greek, and thus provided an appropriate idiom and vocabulary for the new revelation.

3. In accordance with this view of the matter, it is urged, that the whole religious terminology or theological nomenclature of the New Testament, instead of being borrowed from the classics or invented *de novo*, is derived in mass from the Septuagint version. This is one of the most interesting points of Mr. Grinfield's argument, and one which his peculiar studies must have specially prepared him to illustrate. But we look in vain for any detailed statement of the facts in this book, and can only hope to find it in one or the other of his Hellenistic works already mentioned. His argument derived from it appears to be, that this use of the version by inspired writers puts it on a footing of equality with the New Testament itself.

4. The grand argument, however, upon which our author seems to rest, is the use made of the Septuagint in quotation. Why should inspired writers quote it, even where it differs from the Hebrew, if it was not a part of scripture, and as such entitled to be so used, as a matter not of mere convenience but of right and duty? Mr. Grinfield strives to fortify this argument, which is in fact his main defence, by urging that this use of the Greek version is far more extensive than has usually been imagined even by its advocates. For the detailed proof of this general statement he seems to refer to his Hellenistic edition of the New Testament. But whether it be true or false, is a question which can only affect the force and not the validity of the argument. For this reason we shall not dispute it, but allow it all the weight which Mr. G. considers it as adding to this part of his ratiocination.

5. We hardly know whether we should mention, as an independent argument, a reason upon which the author lays great stress, and of which he speaks repeatedly with great excitement, as a new and wonderful discovery, imparted to himself, he almost seems to think, by special revelation. This is the supposed fact, that our Saviour, in his childhood, was taught

to read the Septuagint version. However interesting such a fact may be historically, we are wholly at a loss to understand the weight attached to it by Mr. Grinfield in this argument. It seems to have occurred to him after he began to write the work before us, and to have so affected his religious sensibilities, that without attempting any proof of the alleged fact, or showing how it is to be applied, he merely dwells upon it in a kind of rapture, which is much more edifying than convincing.

6. Subsidiary to these arguments is one derived from certain practical effects which have resulted and, according to our author, must result from a refusal to regard the Septuagint version as canonical and equally inspired with the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament. We were struck, in our perusal of the volume, with the number and variety of evils, which the author, sometimes quite ingeniously, derives from this unsuspected source. The greater number we have quite forgotten, having taken no pains to record them, and are not disposed to go back now in search of them. Two of the most important, which we still retain, may serve as samples of the rest. The first is what the author more than once describes as German and American neology, for which "bad eminence" our country is indebted to the learned skepticism of Mr. Norton. This neology is traced, we scarcely know by what means, to the neglect of Hellenistic learning and exclusive study of the Hebrew scriptures. A more plausible deduction of the same sort is the one that traces to this origin the Judaizing spirit of the Puritans and Millenarians. These however are mere adjuncts to the main arguments before recited, with which they must either stand or fall, and to which the comments which we have to offer will be consequently limited.

Our first remark is, that the arguments adduced by Mr. Grinfield either prove too little or too much. If, as he quietly assumes, "things must be as they may," if possibility, necessity, and certainty, are all identical or mutually presuppose each other, then he has certainly demonstrated, that an inspired translation of the Hebrew Scriptures not only might but must be made before the change of dispensations, and that only such a version could have possibly supplied the terms required to express the peculiar truths of Christianity, and that

from such a version only could our Lord and his apostles possibly have quoted. But if all this, though admitted to be possible, and therefore credible when proved, cannot be proved at all; if an uninspired and imperfect version, providentially provided, would have answered all the purposes in question; if from such a version the inspired writers of a later date might be led to draw their terms and their quotations, under a divine direction shielding them from error; then the fact that all this really took place is no proof that the Septuagint version was really inspired, but only that it was employed in the promotion of a great and glorious providential purpose, which we heartily believe and are as ready to maintain as Mr. Grinfield can be.

If, on the other hand, it be assumed, that an inspired Greek version was essential to the end proposed, the argument proves too much for our author's purpose, since it proves that the Hebrew text was thenceforth useless, being superseded by a version equally inspired, and therefore really a new revelation, adapted and intended to succeed and do away the old; which is precisely the old doctrine held by some of the Fathers, and the practical belief of the Greek Church at this day, against which Mr. Grinfield here protests with more solemnity than logic.

But the fatal objection to this doctrine is, that the inspired text and the inspired version do not agree. It is in vain that Mr. Grinfield tries to overcome this difficulty, by maintaining that the Hebrew must be interpreted according to the Septuagint. There are cases in which this would be as hopeless as to make one verse in the translation determine the sense of an entirely different verse in the original. Our author strives indeed to do the impossible, by pretending that our knowledge of the meaning of Hebrew words is derived from the Septuagint version. He might almost as well say that our knowledge of Homer is derived from Virgil. The meaning of most words in the Hebrew Bible is as well ascertained by tradition, usage, and analogy, as those of any other ancient writings. This notion belongs to a system or a school which we had fondly believed to be long since exploded, but which seems to linger still in England. Its resuscitation here is only one of many proofs, that Mr. Grinfield has no very profound knowledge of the Hebrew

language. If he had, this book must have contained at least some incidental proof of it. If he had, he could scarcely have confounded the Samaritan Pentateuch with the Samaritan Version, as he seems to do on p. 169. If he had, he could not possibly have entertained such superstitious notions as to the terrible obscurity and difficulty of the language, upon which his doctrine with respect to the necessity of an inspired version seems to rest. All these erroneous prepossessions would be instantly dispelled by the most elementary knowledge of the language itself. If our suspicions as to this point are well founded, we cannot regard it as a proof of Mr. Grinfield's wisdom, that he should have spent thirty years in studying the version without ever seeking to compare it with the original, which he admits to be equally inspired. We can only explain this by supposing, what is probable for other reasons, that his recognition of the Hebrew text is merely nominal, and that to all practical intents and purposes he looks upon the Septuagint version as complete in itself and all-sufficient.

If, on the other hand, he really believes, that the Hebrew and Greek texts are co-ordinate parts of the inspired canon, how can he account for the irreconcilable discrepancies between them? That such discrepancies exist is as notorious to all who have compared them, as that Greek and Hebrew are written in opposite directions. If their existence is accounted for by assuming a corruption of the text, on which side are we to assume it? Why should the inspired original be suffered to become corrupt any more than the inspired version? Or why should a version be inspired and then abandoned to corruption, so as to defeat its very purpose? And if either is essentially corrupted, what assurance have we that the other is not? If it be said that the truth sometimes lies on one side and sometimes on the other, then as wide a door is opened to the discretion or caprice of the interpreter, as by any of those systems of neology which fill the mind of Mr. Grinfield with horror.

Little as we have said, it is enough, we think, to show, that of all conceivable hypotheses, in reference to the mutual relation of the Greek and Hebrew text of the Old Testament, this is the most improbable *a priori*, as well as the most destitute

of proof a posteriori; the most irrational in theory, as well as the most inconvenient, useless, and unsafe in practice. We are far from denying that our author's arguments, though loosely and confusedly expressed, have some plausibility and force; but in the same degree that this is true, they tend not to establish his belief but to refute it. They all prove either nothing or too much. The shafts of his logic either fall short of the mark, or shoot beyond it towards the very point which he was anxious to avoid. So far as they have any force, they all go to demonstrate that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament is either sufficient or superfluous.

A more inventive or less candid writer might have framed, out of the very same materials, a theory which, although false, would not have been so easily refuted. By alleging that the Septuagint text was not a version but a new and improved form of the Old Testament revelation, designed to supersede the Hebrew text forever, every one of the absurdities and contradictions which embarrass Mr. Grinfield's mongrel system might have been avoided, and every one of the important ends at which he aims accomplished. It is to this conclusion, though he does not seem to know it, that his a priori argument legitimately tends. For this he might have urged the analogy of the Hebrew and Greek Matthew, as now explained and held by many eminent authorities. In this way too he would have freed himself from the necessity of reconciling two co-ordinate but inconsistent revelations, a necessity which now hangs like a millstone round the neck of this beloved but predestined whimsey.

But while such a doctrine would have been exempt from most of the objections which are urged against the one before us, it would still have been exposed to one, extremely simple but extremely fatal. The captivating theory which we have sketched has every thing to recommend, embellish, and confirm it, if it can only be proved to be true. But alas, this is precisely what cannot be done. The common-sense view of the matter to which all judicious critics, and indeed all plain men who investigate the subject, will still come back at last, is, that if we once admit the divine origin of the Hebrew Scriptures to be fairly proved—and this hypothesis is common to all the theories of which we have been speaking—we are bound by every law of

reason and religion to hold fast to it, until it can be shown to have been abrogated, not by an ingenious array of probabilities and plausible analogies, but by direct conclusive evidence, as clear and strong as that which demonstrates the original inspiration of the Hebrew Bible. But how immeasurably far short of such evidence does that fall, which consists in showing that a Greek Old Testament was greatly needed, and that Christ and his Apostles used it as a storehouse of religious phraseology and a source of illustrative quotation. All this might have been done with an inspired and faultless version; but it might also have been done with a human and imperfect one; and therefore the bare fact that it was done can prove nothing, either one way or the other.

From the publication of this volume we should be happy to anticipate two benefits. The first is the confirmed belief of the true doctrine, which it labours among others to demolish. The second is a general return to the enlightened, rational, and diligent study of the Septuagint version, not apart from the Hebrew text and in a kind of opposition to it, which can only lead to such results as those developed in the book before us, but in such connection with it and subordination to it, as will furnish the best safeguards against both extremes, that of ignorant or prejudiced depreciation, as well as that of overweening admiration and idolatrous attachment.

ART. IV.—*Communion—The difference between Christian and Church Fellowship, and between Communion and its Symbols; embracing a Review of the arguments of the Rev. Robert Hall, and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, in favour of Mixed Communion.* By G. F. Curtis, A. M., Professor of Theology, Harvard College, Ala. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, in Arch Street. 1850.

WE are not surprised that the subject of Free Communion is beginning to attract the attention of the American Baptist brethren in this country, as it has of the churches of that de-

nomination in England. Booth and Fuller laboured hard to support the sectarian principle of close communion: but by the arguments of Robert Hall in favour of free communion among all true Christians, a great change has come over the ministers and members of the Baptist churches in that country; so that it is said, the practice is likely to be prevalent through that respectable and orthodox body of Christians, especially since the Rev. Baptist Noel has come out so strongly in its favour.

The subject has been but little agitated, publicly, by the Baptist Churches in America. They have continued to maintain great unanimity and conformity with one another on this point. But we venture to predict that the time is rapidly approaching, when this subject will agitate the church from the centre to the circumference of the body. The wave is already in motion, which threatens, at last, to sweep away this exclusive schismatic principle of restricted communion from the face of the Protestant world.

This is a principle which sets up an exclusive barrier between the communion of real Christians, who cannot but love one another. Sooner or later, it must come down. The religious spirit of our age has a strong tendency to free communion among all who love the Lord Jesus Christ; and this current is so strong, that it is bearing the pious Baptist along with it; at first, against his principles; and next, by leading him to renounce those narrow views which restrain him from communing with those whom he acknowledges to be his brethren, and whom he sincerely loves as belonging to Christ, and bearing his image.

Although this subject has not been much agitated in this country, many pious members of the Baptist Church have often been troubled and perplexed in regard to it. They have not been able to understand why the disciples of Christ, who recognise each other as such, should be kept apart from Christian communion and fellowship, on account of a difference of opinion and practice, relative to another ordinance, which both parties acknowledge to be a divine institution, and obligatory on Christians. There is, doubtless, a strong undercurrent of such sentiments, among many of the most pious and ex-

emplary members of the Baptist Churches. Their hearts say it ought not to be so; and even if they cannot answer the arguments which are brought to convince them, and therefore continue quiet, yet, when the subject comes to be agitated, this under-current will in many places break forth into a resistless torrent, and, when a good opportunity offers, the tide of brotherly-love will sweep away, as was before said, these **sectarian barriers**.

It has appeared to us, that the new invented distinction between the theology of the understanding and the theology of the feelings, is wonderfully applicable to this case. A pious Baptist happens to be present among Christian friends, when the Lord's Supper is about to be celebrated. He has joined with them cordially in social acts of prayer and praise, and received the word as dispensed by them, with comfort and edification. But now, he must withdraw. These Christian friends, though they esteem themselves baptized, yet have never been immersed. His heart is with them, but his adopted creed says, "Touch not—handle not;" you must not commune in the Lord's Supper, with these lambs of Christ. No wonder, that the feelings of the heart, on some occasions, cause the pious to break over the sectarian restraints which have been laid on them.

That any persons, who are acknowledged to be the disciples of Christ, can with propriety be excluded from the Lord's table, is a thing so strange and so opposed to all those feelings of fervent brotherly-love, which belong to the Christian temper, that the arguments to establish it should carry with them the force of demonstration. Whether they do possess this force, we shall not at present inquire. Whatever they be, the Baptist churches in these United States have generally been satisfied with them; and have resolutely and almost unanimously shut the door against the Christians of all other denominations. The practical inconvenience of such exclusion is not considerable, except in those cases where pedobaptists live among them and are far removed from the churches of their own creed. In the case of such, there is a real hardship, as these persons, separated from their own communion, would rejoice in the privilege of remembering the death of Christ

at his table, in the use of those symbols which he has instituted. But in regard to the great body of Christian people, who have churches of their own where they can and do resort, periodically to celebrate the Lord's Supper, they suffer no privation in consequence of the close communion of their Baptist brethren. For they seldom commune in other churches than the one of which they are members, even of the same denomination and situated near them; and if the communion of the Baptist churches were ever so free, they would seldom see Christians of other denominations coming to their communion. The subject, in this practical view, is quite unimportant. It is on account of the great principle involved, that it becomes a matter of real consequence.

To exclude from the communion of the church any of the real disciples of Christ, is, in our view, inconsistent with the clearest principles of Christian duty. It violates the best and warmest feelings of piety; and often when from argument or it is believed to be necessary, it is difficult to keep a heart warmed with brotherly affection from rising in revulsion against the exclusive principle.

The following facts, known to us, will serve to illustrate what has now been said. A distinguished preacher,* in Virginia, who had been imprisoned for many months in a loathsome jail for preaching the gospel, happened to be present when the Lord's Supper was administered in a Presbyterian church, in which he had been brought up. It was a time of love. The hearts of God's people were melted together, and drawn out in love to the Saviour; this pious minister participated in the blessed, uniting feeling; and when the table was spread and the invitation given by the pastor to all that loved the Lord Jesus to come forward and commemorate the love of a dying Saviour, he could not resist the impulse of his Christian feelings, and came forward with the other communicants and took his seat at the table of our common Lord. And who that understands the nature of the union which subsists among real Christians can blame the act? He obeyed the command of his Master, and held sweet communion with persons, whom

* Rev. John Weatherford.

he believed to be the genuine disciples of Christ. But he violated the law of his church, and was in due form cited to answer for the offence. On being arraigned, he candidly confessed that, overcome by his feelings, he had acted contrary to his cool judgment of what was proper, and expressed sorrow for the offence given to his brethren. Oh what a humiliation! He never could repent of the feelings which impelled him, nor of the act of obeying the command of his Saviour. But he had transgressed the rules of the Baptist church; and the good man felt bound to give satisfaction to his complaining brethren. It would be hard for any one to persuade us, that his conduct in this case was disapproved by Jesus Christ, the Master of the feast.

The following event occurred in the same part of the country, and not far from the same time with that just mentioned. A very pious young Presbyterian, and a candidate for the ministry, happened to be present at a Baptist meeting, when the Lord's Supper was about to be solemnized; and when the table was spread, hearing the officiating minister inviting all persons of regular standing in sister churches to come forward and join in the communion, he supposed, that by sister-churches, were meant, professing Christians of other denominations; and he accordingly came forward among the communicants; and the deacons had not the resolution to prevent the desecration of the ordinance, by removing him! But when, afterwards, he learned his mistake, he was greatly mortified at having obtruded himself on the communion of a church, which viewed him as altogether unworthy to partake with them of the emblems of the Saviour's broken body and shed blood; and yet this young man, as he then appeared, and as he has since proved by half a century of holy living, was as dear to Christ as any one of the company of believers with which he by mistake communed.

When the Baptist missionaries to the heathen are visited by their brethren of pedobaptist communions, they find it very difficult to carry out their exclusive principles. The late Captain Wickes, of Philadelphia, informed us, that when he carried to India, the Rev. W. Ward, and several other missionaries, some of whom were sent by the London Missionary

Society, he spent some time at Serampore, the principal station of the Baptist missionaries. When the time of administering the Lord's Supper came round, the Baptist brethren were put to a severe trial. They had treated Captain Wickes, a man of eminent piety, and the London missionaries, with the utmost cordiality and kindness, as beloved brethren, and should they now sit down at the Lord's table in the midst of the heathen, and exclude two beloved brethren from their communion! No: they could not do it. Brotherly-love broke over the barriers of sect, and although in England Carey and Ward and all the rest had been strong in favour of close communion, they, on this occasion, gave it up, and these brethren all sat down together as became good Christians; and, in our opinion, this cordial reception of beloved Christian brethren engaged in the same missionary work, by the Baptist church of Serampore, will never be imputed to them as a sin by the great Head of the Church.

The Rev. Dr. Cox, one of the most distinguished Baptist preachers in London, in a late speech informs the public, that on a certain occasion, when he happened to fall among Christian brethren of another denomination, when they surrounded the table of the Lord, he felt it to be his duty to withdraw; but he announced, that now his views on that subject were entirely changed, so that he felt free to hold communion at the Lord's table with all true Christians.

About the same time, without any concert or knowledge of each other's design, two of the greatest preachers living, the one in the Great Britain, the other in the United States, took up their pens to defend the doctrine of free communion among Christians. It will readily be understood that the reference is to Robert Hall and John M. Mason of New York. The latter of these clergymen, at that time, was a minister of the Associate Reformed Church, which maintained close communion, gives us the following account of the circumstances which led him and his flock into the practice of communing with Christians of another denomination: "In August, 1810, a combination of circumstances wholly providential, being unsought and unexpected by all concerned, led the third Associate Church in the city of New York, then recently formed

under the ministry of Dr. John M. Mason, to hold their assemblies in the house belonging to the church under the care of Dr. John B. Romeyn, a minister of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in North America. As the hours of service were different, the one congregation succeeding the other in the same place on the same day, the first effect of this arrangement was a partial amalgamation of the two societies in the ordinary exercises of public worship—the next, a mutual esteem growing out of mutual acquaintance with each other, as united in the same precious faith; and, finally, after a very short time, invitations on both sides to join in commemorating, at his own table, the love of that Saviour, who gave himself for them an offering and a sacrifice to God of a sweet smelling savour. The invitations were as cordially accepted as they were frankly given. The bulk of the members of both churches, as well as some belonging to correlate churches, mingled their affections and their testimony in the holy ordinance. The ministers reciprocated the services of the sacramental day, and the communion thus established has been perpetuated with increasing delight and attachment, and has extended itself to ministers and private Christians of other churches.”

This departure from the custom of his church by Dr. Mason, did not pass without censure from many who belonged to that denomination, which gave occasion to his writing and publishing his treatise in defence of free communion. We have given this brief account of the origin of this treatise, because, instead of forming an argument for ourselves, we choose to adopt the language of this eminent man, in exhibiting our views on this subject.

Dr. Mason deems it expedient, in his argument, to go to first principles; and begins by stating the doctrine of the unity of the Church of Christ. In proof of this he adduces one scriptural argument, “As the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ. For by one spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have all been made to drink into one spirit. For the body is not one member but many.

In these words, Paul lays down certain indisputable principles, concerning the natural body.

1. That the multitude of its members does not destroy its unity, nor their relation to it as a whole.

2. That their union with the body is the foundation of all the value, beauty and excellence of the members in their respective places.

3. That the efficiency of the members consists in their united co-operation, as parts of a common whole—that there should be no schism in the body.

4. That from their union with the body, there result, by a divine constitution, a communion of interests, a sympathy of feeling, and a reciprocation of benefits—that the members should have the same care one for another, and whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it, or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it.

“The use of this similitude Paul declares to be an illustration of the unity of the church, and of the intimate communion of believers. Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular.

“It is true that the apostle turns his argument directly against the contentions in the Corinthian church, about the superiority or inferiority of public offices and spiritual gifts; and it is also true that the principles of his argument are general, and equally applicable to every thing which tends to cherish among Christians a party feeling, at the expense of weakening the sense of their union; or of interrupting their communion as members of the body of Christ; are never intended to be so applied. Moreover, the apostle himself extended his argument to matters, which without affecting the substance of our faith, hope, or duty, do yet produce great diversity of opinion and habit, and has shown that they ought not to infringe on Christian union; nor consequently upon the expression of it in Christian communion.

“Finally, the apostle opposes the spirit of ecclesiastical faction to the spirit of Christian love. This heavenly grace is above prophecies, tongues, knowledge, the faith of miracles, the most magnificent alms, the very zeal of martyrdom. Now this love, the only cure for the gangrene of party strife—the

most characteristic feature of Christ's image in a renewed man—the most precious fruit of his grace, and yet the fruit which the bulk of his professed followers seem to think themselves under hardly any obligations to cultivate—this love is said to originate in the love of God shed abroad in the heart, and to be drawn out to the brethren precisely on this account because they are the children of God—the disciples of Christ—and therefore not on account of their adherence to one or another denomination, however sound it may be in the faith. Hereby, said the Saviour, shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love to one another. Every one, adds the beloved John, who lay in his bosom and drank deeply into his spirit, Every one that loveth Him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him. And surely, the description which Paul has given of Christian love, corresponds to any thing else as well as to that gloomy distance and sour disdain, which are cherished by some professors towards others, of whose graces the light at least is equal to their own; and which, by a hardihood not easily attained or equalled, are converted into testimony for Jesus Christ." The eloquent author having considered the analogy which the apostle draws between the natural body and the church, gathers from it the following results, viz.:

"1. The body of Christ is one.

"2. Every member of this body has, by a divine constitution, utterly independent of his own will, both union and communion with any other member, as infallibly as hands and feet, eyes and ears and nose, are by the very constitution of the physical body, united together as parts of a whole, and sympathize with each other accordingly.

"3. The members of this body of Christ have a common and inalienable interest in all the provision which God has made for its nutriment, growth, and consolation; and that simply and absolutely because they are members of that body. Therefore;

"4. the members of the church of Christ, individually and collectively, are under a moral necessity, i. e., under the obligation of God's authority, to recognise each other's character and privileges, and consequently, not to deny the tokens of

such recognition. Sacramental communion is one of these tokens: therefore the members of the church of Christ as such are under obligation of God's authority to recognise their relation to Christ and each other, by joining together in sacramental communion. Nor has any church upon earth the power to refuse a seat at the table of our Lord to one whose 'conversation is as becometh the gospel.'

"This general conclusion, flowing irrefragably from the scriptural doctrine of the unity of Christ's body, and the union and communion of its members, is illustrated and confirmed by a consideration of the *tenure* by which all Christian churches and people hold their Christian privileges.

"None whom these pages address will pretend that there are no true Christians in the world but themselves, and no true church but their own—that all others are mere heathen; and all their churches synagogues of Satan. The very idea of such arrogance is abhorred by those whose feelings and practice are most adverse to free communion. They profess to acknowledge and honour other churches—to rejoice in the gifts and graces of other Christians—to account them as 'dear children of God,' as 'brethren beloved' in the common Redeemer. This is all right—Christian like—just as it should be. But does it never appear to these good men so much as incongruous to decline taking a family-meal with any of the household of faith, who do not happen to occupy the same apartment with themselves; to own them as 'saints,' and 'precious saints,' and yet deny them the provision which belongs to saints? And at the moment of greeting them as brethren, *beloved* brethren, to tell them, 'You shall not have at the table where we sup, one crumb of the bread nor one drop of the wine which Jesus, your Lord and ours, has given to you as well as to us?' This is certainly an original way of expressing *love*! But to press the matter a little closer, these true churches and Christians, have a right to the holy sacraments, or they have not. If not, it is a contradiction to call them true churches; the rightful possession of the sacraments being essential to a true church. They have then such a right. How did they obtain it? By a grant from the Lord Jesus Christ, unquestionably. He gave all church privileges

to his church catholic; and from this catholic grant do all particular churches derive their right and property in whatever privileges they enjoy. Other true churches hold their right to all church privileges by the very same tenure by which we hold ours; and consequently the members of those churches have the same right to the table of the Lord as our own. By what authority then does any church undertake to invalidate the right bestowed by Christ himself? And what less, or what else does she attempt, when she refuses to admit Christians from other particular churches to the participation of any ordinance which Christ has established for common use? The sacramental table is spread—I approach and ask for a seat. You say, no. Do you dispute my Christian character? Not in the least. Why then am I refused? You do not belong to our Church. *Your church!* What do you mean by *your church*? Is it any thing more than a branch of the Christian church? Whose table is this? Is it your Lord's? If yours and not hers, I have done. But if it is the Lord's, where did you acquire the power of shutting out from its mercies any one of his people? I claim my seat under my Master's grant; show me your warrant for interfering with it. Methinks it would require a stout heart to encounter such a challenge; and that the sturdiest sectarian upon earth, not destitute of the fear of God, should pause and think before he ventured on a final repulse. The language of such an act is very clear and daring. 'You have indeed, Christ's invitation to his table; but you have not *mine*; and without mine his shall not avail.' Most fearful! Christ Jesus says, '*Do this in remembrance of me.*' His servants rise to obey his commands, and a fellow-servant, acting in the name of that Christ Jesus, under the oath of God, interposes his veto, and says, 'you shall not.' Whose soul does not shrink and shudder! Place it in another light. Is it, or is it not the *duty* of Christians in all true churches to show forth the Lord's death in the sacrament of the supper? If it is their duty, how should an act of communion in 'the body and blood of the Lord' be lawful and commanded in our church, and be lawful and forbidden to that same person in another? How should two persons both honour the Redeemer, by communicating in their

respective churches, and both dishonour him in the very same thing, if they should happen to exchange places?"

The foregoing argument of Dr. Mason was not written with any special relation to the opinions and practice of the Baptist society; but they bear with equal weight upon them as on the Seceders, against whose opinions they were directed.

Hitherto, we have made no remarks on the arguments employed by the author under review. It is pleasing to find that he writes in a Christian spirit, and acknowledges the Christian character of those who, he labours to prove, should not be admitted to the communion of the Lord's Supper, by the Baptists. Indeed, he maintains, that it is the duty of all Christians to hold some kind of communion with all the true followers of Christ. He occupies a whole chapter in the inculcation of this duty; that is, "Fellowship with Christians as such, and not as members of any particular visible church." His object, he says, "is to illustrate what will hardly be denied; that as Christians we must and ought to have fellowship with those whom we esteem Christians, as such, though they may not be members of our own, or of any particular visible church, but of Christ's mystical body, the church universal."

After this liberal concession it will appear difficult to reconcile these opinions with the close communion of the Baptist churches. But this the author attempts by taking a distinction between Christian and Church communion. While he admits and maintains the former as the duty of all Christians, he insists that the latter properly appertains to members of the same particular, visible church. Or, if occasional communion be ever held with members of other churches, it should be with such only as they could admit to full membership. The author has much to say about the symbols of communion; all of which, in our judgment, has no tendency to establish the distinction which he makes. Indeed as this distinction is entirely new, it is also arbitrary, having no foundation in scripture, or in the nature of the case. It will be forever impossible, while it is admitted that certain persons are the real disciples of Christ, and that we are bound to maintain Christian communion with them, lawfully to exclude them from the

Lord's table ; which is an institution intended for all Christians. Let us suppose a case. A pious Pedobaptist resides in the midst of a Baptist population, but remote from any church agreeing with him on the subject of baptism. He is well known to his Baptist brethren, and they cannot doubt his piety, because his whole life and conversation are such as become the gospel. When the Lord's Supper is about to be partaken of, he applies to the Baptist Church for the privilege of sitting down with them at the table of their common Lord ; but he is refused, and informed, that unless he will agree to be immersed he cannot be admitted. He may expostulate and plead that they admit him to be a brother, a disciple of Christ, and join with him in other acts of worship, and why not in this, which seems to have been appointed as a communion of saints. But the refusal is peremptory. This church of professing Christians takes upon them the responsibility of preventing an acknowledged disciple of Christ from obeying his dying command. They take upon them to prevent a real servant of God from receiving edification and comfort, by an attendance on an ordinance instituted by Christ for this very purpose, and greatly beloved of God for the promotion of these very ends. Christ has renewed this man, and has given him his Spirit to dwell in him, of which he exhibits all the evidence which can be demanded by any church ; him whom Christ receives and acknowledges as his disciple, his professed disciples refuse to admit to Christ's table ! Can any reasoning about symbols of communion, and the necessity of preserving the primitive doctrine of baptism, prove this to be right ? Impossible.

But we shall be met here with the *argumentum ad hominem*, that the Baptists act in this matter on precisely the same principles as the Pedobaptists ; for these will not admit any person to the communion of the Lord's Supper who has not been baptized. This argument, at best, proves nothing ; for if Pedobaptists in similar circumstances, act on the same principles as the Baptists, it only proves that they are illiberal too ; and debar from the Supper persons whom they acknowledge to be his disciples. But let us look at the argument. Pedobaptists have no occasion to act on the principle adopted

by the Baptists; for a case can scarcely occur in which a person will apply for admission to the Lord's Supper, who is not also willing to submit to baptism; and as a matter of *order* they will baptize the applicant before he is admitted to the Lord's Supper. The case of the Quakers is commonly brought forward. But it is irrelevant; for Quakers repudiate all sacraments, and never apply for admission to the Lord's Supper. The author reports a case of a Quaker applying to Bishop White for admission to this ordinance, of which we never heard, nor of any one like it; and until we see the evidence of its reality, we cannot give it the least credit. But it should be considered that the Quakers not only reject the Sacraments, but maintain such opinions concerning the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, and concerning their own inspiration, that holding such errors, they could not commonly be received into orthodox churches; if no difficulty respecting baptism stood in the way.

Moreover, the Quakers do not pretend that they have ever been baptized with water, but the Pedobaptists conscientiously believe, that true infant baptism is agreeable to the Scriptures; and this puts them in very different circumstances from the Quakers, and those who repudiate all the Sacraments of the church and the ministry also. We will, however state a case which recently occurred, which will serve to illustrate what has been said. A convert from Romanism applied to be received into a Presbyterian church. The minister and session of the church had adopted the opinion, now very prevalent, that Romish baptism was not Christian baptism, and they proposed to the applicant, of whose piety they entertained no doubt, to be re-baptised; but to this he resolutely objected, alleging that his baptism in the Romish Church was valid, and of course refused to be re-baptised. There was a case, similar to that of a Pedobaptist applying to a Baptist church. They think that he has never received Christian-baptism; but he is confident that he has. Now, in the case mentioned, the applicant was admitted, after all arguments to convince him proved unavailing.

And here, it may be remarked, by the way, that those learned Italians, who have recently forsaken the Roman

Catholic Church, and some of whom have taken refuge in this country, do commonly believe that their baptism is valid. A learned Capuchin, who had been a public preacher in Italy for twenty years, assured us, that this was his decided opinion; and he expressed some indignation at the idea of being required to be re-baptised.

But let us now try to make out what would be considered a parallel case by the Baptists; although it can scarcely ever occur. A person, who appears to be sincerely pious and desires to obey all the commandments of the Lord Jesus Christ, applies to a Pedobaptist minister for admission to the Lord's table. And being interrogated, whether he has been baptized, he declares that while he believes the Lord's Supper to be a permanent ordinance, he is persuaded that baptism was temporary, and only applicable to Jews or Gentiles entering the Christian Church. Ought such a person to be admitted without baptism?

To this, our answer would be in the affirmative. Because the omission of a compliance with one command of the Saviour through misapprehension, ought not to prevent a sincere disciple from obeying another; when he does not feel that the obligation of the first binding, but is convinced of his duty to obey the second. And if it is the duty of this disciple to remember Christ at his table, no man has a right to hinder him. Though his knowledge be defective and his opinion erroneous respecting the one institution; yet he is clear respecting the other, and needs this means of sanctification and comfort as much as others. Them that are weak in the faith we are commanded to receive. The appeal of the Baptists to our practice, has, as it relates to us, no solid foundation. We would receive to the communion such true believers as conscientiously think that they have been baptized; and such as never presumed that baptism was not now obligatory. And, we believe, that the only safe ground on which the Baptists can place their practice of close communion is to maintain, that all who refuse to be immersed are no true Christians.

Our author, however, is far from embracing this opinion. His heart seems to overflow with brotherly kindness, which is

not confined to his own denomination. As is found in many other cases, he does not follow out his own principles. He is happily inconsistent with himself. He admits that other denominations may be a part of the true church, though not regularly constituted. They may have the blessing of God in their assemblies, and in their attendance on the ordinances of God. But though real members of Christ's body, and of his visible Church, they cannot be admitted to the Lord's table! It is wonderful that such glaring inconsistency is not at once evident to a mind so perspicacious and candid as that of Mr. Curtis! But that we may not be suspected of misrepresenting his opinions, hear his own words. "In a former part of this work, we have said that we did not unchurch other denominations. Nor do we. We will not deny the claims of any body of evangelical Christians, organized for maintaining social worship, to be considered a Christian Church. Not a regular church indeed. Still we do not doubt that such assemblies realize many church blessings, particularly this, that when they gather together, though but two or three, in the name of Jesus, He is with them." And in the participation of the Lord's Supper, how many thousands by the aid of the Holy Spirit have been enabled by faith to eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man? And if they had no right to come to the Lord's table, can we believe, that this ordinance could have been made to them the channel of such rich communications? The Baptists, who exclude all Pedobaptists from this ordinance, ought for consistency's sake, to maintain, that the Lord's table ought never to be spread in their churches. For if they have no right to partake of the ordinance, it is evident that they ought not to attempt to celebrate it. And when they do, they cannot be acting in accordance with the will of the Lord, but all their delightful communions, in which they affectionately remember Christ and his sufferings, are nothing else than mere will worship! It is a point, not yet settled among our Baptist brethren, whether Pedobaptist ministers are to be considered as really ministers of the church of Christ. Usually, they have been freely admitted into the pulpits of the Baptist churches, and treated as brethren, authorized to preach the

gospel: but if they have never been baptized, and on this account are excluded from the Lord's table, it is hard to conceive how they can be lawful ministers of the church. Certainly, if excluded from the Lord's Supper, they ought to be from the ministry. This has of late been felt so strongly by the Baptists, in the South West, that recently when two Presbyterian ministers, regularly ordained by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, were induced by some motives to join the Baptist church, they were not only re-baptized, but were both re-ordained. Now, this is consistent. But what will Mr. Curtis say to it? who admits that the Presbyterian is a true, though not a regular church. The truth is, if Pedobaptists have no right to the privilege of the Lord's Supper, their Churches are no true churches; their ministers are not the ministers of Jesus Christ; and all their doings and all their worship is without the stamp of divine authority. There is no other true church in the world but the Baptists; and for more than a thousand years, when there were no Baptists, there was no true church of Jesus Christ in existence. And how the Baptist church obtained a beginning—who had the right to commence baptizing, by immersion, is a subject which has greatly perplexed their Doctors; and can even now be scarcely considered as settled on a stable foundation.

Although our author is commonly frank and candid, and manifests amiable feelings towards his brethren of other denominations, yet we have met with one paragraph in his book of very different character. "The system of Pedobaptism," says he, "as a system, has been the embodiment, and is now the main support of some of the most cardinal errors, that have ever afflicted Christendom; such as baptismal regeneration and an unconverted Church membership and ministry, &c." Here, the author's usual candour forsakes him. As to baptismal regeneration, it is repudiated by almost all evangelical Pedobaptists, and has no necessary connexion with infant baptism. And we are of opinion, that adult baptism by immersion has, among the Campbellites, been an occasion of as much evil as the baptismal regeneration of infants. And it would be as just to attribute to the Baptist church the doctrines of adult regeneration by baptism, as held by Alex. Campbell

and his followers, as to connect the Puseyite doctrine of baptismal regeneration with all Pedobaptists. As to the purity of the Pedobaptist churches, though the New Testament teaches us that absolute purity was neither to be expected nor arrived at in the church on earth yet we are willing that the Presbyterian churches in this country, should be impartially compared with the Baptist churches as a body; and if their members are less consistent and holy in their lives, we are exceedingly mistaken. As to unconverted ministers, we believe there are such, in every communion; but we are again willing, that our ministers should be brought into a fair comparison with those of the Baptist churches, and we fear not the issue. Although we differ from the Rev. Mr. Curtis and his close-communication brethren, yet we are pleased with the friendly spirit which he manifests, and should not be at all surprised, if before many years, he should be found among the zealous advocates of free communion between all the sincere followers of the Lord Jesus Christ.

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- ART.—V. 1. *Martin Luthers geistliche Lieder, mit den in seinen Lebzeiten gebrauchlichen Singweisen. Herausgegeben von Philip Wackernagel. Stuttgart. 1848, 8vo. pp. 194.*
2. *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied, von Martin Luther bis auf Nicolaus Herman and Ambrosius Blaurer. Von Dr. K. C. J. Wackernagel. Stuttgart. 1841. 4to pp. 895.*
3. *Paulus Gerhardts geistliche Lieder, getreu nach der bei seinen Lebzeiten erschienenen Ausgabe wiederabgedruckt. Stuttgart. 1843. pp. 216.*
4. *Geistliche Gedichte des Grafen v. Zinzerdorf, gesammelt und gesichtet von Albert Knapp. Stuttgart u. Tübingen. 1845. royal 8vo. pp. 368.*
5. *Evangelischer Liederschatz für Kirche and Haus. Von M. Albert Knapp. Stuttgart and Tübingen. 1837. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 682, 912.*
6. *Stimmen aus dem Reiche Gottes. Eine auserlesene Samm-*

lung alter und neuer evangelischer Kernlieder, mit beigefügten, vierstimmig gesetzten, Chordalmelodien. Von Kocher und Knapp. Stuttgart. 1846. 12mo. pp. 746.

IN this formidable series of titles we have included none of the common church collections: these are in number legionary. Three of the books are edited by Dr. Wackernagel, who is noted for his learning in all that relates to the archaeology of the German language. The first contains all the extant hymns of the sixteenth century; republished with scrupulous collation of all accessible texts, and with an apparatus of critical notes, which may well surprise those who know how the corresponding department of English literature has been allowed to languish; so that we have no single repository of our early sacred poets. The second work is venerable indeed; giving us not only the incorrupt text of all Luther's hymns, but the very airs and harmonies which accompanied them during the Reformer's lifetime. The edition of Gerhardt's Hymns is complete and critical. Mr. Knapp's collection of Count Zinzendorf's poetical works, including his numerous improvisations, is as full as it is elegant, and is followed by a life of the author. To the same lover of sacred song, we are indebted for the fifth in our list; the 'Evangelical Hymn-Treasury,' a work widely known in America; containing three thousand five hundred and ninety two hymns. The same editor has part likewise in the last book named above, which has both text and music, arranged in four parts for the organ and piano-forte: the number of hymns is six hundred and ninety five. To these works, we acknowledge our obligation for a large part of what we shall now offer on the fruitful subject of German hymns. It is a topic too nearly connected with the growth of piety in the soul and its spread among mankind, to need a word of apology. These products of continental piety, in its brightest hours and heavenliest moods, are infinitely remote from the latitudinary and neological errors which are justly dreaded from German writings. Of this we need offer no surer earnest, than by beginning our sketch of German Hymnology, with the great Saxon reformer.

There is scarcely anything more familiar to the readers of Luther's life than his love of music. He was himself a per-

former on more than one instrument, and went to break forth among his friends in bursts of passionate psalmody. The passages in his works and correspondence which express the high value which he set on spiritual song, as a means of promoting knowledge, furthering grace, and driving away the evil one, are too numerous to be quoted at length; but some of them are too important and characteristic to be wholly omitted.

LUTHER led the way in providing Christian hymns for the evangelical world. The number of his metrical compositions, as now extant, is thirty-seven; of which some have acquired great celebrity. Wherever his name is known, men are acquainted with his trumpet-like version of the forty-sixth psalm, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*. Besides this he versified the 12th, 14th, 67th, 124th, 128th, and 130th psalms; the decalogue, Lord's prayer, Creed, and Te Deum; also Luke ii. 30-32, Isaiah vi. 1-8, Rev. xii. 1-6, and the church hymns, *Veni Redemptor gentium*, *A solis ortus cardine*, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, *Veni sancte Spiritus*, *Media vita*, the *Sanctus*, *Da pacem*, and *O lux beata Trinitas*. This may rebuke the flippant and ignorant strictures of a Puseyite writer on Hymnology, who has lately brought it as a charge against Protestant churches, that they have retained but one of the old ecclesiastical metres in their services. It would be easy to show that not only Luther, but every poet of the reformation period, drew largely from this very source. Indeed if there was an error it was that of ascribing undue importance to some inferior Latin hymns.

Modern editors have with great pains restored the ancient text of Luther's hymns, and Wackernagel has annexed the original melodies and harmonies, with abundance of critical apparatus. The earliest edition, which contained only a small number, appeared at Wittenberg in 1523. During the Reformer's lifetime, editions containing his hymns appeared in 1524, 1525, 1526, 1528, 1529, 1531, 1533, 1535, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1541, 1542, 1544, 1545. As early as 1524, we find Luther addressing his friend Spalatin in a letter, with entreaty that he would try his hand at vernacular hymns, and laying down the principle, so remarkably exemplified by him-

self, that they should not be in learned diction but in the plain idiom of common people.*

How costly and welcome a gift these effusions were, may be learnt from the enthusiastic language of contemporaries. Michael Styfel, in a preface to one of them, calls Luther that 'Christian, angelic man.' The people rejoiced to have their mouth opened in congregational singing. Luther's first preface appears to be that of 1525, prefixed to the Wittenberg hymn-book. It is simple but pregnant. "That the singing of spiritual songs is good and pleasing to God, methinks is known to all Christians; since every man is aware of the example of prophets and kings in the Old Testament, who with voice and joyful noise, with poetry and all manner of harping, praised God, and more especially the psalms of common Christendom from the beginning. They are set for four voices, because I greatly desire that the youth, who should and must be brought up in music and other proper arts, may have something to do away the foul songs and carnal ballads, and at the same time be learning somewhat healthful, while they enter on what is good with the delight which becomes their time of life. For I am far from thinking that the gospel is to strike all Art to the earth; but I would have all arts, and especially music, taken into that service for which they were given and formed."

It appears from several of these ancient advertisements, that not a few spurious hymn books were hawked about under Luther's name. The popularity of the new art is apparent from this fact, as well as from the remarkable number of collections produced by other friends of the reformation. These prefaces dwell much on the importance of teaching children to sing God's praise. In the Strasburg hymn book of 1534, Catharina Zell earnestly exhorts mothers to this work, inviting them to use hymns at dead of night to still the waking babe, and as lullabies beside the cradle; and she commends the same to "the journeyman at his work, the servant-maid at her kitchen, the husbandman in the field." Eminent musicians, such as Hoffman and Heintzen, organists at Mentz and Magde-

* Luther's *vermischte Schriften*; v. Gerlach. Stuttgart. 1848. vol. i. p. 116.

berg were employed, to adjust the music. The perversions of worldly song and of superstition only gave an edge to reforming zeal, and so good John Walters, in the preface to the Wittenberg hymn-book of 1537, says: "But in order that the beautiful art be not altogether abolished, I have, blessed be God, in despite of the devil and all his contempt, set the spiritual songs, heretofore printed at Wittenberg, mostly with correction, and augmented with certain little pieces for five or six voices."

It would be interesting to trace the connection between the hymnology of the ancient Bohemian Brethren and that of the Lutherans. This is alluded to in a collection by John Varnier, Ulm, 1538. In the rhyming address to the reader, mention is made of the grace shown to the churches of Bohemia and Moravia.†

The excellent Mathesius of Joachimsthal, the biographer of Luther, united with the musician Herman in a volume of sacred music and poetry, which has a preface by the latter, containing many things illustrative of the popular condition in regard to this subject. "When I look back, (says the *old Cantor*, as Herman calls himself), and consider how it was in my youth, fifty years and more ago, in churches and schools, and what sort of teaching there was therein, my hair stands on end, and my flesh shudders, nor can I refrain from sighs and lamentation; and it were to be wished that the young people and scholars of our time knew but the half of what those poor school urchins endured, of toil, misery, frost, and hunger. In the common schools there were such barbarism and inaccuracy in learning, that many were twenty years old before they learned their grammar, or could speak a little Latin, which, when they got it, sounded in comparison with our Latin like an old rattle-pipe or rebeck beside the noblest and best tuned organ. The poor children [Luther had been one of them,] who went about serving as waits, were no better than martyrs. If they were tortured in school and frozen, they

† Inn Behem vnd Merrher landt,
Wo ich Gottes sinn hab erkannt,
Von leüten die man bisper veracht,
Vnd verfolgt hat mit voller macht.

must then go about through streets with their wallet." He then recites the old superstitious ditties which they were taught to sing, and compares them with the sacred instructions and holy hymns introduced by the reformers.

The diction of Luther's hymns is that common, rugged, idiomatic High German, which has made itself felt in the national literature, and has contributed to form the national thinking. No one man on record has ever laid his hand with so much power on the moulding of a great language. Though some will lament the loss of a certain sweetness which still lives in the Low German, none can overlook the bone and muscle of the dialect of Luther. It yields more readily to the sublime and vehement than the beautiful, but it can be passionate and touching. The use of so familiar and homely a speech in the early hymns doubtless gave a precedent, which no one can mistake in the later compositions of Gerhardt and Schmolck. A number of these hymns are still used in German worship after the lapse of three centuries; a fact which has no parallel in British Hymnology.

It was the congregational singing of the Hussite brethren which, we are told, suggested to Luther the labours which he bestowed on this reform. His efforts succeeded in spreading a peculiarity of worship which has reached as far as the German tongue, and which we would fain emulate, if we may not envy: "By means of a single hymn of Luther, *Nun freut euch liebe Christengemein*, many hundreds were brought to the faith, who otherwise would never have heard Luther's name." And it was observed by the Cardinal Thomas a Jesu, "that the interests of Luther were furthered to an extraordinary degree, by the singing of his hymns, by people of every class, not only in schools and churches, but in dwellings and shops, in markets, streets and fields." They found entrance even among adversaries. Selnecker relates that several of the hymns having been introduced into the chapel service of the duke Henry of Wolfenbüttel, a priest made complaint. The duke asked what hymns those were against which he protested. "May it please your highness, they are such as '*O that the Lord would gracious be.*'" "Hold!" replied the duke,

"must the devil then be gracious? Whose grace are we to seek, if not that of God only?" And the hymns continued to be sung in court. In 1529 a Romish priest preached at Lubeck, and just as he ended, two boys struck up the hymn of Luther, "*O God from Heaven, now behold;*" when the whole assembly joined as with one voice; and continued to do the same as often as any preacher inveighed against the evangelical doctrine. At Heidelberg the reformation made its way by singing. The Elector Frederick, from fear of the emperor, had delayed suppressing the mass. On one occasion, a priest was about to begin the service, standing at the high altar, when a single voice led off the beginning of Paul Speratus's famous hymn, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*. The vast congregation immediately joined, and the elector, taking this as a sufficient suffrage of his people, proceeded to introduce the communion in both kinds.

But these effects would not have been produced by hymns alone, however excellent. Luther's knowledge of music led him to bestow equal care upon the tunes. "It is the notes," said he, "which give life to the text." It is interesting to enquire from what sources these tunes were derived. Some of them were very naturally taken from the familiar Latin melodies of the church. This is true of the versions of church-hymns, mentioned above. Others were already in use, as connected with vernacular hymns. These have been carefully traced to their origin, by musical antiquaries. A portion of these consisted of original melodies. Eminent among these is *Ein fester Burg*, which still holds its place in German churches, and was composed, as Sleidan testifies, by Luther himself.

We have spoken of Nicholas Herman, 'the old cantor,' of Joachimsthal in Bohemia. This quaint and genial old man died in 1560. He was the author of the tune of *Lobt Gott, ihr Christen*, which is still happily in use. John Kugelmann, *maestro di capella* of Albert of Prussia, Joachim von Burgk, Cantor at Mühlhausen, Selnecker of Leipsick, and Dr. Nicolai of Hamburg, were all noted in the same way, during the sixteenth century. In order to make sacred song universal among the people, singing in parts was encouraged by every

means. The production of new melodies continued during the whole of the seventeenth century, under such men as Praetorius, Schein, Alberti, Erstger, Winer, Neander, Rosenmüller, Severus, Ahle, and Neumark. After this there was a great stagnation.

The music of the church in Germany, at the time of Luther's reform, had become painfully elaborate, and the solemnity of the old Gregorian chant, which certainly had many excellencies, was overlaid with a burden of artificial difficulties. It was the merit of Luther to restore the ancient simplicity, without rejecting the aids of learned harmony. "When natural music," says he, "is elevated and polished by art, we first see and acknowledge with admiration the great and perfect wisdom of God in his wondrous creation of music, wherein this is especially strange and astonishing, that a single voice utters the simple air or tenor,* as musicians name it, and then three, four, or five other voices join, who as it were play and leap exultingly about this plain tenor, and marvellously deck and beautify it with manifold change, and sound as if leading a heavenly dance, meeting one another in good will, heartily and lovingly embracing; so that those who understand a little, and are hereby moved, have to marvel, as thinking there is nought in all the world rarer than such a song with many voices." The result of this is the German CHORAL, in which the congregation sing one part, while the singers of the choir, and in later times the organ, furnish a full and manifold harmony; a method which is infinitely remote from the American abuse of having a handful of singers in the gallery to act as proxies of the great congregation and praise God by committee. The musical composition of the reformation period was carried forward by Henry Fink, George Rhaw, Martin Agricola, Balthazar Resinarius, Sixt Dietrich, Benedict Ducis, and others, whose lives may be read in the histories of music.

We have dwelt long on Luther, because beyond question he was the founder of the incomparable German psalmody, in regard as well to text as music, so that no one can enter a well

* The musical reader will not mistake this for the part so called in modern scores.

appointed German service at this day, without breathing the air of the sixteenth century. But Luther though first was so far from being alone, that our difficulty now is how to make a selection. When it is considered that the mere names of German hymnists would occupy many pages, we shall not be expected to go into details. A very convenient division of evangelical hymnology is that which makes Paul Gerhardt the limit between two periods; the first of these begins of course with Luther. But he was only the leading star of a brilliant constellation.

HANS SACHS is one of the darling names of Germany. He is often called the last of the bards or master-singers. We must leave it for literary annals to record his secular achievements. Hans was born at Nuremberg, in 1494. He sang his first piece of minstrelsy at Munich, in 1514, being then on his 'wandering' as a journeyman shoemaker. His collected effusions would amount to more than six thousand. They are in the highest measure expressive of the national mind at that era of transition; abounding in humour, naïveté, strength, imagination and pathos. He is among his people at once a poetic Bunyan and a religious Burns. He threw himself into the reformation at the very earliest period, and gave an impulse which was perhaps second only to Luther's. After having been forgotten for a time during the reign of mediocrity and rationalism, Hans Sachs was restored to general admiration by the admiring eulogies of Wieland and Goethe.* Some of Hans's hymns are still in use: more than twenty may be consulted in Wackernagel. His 'Christian Ballad against the ruthless ire of Sathanas' is remarkable for its keenness and satiric strength. A 'Dialogue between the Sinner and Christ,' adapted to a popular song tune, is an admirable epitome of saving experience which probably did more for the reformation than scores of sermons. He likewise versified thirteen psalms. We observe with pleasure that his *Warum betrübst du dich mein Herz* is incorporated in Kocher's delightful collection.

PAULUS SPERATUS merits the next place. In time, he might even be earlier. He was one of the Prussian Reformers, who

* See Goethe's Poetic Mission of H. Sachs.

died in 1554. On hearing his hymn *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*, once sung under his window, Luther is said to have been deeply affected and to have thanked God for the wonderful diffusion of the truth. His hymns are remarkable for condensed doctrine: this was indeed strikingly true of the compositions of the day, to a degree which we regard as not to be imitated; but it was inseparable from the great religious movement, as pre-eminently a doctrinal reformation. The people sang themselves into a gospel creed.

JUSTUS JONAS, the bosom friend of Luther, imitated him in this work: his pieces are versified psalms. There were numerous contributions from Agricola, Spangenberg, Paul Eber, Mathesius, Herman the Cantor, and Decius. But an accumulation of names is unsatisfactory, and the curious reader must be referred to the exhaustive repository of Wackernagel. A goodly number of these venerable hymns, with some alterations, is found in modern evangelical selections. They are rude but impressive, giving no uncertain sound as to protestant testimony, and contributing incalculable help to the forces of the reformation. A version of the twenty-third psalm, by Musculus, (Wackernagel 269) is an exquisite pastoral. Many of the hymns were in the soft Low German, and several are extant in both dialects.* Some had all the graces of the proper ballad, as for example No. 276, by von Wortheim. Some contained the full history of our Lord's passion. A truly poetic hymn by Henry Müller was composed in gaol. Some were quaint and ludicrous to a degree unknown among ourselves: as No. 295, by Erasmus Alberus.

Turning aside for a little to the progress of Christian poetry in the other branch of the Reformation, we naturally expect less of German nationality and less of musical enthusiasm. Zwingle was the declared opponent of all instrumental music

* We subjoin a specimen from the first psalm in Niederdeutsch:

“Wol dem, de neene gemeinschop hat
Mit der Godtlosen Rade und dadt.
Noch up den wech der Sünders tritt,
Dar spotters sitten ock nicht sitt.
Wol dem, de thom Gesett des Herrn
Heft lust und de syn wordt hört gern,
Der sulft mit vlite und ernst betracht.”

in the worship of God; yet he was himself a religious poet. Other eminent men in the Reformed Church contributed to the treasury of German song. It will suffice to name Symphorianus Meyer who was also an organist, Leo Judæ, Zwick, the Blaurers, and Waldis. In Zwick's hymn-book, 1536, he urges the importance of congregational singing. We postpone the French hymnology for another occasion. Quite an interesting chapter might be filled with notices of the Hymns of the Martyrs, which had in that age a peculiar sacredness. Such were those of Hans Schlaffer, a converted priest, beheaded at Schwartz, in 1527; of Jörg Wagner, burnt at Munich, the same year; of Hans Hut, who suffered at Augsburg, in 1528; of Schneider, beheaded there, in the same year, and of seven brothers imprisoned at Gmünd. It is scarcely necessary to observe that of the reformation hymns, a large portion can be referred with certainty to no particular authors.

To trace the stream of metrical composition in the seventeenth century would be much more difficult. The work went on during its early years with an impetus derived from the preceding period. We must content ourselves with brief notices, especially as we here miss the skilful guidance of Wackernagel. PAUL FLEMMING, who died in 1640, is the author of the favourite *In aller meinen Thaten*, which he composed on the eve of an expedition to Persia. During the horrors of the thirty-year's war, JOHN HEERMANN was a prolific hymn-writer, and of his productions about forty have had continued favour. Two or three of these are in the very first rank. HERBERGER and RINKART might here be named. SIMON DACH, professor of poetry at Königsberg, where he died in 1659, was remarkable for the contemplative serenity and literary correctness of his hymns. RIST, of Holstein wrote a large number. But in regard to these and others whom we do not find space to name, we must refer to collections like that of Knapp, in which, by a most laudable method, the authorship of every hymn is given, with the dates and biographies in a valuable appendix. Of this whole period, it may be observed that the gracious doctrines of the reformation constitute the warp and woof of the texture: among great diversities of literary and poetic merit, this character is maintained.

In rare instances, the points of angry contest between the Lutherans and the Reformed stand out offensively; but one might peruse hundreds of hymns without ever having these differences brought to his mind. It is time however to dismiss this first period; which we do the more willingly, because the next opens with so great and venerable a name.

PAUL GERHARDT stands clearly at the head of German hymn-writers; if indeed we may not ascribe to him an influence on religious sentiment more strong and extensive than is due to any uninspired psalmist. He was born in Saxony, in 1606, and was brought up by pious parents in the good old ways of the Reformation. In 1651, we find him Probst at Mittenwalde, and in 1651, Diaconus at Berlin. The only great public event which has much connexion with his life was the Brandenburg controversy between the Lutherans and the Reformed. The Great Elector, as well from education as from long residence in Holland, was devotedly attached to the Reformed Church. In the bitter conflicts which ensued, Gerhardt fell into the party of the warm Lutherans, but escaped most of the rancours of zealotry. We can scarcely enter however into those scrupulous judgments which led this good man to endure troubles, as he apprehended, little short of persecution. These inward trials led to some of his deepest experiences and most memorable writings. He fled to the patronage of Christian, duke of Saxe-Merseburg, and, was made Archidiaconus of Lübben, at which place he died, in 1675. His last utterance was in words from one of his own hymns:

“Death no more hath power to kill,
He but sets the spirit free
From the weight of earthly ill,
Though its name should legion be;
Shuts the gate of bitter woe,
Opens wide the heavenly way,
That our willing feet may go
To the realms of endless day.”

But it is as a Christian poet that we are concerned with Gerhardt. Of one hundred and twenty hymns, eighty-eight appeared from time to time in different ways, some having been first printed with his funeral sermon. The earliest com-

plete edition appeared in folio at Berlin, in 1666, 1667. The best is unquestionably that of Wackernagel, at Stuttgart, 1843.

A separate treatise would be required to point out the traits of Gerhardt's sacred metres. If we might judge by the effects, nothing of Tyrtæus was ever more awakening. For facility, vivacious sparkle, a cheerfulness almost mirthful, a pathos that melts in sighs, the purest evangelical matter, and the flame of sanctified passion, all in the most nervous, heart-reaching idiom of the market place and the hearth, we have never seen anything equal to Paul Gerhardt. Harris, the author of *Hermes*, once induced a friend to learn Spanish, solely that he might read *Don Quixote* in the original; we should think any man repaid for learning German, by reading Paul Gerhardt. The very excellencies of his verse forbid translation. The attempt to use English idioms as strong and familiar as his, results in coarseness and vulgarity; we cannot reproduce his felicitous jingle, nor the clink of his double endings.

The merit of Paul Gerhardt is akin to that of Luther, after whom and Hans Sachs he may be said to have formed himself. but with a facility, melody and fancy, altogether unreached by those great men. He deserves a place among national bards; for neither Burns in Scotland, nor Beranger in France, was ever more truly the minstrel of the people. Rich and poor, learned and simple, sung his songs. When Winckelman was in Italy, and even after his perversion to popery, his favourite hymn was one of Gerhardt's.* The mother of Schiller brought him up under the influence of these hymns, especially *Nun ruhen alle Wälder*.

The traits which meet in Gerhardt's poetry might seem incompatible. To the rustic plainness of Chaucer he adds the liquid versification of Ovid or Moore. He is quaint, he is sublime. Some of his effusions are mere doctrine, and some are mere passion. Everywhere he uses the language of the people, but with a curious felicity of selection which saves him from all grossness, while it makes him untranslatable. As to the inward contents, these hymns are in the highest and

* 'Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund.'

best sense evangelical, and under God have done much to keep alive true piety among the humble, even where the learned clergy have gone astray. Lutheran peculiarities stand out in certain hymns, but by no means offensively.

Reference to any hymn-book of German Protestants will show how largely they have been indebted to Gerhard. In this respect he has been to all Germany what Charles Wesley was to the Methodists. The greatest hymns in the language are confessedly those of Gerhard; his place is as indisputable as Shakspeare's among dramatists, and for reasons which make him quite inaccessible by means of any version. Of his spiritual compositions, a large number continue to be sung, in no respect obsolete after two centuries.* Nowhere do we find deeper lamentations over sin, more tender and believing and elevated addresses to Christ as dying and reigning, or a richer variety of consolations for sufferers of every class. The influence of Gerhard was felt even till the days of rationalism, in restraining later poets from substitution of cold elegancies and rhetorical flights for the scriptural pathos and power of simple heart-speaking truth.†

After so great a name we must content ourselves with briefer notices. JOHN FRANK, a contemporary of Gerhard, died in 1677, and was the author of more than a hundred hymns, some of which have high value. The tendency of the period was however towards a dry didactic style. Few had Gerhard's art of conveying solid doctrine in the language of evangelical emotion. Some notion of our meaning may be derived from comparing Doddridge with Watts. And this evil grew with the prevalence of dead orthodoxy. There was however a strong reaction against this tendency, in certain writers of the mystical school, such as Scheffler, or ANGELUS SILESII, who became a Romanist, and HENRIETTA OF BRAN-

* Among such treasures it is hard to make selections. The following will carry all suffrages: "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden—Wie soll ich dich empfangen—O Welt, sich hier dein Leben—Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld—Was Gott gefällt—Gib dich zufrieden—Befehl du deine Wege—Nun ruhen alle Wälder—Geh aus mein Herz und suche Freud."

† See Wildenhahn's *Paul Gerhard*, in English, Lond. 1847. 2 vols. 12mo. also Victor Strauss's '*Leben des P. Gerhard*,' Bielefeld, 1844, 12mo.; with a preface by Tholuck.

DENBURG, a princess whose name is embalmed in the immortal hymn, *Jesus meine Zuversicht*. The same peculiar expression of personal love to Christ appears in the passionate verses of SCRIVER.

As might naturally be expected, the Halle School of Pietism was productive of sound and spiritual hymns. Both SPENER and FRANCKE made contributions which are still esteemed. Among the latest eminent poets of the church in the seventeenth century must be named JOHN CASPAR SCHADE, who died at Berlin, in the year 1698, and ARNOLD, who lived until 1714.

The sacred poets of Germany in the former half the eighteenth century must be treated in near connexion with what is called the pietism of that period; which indeed was nothing else than the revival of true religion after the long trance of stupid formalism. There was a breaking forth of emotion, and a corresponding utterance in spiritual songs, exactly such as took place about the same time or a little later, among the Methodists of England. The Halle school of experimental religion was spreading its influence widely. Hence arose a few hymn-writers, more warm and striking than any since Gerhardt.

The first place is undoubtedly due to BENJAMIN SCHMOLCK, born in 1672. His labours were chiefly in Silesia. Bereavements in his earlier domestic life and blindness in his old age, gave him trial of many Christian conflicts and consolations, which he loved to express in verse. The profusion of his labours was wonderful, for he wrote more than a thousand hymns. Among so many, it is enough if a small proportion are excellent; and a few of Schmolck's take the very first rank, and are cherished in the memory and worship of all pious Germans. They are after Paul's Gerhardt's model, have much of his simplicity and piety, without his genius: but with a remarkable adaptation to church-use. It is pleasing to learn from Dr. Alt, that to this day Schmolck's hymns are commonly sung in families of Silesia.* In theological sentiment he leaned rather more to Lutheran orthodoxy than

† Noted hymns of Schmolck are 'Seele sei zufrieden'—'Weine nicht Gott lebet noch'—'Ein neuer Tag ein neues Leben'—'Hier ist Immanuel'—'Der beste Freund ist in dem Himmel.'

to the peculiarities of the Halle school; but the flow of evangelical affection was common to both. He died in 1737.

More exactly representing the Halle school was JOHN ANASTASIUS FREYLINGHAUSEN, son-in-law of Francke. The singular fact has often been mentioned that some of his best hymns were dictated during fits of severe toothache. He edited several valuable collections of hymns; his own were not very numerous, but some of them are admirable.*

CHARLES HENRY VON BOGATZKY is known to our readers, not by his hymns so much as by his 'Treasury.' He was born 1690. His father's family was Hungarian, but settled in Lower Silesia. While his father, who was an army officer, was away in the wars the boy was under the instructions of a pious mother. Dr. Hagenback remarks that it was an age in which more than in ours children of early years were favoured with heavenly communion. Bogatzky's soul was thus drawn out to devotion, praise and poetry. His youth was moulded by the writings of Arnd and Seriver. After once perusing a sermon in Seriver's 'Soul-Treasury,' he was overcome of heavenly joy so that he had to fall on his knees and pour out his heart in praise. "A true light," says he, "streamed into my soul, and I was made to see, that true Christianity is something living, powerful, blessed, and altogether different from what the world thinks. I learned the difference between a mere moral, virtuous disposition, and a work of grace by the Holy Ghost, or those divine virtues which are wrought in us by the Holy Ghost, and flow from faith and joy in the Holy Ghost." At the university of Jena, he received much advantage from the pious influence of the celebrated Buddeus. At Halle he became fully under the preaching and example of Francke. Freylinghausen was his spiritual adviser. Though he was not a professional man, but a gentleman of fortune, living on his estate, he was much in visiting the sick, doing good among the poor, and leading souls to Christ. He was eminently happy in his married relation, and records the advantage derived from the prayers he offered with his wife. Frequently also he held what we should call prayer-meetings.

* 'Wer ist wohl wie du,' 'Kommt ihr Menschen,' 'Mein Herz gib dich zufrieden.'

O that our beloved German brethren would consent to study more closely the example of these pious, happy men, in regard to family worship, sabbath devotion, and social religion ! His hymns are nearly four hundred, and are more remarkable for affectionate piety, agreeably expressed, than for extraordinary flights. Prosaic turns, and some taint of the prevalent bad taste, especially in diction, are observable. The little stanzas in his 'Treasury' have probably done more good than his regular hymns. But his memory is blessed in thousands of families, of almost every Protestant land.

GERHARD TERSTEEGEN is a beloved name among evangelical Germans. He was a Westphalian, born in 1697. Though somewhat educated, he was a man of the people, by trade a ribbon-weaver, leading a quiet humble life. The influence of his cheerful, lovely graces was felt all over his country; at length this plain, secluded Christian had visits from Holland, Switzerland and England. "From Amsterdam to Berne," says Stilling, "the adherents of Tersteegen are to be found among the people." 'Father Tersteegen' was his common appellation. He sometimes watched whole nights in prayer beside the sick and dying. He was never married, and died in 1769. The number of Tersteegen's hymns is one hundred and eleven. The new school of German hymnology is supposed to have culminated at this point. Simple tenderness with sweetness of versification are united in this gentle poet.* Of this school the Germans consider subjectivity, as contrasted with the objectivity of the ancient writers, to be characteristic: the terms, though unusual, are expressive.

The name of RAMBACH has a twofold connexion with our subject. The elder of that name, an eminent dignitary and poet, is the author of some admirable hymns. His grandson, who falls within another period, wrote a well-known work on hymnology.

ERNST GOTTLIEB WOLTERS DORF, belongs to this part of the series; a clergyman's son, born near Berlin, 1725. After studying at Halle, then the chief seat of vital religion, he became a preacher in Silesia. He was a devoted friend of youth,

* See his '*Gott ist gegenwärtig.*'

and founded an orphanhouse at Bunzlau, in imitation of that at Halle. "I hope," he once wrote, "that by means of the children, we shall drive the devil out of Bunzlau: God grant it!" He died early, in 1761. According to his own saying, his verses flowed out of his heart. "Often," said he, "nothing was further from my thoughts than making verse; but something dropped suddenly into my mind, and set me on a train, so that I had to seize the pen. It was frequently like a burning in my heart, urging me to sing to the Lord and his people, on some weighty matter. If I undertook to write two or three verses. I sometimes ended with twelve, fifteen, or even thirty. There were times when the pen could not keep pace with the thought." The result was, that many of his hymns are too long for public use. They are censured as sometimes unfinished in point of art; and many of them fall far below the elevation and fire of Gerhardt and Schmolck; yet Woltersdorf has produced many noble hymns.* He deplored the substitution of secular elegance for devotion, in such writers as Günther; and used to say, "The day will come, when many an old village parson, many an old schoolmaster, or peasant, or shoemaker, who has made two or three halting stanzas from his heart, shall have the crown on Mount Zion, as a true poet, before those masters of verse." But he modestly added: "I should rejoice at heart, if as a moaning dove I could give occasion to many a nightingale, to utter so penetrating a voice, that the sacred groves might resound, and I might creep
• into my covert."

Both Woltersdorf and Bogatzky belong to the authors of what were called the Köthen Hymns, so named from the place of publication. Most of the other writers degenerated still more into prosaic reflection. According to Rambach, these authors produced only a feeble imitation of the old pietistic verse. Among them were ALLENDORF, LAU, and LEHR.†

At this point we are prepared to turn aside for a little to consider one of the most marked portions of German hymnol-

* For instance: 'Der für mich am Kreuz gehangen,' 'Abermals ein Jahr verfloßen.'

† To whom respectively we owe 'Nun, Kindlein bleibt am Jesu kleben'—*Ach Herr, du wollst die Wehmuth stillen*—and 'Der schmale Pfad führt doch gerad ins Leben.'

ogy. If the United Brethren have any one grand peculiarity in their worship, it is their sacred music. This is characteristic, fascinating, and influential. Wherever their missions have gone they have carried this means of impression. Not by the voice merely but by a diversity of instruments, they have given a prominence to this part of worship which has sometimes threatened to encroach seriously on the rest. We have seen one of their venerable bishops, who was a distinguished organist, and we have known of well-toned instruments shipped to missionaries in Africa and New Holland. No one can read their periodical accounts without being continually reminded of the stress which they lay on hymns as a means of edification, and this is not less apparent in all their communities. This very remarkable trait is due in a great measure to ZINZENDORF. A man of fortune, a nobleman, and a scholar, he was also a poet. His published compositions in this kind amount to many hundreds; beginning with the twelfth year of his age and extending to the sixtieth. Not only was he fertile and rapid with his pen, but he possessed the singular faculty of extempore versification; so that a great number of his hymns were not merely composed but actually sung by him in public worship. As might have been expected from a consideration of the circumstances, these are not the productions which have most merit. Indeed it must be owned, that amidst all the Count's fervours, he usually fails in the highest poetic inspiration. Many of his stanzas are measured prose, with the disadvantage of an affected diction which prevailed for a time in the period of his labours. Yet there are a number of his hymns which maintain their place in good German collections. The most serious fault of his sacred poems is derived from the fondling expressions and nursery endearments employed in regard to the Lord Jesus, and his wounds and sufferings. Not content with a close and adventurous imitation of the Canticles, the Moravian hymn writers indulged in familiarities of figure and blandishments of affection, which are without parallel or approach. We should not dare to produce in English some of these passages.* In

* See Hymns 645, 646, of the ed. Gnadau, 1824. But more particularly, Bost's *Histoire des Freres*, vol. 11. p. 305 sqq.

spite of these, however, which occur only here and there, the hymns of the Brethren could have proceeded only from profound love to the Redeemer; nor can they be read without emotion.

It is important to observe that hymns alone, however attractive, would not have produced the powerful effects which we observe among the Moravians, if together with a poet, they had not also possessed a musician. It is a fact sometimes overlooked. He was, as we learn from M. Bost, the son of a Franconian peasant. His musical talent might have opened a door for every worldly temptation, but he was providentially brought to acquaintance with the Brethren in 1722, when as yet only thirteen years old. When he was eighteen he was already a wonderful organist. He was employed in various useful offices for the community; but was chiefly valuable as director of the music at Herrnhut. "His equal" said Zinzendorf, "has never been found in the church, since he departed to join the Assembly above." TOBIAS FRIEDRICH, so was he named, was probably the composer of many charming airs, breathing a passionate softness, which are still heard in the Moravian service. There was in the history of Herrnhut a strange period of hallucination, from 1741 to 1751, which the Brethren have themselves denominated the time of child's play, *Spielzeit*, "a time (says Kranz) of disorder in doctrine and practice." The sensuous mysticism which threatened them made itself apparent in the poetry of that period. All the riches of the German in diminutives was brought into request, and the child-like play did not avoid the awful names of Christ and his Spirit.* "They came at length," adds Kranz, to refine so much about the sacred pierced side of Jesus, and so to cover it with poetic figures, that the precious merits of Jesus were almost entirely sup-

* In speaking of diminutives, we must not be indiscriminate in our censure. Though we cannot say 'Jesulein,' yet it is Luther who sings sweetly,

"Merk auf, mein herz, und seh' dich dort hin:
Was ligt doch in dem krippelin,
Was ist das schöne Kindelin?
Es ist das liebe Jesulin."

No English version can ever render the first line of that incomparable hymn, 'Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld.'

planted." Zinzendorf justifies the child-like style, but admits that it led to serious abuses.* He retracted some of his own hymns, which, to use Spangenberg words, have long been committed to the grave.

The judgment of Knapp—a high authority on this subject—is more favourable to the Count's rank as a poet, than that of Lange and Hagenbach. One merit his effusions unquestionably have; they are alive from beginning to end with love to Christ. Almost their sole topic is communion with the crucified Redeemer, and life from his agonies, and death. Zinzendorf was assisted in the preparation of hymns by several brethren, whose names should not be omitted. FREDERIC DE WATTEVILLE died in 1777. CHRISTIAN DAVID, a remarkable missionary, made celebrated by Montgomery.† MARTIN DOBER wrote some beautiful hymns.‡ With some blemishes which might easily be removed, the German Hymn Book of the United Brethren is a collection worthy of special note. The history of the society is interwoven with their sacred song, in a very remarkable manner, as might be shown by citing hymn after hymn, in connexion with the circumstances in which these compositions had their rise; but the limits of this article forbid such details.||

The progress of free thinking in Germany, during the reign of Frederick the Great could not fail to make itself felt in hymnology. Even Klopstock, by needless and hypercritical alterations of ancient hymns, led the way to greater evils than he ever could repair by his numerous but academical effusions in this department. Bolder and less reverent spirits did not conceal their contempt for the venerable stanzas which were sung in churches. The king made himself merry with Schiller's favourite, *Nun ruhen alle Wälder*. The philosophers sneered at the ignorant declaration "all the world rests;" and their sapience showed its inconsistency with the revolution of the globe. It was to be read thus, "Now half the

* Knapp: *Leben v. Zinzendorf*.

† 'Ich will es kindlich wagen.'

‡ 'O dass ich der Sünde sterben.'

|| Of hymns thus historically connected, notices may be found, in Bost's History, at the following places: Vol. I. pp. 298, 354; Vol. II. 208, 236, 247, 249, 255, 309.

world doth rest." We have seen similar emendations among ourselves. A rhyming prose was more congenial with rationalism, than the fervours of obsolete piety; so the wine was mixed with water. This flattening and diluting process, to which the church hymns were extensively subjected, is known by a most expressive term.* The age produced, however, some poets, worthy of a better audience. Among these was GELLERT, into whose literary merits, in other respects, we are not called to enter. The spiritual songs of Klopstock and Cramer were rhythmical, correct and elegant, but in the judgment of many cold and stilted. Gellert attempted to reproduce the emotions of evangelical piety in the language of the day, but with simplicity and fitness for common use. If his hymns are far below the rapturous joy or tearful penitence of Gerhardt and Schmoelck, they are expressive of genuine experience, and immeasurably above the measured dulness of his coeval. His friend and biographer, Cramer, relates, that Gellert never addressed himself to composition without a serious preparation of heart. His hymns were soon introduced into the Bremen and Leipsick collections, and formed the best part of them. But his morning hymn, 'My earliest feeling, gratitude and praise,' was altered to 'My earliest *business*, gratitude and praise.'† Gellert's hymns found favour among Roman Catholics, in Bohemia, Austria and other countries. Hagenbach admits that these productions are not always adapted to singing, or better suited to the parlour than the church; and he finds them, though free from doctrinal error, yet rather moral than evangelical; but he pronounces Gellert to be the benefactor of his generation. Many of his hymns are still sung with delight. The tone of these is in contrast with the coldblooded correctors of the old hymns, among whom were Spalding, Dieterich and Teller. The indignation of Herder at their wanton changes has already been recorded by us.‡

* 'Gesangbuchsverwässerung.'

† Thus we have known the too homely verse of Watts, 'The little ants for one poor grain, Labour and tug and strive,' amended into modern elegance, 'Exert themselves and strive;' and so printed.

‡ See antea pp. 373, 374.

There was no one who after these beginnings of decline made a more real contribution to evangelical hymnology than PHILIP FREDERICK HILLER, an excellent minister of Wurtemberg, who died in 1769. Next to the Bible, his little volume of hymns was the most common book in his native kingdom. His hymns are not at all of the Gellert school, but are coloured with the oriental imagery of scripture, and are utterances of just the feelings proper to Christian worship.* In Knapp's collection a judicious prominence is given to the hymns of Hiller.

Among the many names which arise for our consideration we must give the preference to the eccentric LAVATER. Following Dr. Hagenbach, we may place him between Tersteegen, Freylinghausen, Woltersdorf and Hiller on one side, and Gellert on the other. Fancy and feeling play their part in his verses, even though he sometimes trips for a moment into the rhetorical gait of Klopstock and Cramer. The remark has often been made, that Lavater's poetry is at times as prosaic, as his prose is poetical; but he was true to his character, verifying Buffon's saying, *Le style c'est l'homme*. Whether he wrote letters, sermons, poems, dissertations, journals, or any thing else, or communed with God, with his friends or with his own soul, Lavater always acted out himself; not without affectations, but always with a basis of naturalness, candour, and honesty, which were the charm of his character and the secret of his influence.†

Our readers scarcely need to be guarded against the thought that we make any pretence to record the names of all German poets who have adorned the sanctuary with their gifts in the last century. A glance at any German hymn-book will show how endless such a task would be. The difficulty increases as we come down to our own times. Adventitious causes have given eminence to many names, and currency to many productions. Stars have arisen which will soon disappear. To which may

* A few of Hiller's hymns may be cited: 'Ich glaube das die Heiligen'—'Gott gieb mir deinen Geist'—'Mir ist Erbarmung'—'Wie gut ists von der Sünde frei'—'Die Gnade sei mit aller'—'Herr, meine Lebenshütte sinkt'—'Was sind wir arme Menschen hier.'

† Kgschte d. 18. Jahrh II. 509.

be added the difficulty of learning the history of contemporary and living authors. We may be permitted rapidly to gather the names of a few whose compositions have given pleasure to the Christian heart, during the last period, which includes our own times.

Professor ARNDT, of Bonn, who illustrated the subject of German poetry by his works, is the writer of some good hymns. NOVALIS, a brilliant genius of fascinating enthusiasm, verging to mystical darkness, poured out some wild characteristic strains. DOERING and KRUMMACHER, both of Elberfeld, wrote in the peculiar vein of old-time piety which has never ceased to be cultivated in that happy valley. HARTMANN is known to be the author of a most striking hymn, which has appeared in English.* SCHOENER, of Nuremburg, though paralytic, and forced to use a mechanical aid in writing, has left some warm spiritual songs. HAHN, a retired and scarcely learned Christian of Wurtemberg, gave to the public several hymns which will live. Professor ESCHENBERG, of Brunswick, added sacred verse to his other learned and elegant labours. ANNA SCHLATTER, who died in 1826, produced tender religious verse, which has won general acceptance. LODER, of Gotha, deserves notice for about forty hymns. LANGBECKER, wrote on hymnology, to which he also contributed; but his eminently pious songs are thought to lack correction. MENKEN, of Bremen, a Reformed minister, was also a sacred poet. BARTH, of Calw, is still, we believe, casting popular and pious verses into the stream of publication which issues from that fountain of beneficent literature. GARVE, of Neusaltz, on the Oder, has published more than six hundred hymns. A more distinguished place is due to SPITTA, of Hameln, whose productions rise to the higher poetry; his works in this department are much admired.* Last, but not least, we ought to name one to whose labours German hymnology is as much indebted as to any man living, ALBERT KNAPP, the editor of Zinzendorf, the *Liederschatz*, and other works, but also the translator of numerous hymns from the Latin and

* 'Endlich bricht der heisse Tiegel.'

* See the new Lutheran Hymn-book, No's. 213, 225, 274, 550, 551, 636, 667.

English, and the author of many original ones which hold a respectable place among those of the modern school. Mr. Knapp was born at Tübingen, in 1798, but has occupied a distinguished clerical post at Stuttgart. And here, lest we be lost in the maze of contemporary fugitive writers, we close our recital, already lengthened, we fear, to tedium.

In order not to interrupt the progress of our sketch, we have turned aside very little from our path to speak of church-music, which nevertheless exerted an undeniable influence on the hymnology of the Germans. It would be a large and pleasing topic by itself. When we leave the stage of those early solemn masters of the reformation-period, whose type of church composition still predominates among their descendants, we arrive at periods in which powerful influences of the same kind are brought in from the advancing musical world. Not to mention Handel and Sebastian Bach, the Lutheran church possessed musical resources in a number of church-composers. Homilius, Schicht, and Berner were noted in their day. Schneider, Zumsteg, Fasch, Zetter and Klein are great musical names. Later still we arrive at Rungenhagen, Grell, Neukomm, and Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. Indirectly they modified the ecclesiastical taste, and added richness and accuracy to harmonies, even when they did not supersede the venerable melodies of public praise. More directly they produced a great, and more doubtful change, by the substantive addition of motetts, cantatas, chants, and anthems, in which they vied with the Scarlattis, Pergolesi, and Jomellis, of the Romish schools. Yet it must be owned, that the mighty impression of German hymns, as sung for three centuries, has been made by the slow, solemn, swelling, often pathetic movements of the congregational tunes, which need be heard but once, in favourable circumstances, to explain all that we mean. The people sing. They sing the same tunes to the same words. From childhood to age, the hallowed association is unbroken. Every year adds to the strength of attachment. The sacred airs, instead of being changed with the fashion of every new teacher or publisher, abide in massive dignity, little less mutable than the clustering piers and fretted arches of their stone cathedrals. Whatever aids can be derived there-

fore from imagination, memory, and reverent affection, are here combined in behalf of the national religious song. Hence the rigorous demarcation, even among a most musical people, between the music of God's house, and the music of the stage and the drawing-room. The two operate only in an indirect way on each other. The church borrows no liting measures from the opera or the streets, and never violates the sanctity of communions or funeral rites by the intrusion of song-tunes redolent of secular or licentious remembrances.

How far the riches of German hymnology has been transferred into the Dutch and Scandinavian languages, we are unprepared to say; but many of their favourite productions have been translated into English. The deep impressions made upon John Wesley, in favour of German piety, first by his voyage to Georgia and residence there among the Salzburger, and then by his visit to Herrnhut, in 1738, may have had a more direct bearing on the musical zeal of the early Wesleyans, than is commonly thought. Of those who sing the Methodist hymns, in different parts of the globe, there are few who know that some which they most approve are early translations from the German. Thus, for example, 'Commit thou all thy griefs,' is Paul Gerhardt's famous *Befehl du deine Wege*; and 'O God thou bottomless abyss,' is Lange's *O Gott du Tiefe sonder Grund*. It is a most interesting fact, little known by our foreign brethren, that twenty-two of the Methodist hymns were translated from the German by John Wesley.* They include some of the most touching effusions of a collection as widely used as any in the world.

With all our predilections for the poets of our own tongue, we are forced to admit that our treasury of sacred song is less ample and varied than that of our neighbours. We could single out hymns in English, which in our judgment are fully equal to the best ever produced abroad; in matter, spirit, unction and lyrical completeness. In a purely literary view, the proportion of excellence is on our side. Correctness, elegance, and a certain pomp of verse, not without fire of passion, exist in the master-pieces of Watts, Wesley and Steele. But

* These are given in detail, in Creamer's Methodist Hymnology, p. 103.

in the union of tenderness, penitent, beseeching, and lamenting love, with a simplicity equal to the childlike naïveté of the old ballad, we admit that we are surpassed. German hymns, at the time of the Reformation, were, as we have said, to a great extent doctrinal; they were religious tracts in verse, and vehicles of the revived truth in every land. At a later period, especially under Gerhardt, while there were still many didactic pieces, often of inordinate length, the church hymn took a new form, which became normal. Hence the spiritual songs of Germany are characteristically emotional; and abound in direct addresses to God, and especially to the Lord Jesus Christ, expressive of the warmest evangelical feeling, and contemplating the Redeemer in all his offices, but chiefly as dying for our sins. Some of these are touching beyond expression. Sometimes they involve the peculiar tenets of the old Lutherans, but seldom offensively. All our indignation at Gerhardt's zeal against Calvin vanishes, when we sing one of his Passion-hymns. Such strains could have issued only from a spiritual church, and hearts filled with genuine emotions of grace. Even those too familiar expressions, which severe taste would reject, are products of unfeigned attachment; and are not without parallel in the stanzas of Watts and Hart. Generally speaking, the best German hymns concerning the person and sufferings of our Lord are marked by pure and reverent and spiritual affection. If German Christianity of the old stamp lays more stress than is common in America, on personal love for the Lord Jesus Christ, and on the sorrowing contemplation of his cross, it is only because we have too deeply felt the influence of northern theology, and the balance of advantage is clearly against us.

We rapidly indicated certain derelictions of the old manner. In the progress of modern innovation and theological development, new hymn-books, as a matter of course, were made. Though the popular habits of mind would resist an entire omission of the savoury old evangelical hymns, great changes really took place, and many additions by later hands have been in a spirit utterly foreign to that of Luther, Hans Sachs, Gerhardt and Schmolck. Our commendation of German hymns must not be extended to these, which show a beautiful

moonshine, instead of day, or a corpse decked with flowers instead of rosy life. They are Blair's sermons compared with Baxter and Bunyan, or Robert Montgomery by the side of Milton. What they gain in nicety and scholarship they lose in popular effect. They forsake the dialect of the people.

In a comparison of hymns as to number, we must at once abandon the field. We should be afraid to state the number of German hymns as sometimes given. On certain topics, a little aside from the common track of public worship, they have scores where we have one or two. Not to speak of their church-year, which is celebrated even to profusion by appropriate compositions, they abound in hymns for every season of the year and day, every station of life; and a little volume might be filled with Dying Hymns. The following titles, in Knapp's Treasury, include no less than seven hundred and forty-two articles: Hymns for New Year—the Four Seasons—Morning—Trades—Table—Evening—Birth-day—Week-days—Children—Youth—School—Charity-houses—Marriage—Household—Cradle—Juvenile education—Government—Servants—Widows—Orphans—Old age—the Sick—the Traveller—the Seaman—the Soldier—Times of famine—Tempest—Pestilence—Conflagration—Harvest. Of these, the morning and evening hymns alone amount to more than three hundred.

In order to account for this extraordinary number of hymns, we must adduce a fact which, so far as our observation extends, has never been placed in the strong light which it deserves. Hymnology is almost two centuries older in Germany than in Great Britain. In the English language, original hymns are of comparatively recent date. Recurrence to our books will show how few we employ further back than Dryden and Merrick. Both in England and Scotland the Psalms of David were sung almost exclusively for a large part of two centuries; and this is true of most churches in Scotland at the present day. There were unquestionably many sacred lyrical effusions, from private Christians, in both countries; such as some of Blackmore's, the celebrated hymns of Bishop Ken, and in Scotland "Jerusalem my mother dear," and Erskine's Gospel Sonnets; but these were not heard in public worship, and so never became the common property of the people. The gen-

eral and popular use of lively gospel hymns in England does not date much further back, than the labours of Watts and Doddridge, and the great revival of religious feeling under Hervey, Whitefield and the Wesleys: and it is remarkable how large a portion of the hymns now current among ourselves is derived from these very collections. In the Anglican Church, which best represented the English mind, the prevalent psalmody was first that of Sternhold and Hopkins, and then that of Tate and Brady. There are thousands of Presbyterian worshippers who to this very day content themselves with the rough, bald and scarcely metrical prose of Rous; and some, though their number is happily decreasing, who think it a sin against God to use any praises in his worship which contain the name of Jesus.

How greatly in contrast with this has been the state of things in Germany, we have sufficiently shown. Long before the Reformation, German Christians possessed a store of spiritual songs, partly from the Latin hymns of the Breviary, and partly the product of original pious feeling; since that time, we have attempted to trace the progress. We have seen in Luther himself a prince among Christian poets; and none can tell how much the great religious movement of the sixteenth century owed to those strains of his, of which one might say, as did Sir Philip Sydney, concerning Chevy Chase, that they "stir up the soul like the sound of a trumpet." There has been no time for three hundred years, in which German Christians have not been praising God in the words of original hymns. These have passed from mouth to mouth, and from father to son, and being connected with the freshness and dearest experiences of a most vital Christianity, as yet untainted by rationalism, have become part and parcel of the national inheritance. In this respect, they possess all the traits and influence of the English or the Spanish ballad. Indeed they bear a close resemblance to those popular and soul-stirring compositions, in vigour of thought, simplicity of structure, and homely raciness of diction.*

* In addition to the works named at the head of the article, and others noted in the margin, there are two to which our debt is so great that we cannot omit their titles; viz. *Hagenbach's* 'Kirchengeschichte des 18 u. 19. Jahrh., and *Alt's* 'Christlicher Cultus.'

- ART. VI.—1. *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany*. March, 1850. *On the Geographical Distribution of Animals*: July 1850. *On the Diversity of Origin of the Human Races*. By Prof. Louis Agassiz.
2. *The Unity of the Human Races, proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason and Science*. With a Review of the Present Position and Theory of Prof. Agassiz. By Rev. Thomas Smythe, D. D. New York: George P. Putnam. 155 Broadway. 1850.
3. *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*. By James Cowles Prichard, M. D. F. R. S. &c.
4. *Atlas Ethnographique du Globe, ou Classification des Peuples Anciens et Modernes d' apres leurs Langues*, Par Adrien Balbi, Prof. et cet: A Paris.
5. *Mithridates: oder Allgemeine Sprachenkunde et cet: Von Johann Christoph Adelung, und Dr. Johann Severin Vater*.
6. *Philological Proofs of the Original Unity and Recent Origin of the Human Race*. Derived from a comparison of the Languages of Asia, Europe, Africa and America. By Arthur James Johnes, Esq. London: 1846.

We think the protracted controversy touching the Origin and Unity of the Human Race is rapidly approaching its substantial settlement. This opinion is founded, not so much upon the earnestness with which it is now waged, as upon the progress which has been made, in shifting the grounds of the dispute, from the question of the diversity of species, to that of the diversity of origin, of the races of men, as well as upon the direct and inevitable issue which is now joined in regard to the bearing of the Scriptures upon the present state of the main question. This change in the whole aspect and bearings of the discussion, has been unexpectedly brought about chiefly by the agency of Prof. Agassiz, whose name and authority are so justly influential in questions of Science.

We shall not enter into the curious and instructive history of this controversy in its earlier stages; except to say that the

battle was waged, ever since the modern revival of the subject by Voltaire and his coadjutors in France, Germany and England, on the question of the Unity of Species in the Human Race. No one unacquainted with the subject, has any conception of the amount of learning and labour drawn into the discussion.

The work of Dr. Smythe, the latest on the subject, owes its chief value to the fact, that it is a general index, under the form of a resumé of the argument, to a large portion of what has been written on both sides of every view that has ever been taken of the question. It is a summary of the literature of the subject. Of its merits we have already spoken in general terms, in a former number of our Journal. Besides the extraordinary display of bibliographical research, which we think must add to the reputation, which Dr. S. has already achieved in this department of study, he may well congratulate himself, if his learned work has contributed to precipitate the change of ground, which the question has undergone in the hands of Prof. Agassiz. We look upon this change as matter of congratulation, for two reasons: 1. Because it is a concession that the position first assumed, and hotly maintained by the opponents of the Unity of the Human Race, is wholly untenable; and secondly because the new position of Agassiz, or rather his revival of an old exploded dogma of Mythology, is much less formidable, as we think he will soon find, than that from which he has drawn off his defence. If, therefore, Prof. Agassiz has turned the flank of the opposing argument, by a sudden and masterly change of his tactics; it is only because it was impossible, any longer to bear the resistless charge which modern scientific research, combined with modern ethnological learning, had precipitated upon the feeble and recoiling centre. And although, a certain class of persons, have set up a shout of applause, as if the manœuvre, which is really an abandonment of the old position, in order to escape the overpowering onset of truth and humanity, of science and religion, were the achievement of a victory, or at least the precursor of one; they will soon find that they are still equally within the range of the same artillery, so soon as its direction can be altered to bear upon the new line of

defence, and with no breastwork of protection, except a gratuitous hypothesis, resting upon a mere rhetorical analogy.

The unity of species may now be assumed as the established doctrine of natural history and of science, as well as of scripture and of christianity. The argument to which so much and so varied learning has been contributed, may at last be considered as settled;—and settled notwithstanding the intense and often fanatical hostility to revealed religion on the part of those who raised it, in accordance with the plain teaching of Revelation. The claim of victory in regard to this point. rests not solely upon the concession of Prof. Agassiz, but upon the notorious fact that, at the present time, scarcely a single author of any considerable repute in science, can be named, upon the other side of the question; unless we except Doctor Morton of Philadelphia, whom we do not yet understand to be committed to that view, or Mr. Gliddon, who, notwithstanding his pretensions, and notwithstanding a certain amount of a certain sort of learning, has hardly vindicated for himself a clear title to rank above the charlatans of the age. It is possible that Dr. Nott (of Mobile we believe), or his friends, may claim on the ground of social or professional standing, to be a respectable exception to the combined voice of science and religion; but for ourselves we must candidly confess, that his gross and almost grotesque scientific blunders, the absence of all pretension to a knowledge of branches of learning indispensable to the determination of the question, and the open avowal of social and moral conclusions, which would shock the moral sense of any right-minded or humane person, place him in that class, on whom argument would be wasted, and for whom we have no other feeling than that of settled contempt. Against a few names of this sort, of very questionable authority, (by far the most influential of whom is Voltaire,) our readers may see in the work of Dr. Smythe, whole pages filled with the names of authors and their works, including the founders and modern cultivators of every branch of natural science which bears upon the question,—of Natural History, Anatomy and Physiology, Ethnology, Philology, and general Antiquarian Research.

It is but simple justice to our countryman Dr. Bachman to

say, that after the exceedingly elaborate and able works of Dr. Prichard, and his friend and colleague Mr. Johnes, which would have settled the question in the judgment of the great majority of candid scholars, the crowning contribution to the argument, in favour of the unity of the Human Species, is the clear and conclusive elucidation, contained in his work, of the characteristics of species in the animal kingdom. We do not hesitate to say that he has demonstrated beyond the possibility of overthrow, that the fundamental idea of species necessarily excludes the possibility of all permanent commingling of different species, by the process of reproduction. This conclusion, which he establishes from the widest induction of known facts, possesses an almost self-evidencing light. It is not only in strict analogy with all our ascertained knowledge of the constitution and laws of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, but it is obviously a necessary condition of the perpetuity of the plan of creation embodied in those kingdoms. On no other condition would the classifications of natural history be possible. On no other could there be any system at all; and if the living world had originally been created in specific forms susceptible of classification, it would have been impossible (on any other principle to have perpetuated the original scheme; and the world as we now have it, would have become one vast chaos of shifting forms, an inextricable and incalculable commingling of species in all conceivable proportions—a world of unclassifiable hybrids. If therefore Dr. Bachman has seized upon the true fundamental principle by which species are distinguished, and on which alone they can be classified, viz: the constant law of specific reproduction, the question of the unity of the human species is now finally settled, on philosophical grounds, as well as by general consent of the learned, and by the authoritative teachings of divine revelation.

The doctrine of Agassiz then is, that while all mankind are of one species, yet the varieties of men did not originate from one source or parentage, but are separate indigenous creations, originating in the several localities in which they prevail respectively. This is the general fundamental postu-

late of the hypothesis : its details and consequences may come before us as we proceed.

The line of argument adopted by Professor Agassiz is simple, but ingenious. In the first place he avoids the resistless evidence for the unity of the species, which had been accumulated in the course of the previous argument. In the second place he endeavours to evade, by making a new issue, the overwhelming testimony of the Mosaic record, to the essential and specific unity of mankind. This he fully admits.

In the third place, he tacitly assumes, that upon the other question—the diversity of origin of the different races of men—the scriptures are silent. He claims it therefore, to be purely a question of science, on which neither history nor tradition casts a ray of light, and with which neither revelation nor the social or religious condition of the race, has the slightest connexion. Having thus cleared the ground of all previous hypotheses and of all a priori probability and testimony in the case, he proceeds to lay down his own hypothesis. In doing so he again quietly and adroitly assumes, that the diversities existing among men, though compatible with the unity of the race, are too great to be explained by the operation of physical agencies, and therefore require a different origin to be assigned, at least to their most marked peculiarities. And then finally, the great and indeed the only positive argument in favour of his hypothesis, is drawn from the analogy which he assumes to exist, between the creation of man and that of the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

“ We can see but one conclusion from these facts, that these races cannot have assumed their peculiar features after they had migrated into these countries, from a supposed common centre. We must therefore, seek another explanation. We would remind the reader of the fact, that these are not historic races, that there are not even traditions respecting their origin, to guide us in the investigation, that some of the most different races are placed in parts of the world most similar in physical circumstances, and that we are therefore left to unravel the mystery of their origin, by the light induction may afford us. Under these circumstances we would ask, if we are not entitled to conclude that these races must have originated where they occur, as well as the animals and plants inhabiting the same countries, and have originated there in the same numerical proportions, and over the same area, in which they now occur; for these conditions are the conditions necessary to their maintenance, and what among organized beings,

is essential to their temporal existence, must be at least one of the conditions, under which they were created. We maintain, that, like all other organized beings, mankind cannot have originated in single individuals, but must have been created in that numeric harmony, which is characteristic of each species; man must have originated in nations, as the bees have in swarms, and as the different social plants have at first covered the extensive tracts over which they naturally spread." *Christian Examiner*, July 1850, pp. 127, 128.

The *proton pseudos* of this whole hypothesis, lies in the assumption that there is no historical or authentic solution of the question; or in other words that the Bible is either not entitled to be heard upon it, because it is unworthy of credit as an authentic or inspired record, or because this is a question of science, on which the Bible was not intended to pronounce, any more than upon questions of astronomy or geology, or else because the language of the Mosaic narrative is so loose, and its teaching so indefinite, as to furnish no determinate solution.

We are happy to acquit Prof. Agassiz of any intention to impugn either the authenticity or inspiration of the sacred scriptures. The earnestness with he disclaims this purpose, as well as that of deprecating the political condition of the servile races, is honourable to his heart, and stands in marked contrast with the coarseness, and brutality, as well as the absurdity, of those who have seized upon his name and reputation, to shield and justify their puny assault upon the Bible, and the ill concealed joy with which they trample on humanity and riot in the ruin of their degraded fellow-men. We are sorry to add, however, that Prof. Agassiz does repeatedly sanction, and sometimes we think neither in good temper nor in good taste, those slang phrases which jar upon our ears, and sound to us as inconsistent with his accustomed courtesy, as well as that refinement and liberality of feeling, which true science ought to generate.

The changes are rung for example in endless variety of irony and sarcasm, upon the inability of the friends of Revelation to "conceive that the Bible is not a text book of natural history," and we are reminded *ad nauseam*, of the groundless fears entertained by the theologians of the church of Rome, three hundred years ago, in regard to the influence of

“the brilliant discoveries of Galileo,” &c. Now we should be glad, once for all, to set this matter in its true light. We are not claiming, nor do we know of any true theologians who do, that the Bible is a text-book in natural history, or astronomy, or geology, or any other purely human science. But are the propounders of this new hypothesis incapable of seeing, that it is not on the ground of natural history at all, but because it meddles with the high questions of revealed religion, the history of the introduction of sin and evil, the origin of depravity and death among the human race, the plan of redemption by Jesus Christ, the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity, the highest earthly consolations and the everlasting spiritual hopes of the majority of the human family, the great springs of human brotherhood, and the reciprocal duties and relations of humanity; it is because it involves, as Agassiz himself shows, these high moral and religious questions, and not from its connexion with questions of natural history, that the friends of revelation and the church feel called upon to interfere in these discussions. Are these points to be settled by the naturalists on the principles of pure science? Surely it cannot be expected that we should keep silence, while these gentlemen are overturning, however scientifically it may be done, the foundations of society, and extinguishing the immortal hopes of a moiety of the race.

The question of the origin of mankind, it will not be denied, is a question of fact, and therefore a question to be settled not by a priori or inductive reasoning, but by evidence. The question is not how mankind could have originated in accordance with the laws of science, but how they did originate in point of fact. In other words, it is a question of history, and not of science; and the only relation which science can hold to it, depends upon the evidence which it is capable of furnishing, touching the question of fact. That this is the true state of the case is clear, not only intuitively, but by the admission of Prof. Agassiz; because he specially confines the application of his argument to what he terms the “non historic races.” Now, although we believe and are sure that his assumption, that there are no historical indications, “not even traditions respecting their origin, to guide us in the investigation,” is exaggerated and

untrue, yet we will not enter into an argument on this point at present. We allow this entire class of historical and traditional evidences to go by default, and take up our defence on the position that God has revealed to us in his inspired word, the true and genuine history of the origin of mankind, and that in that inspired record all mankind are derived from one common origin;—in other words, the Bible teaches that all nations are descended from Adam and Eve.

The authority of the record, let it be remembered, is not disputed; the only questions are these two:—1. What is the subject matter of that record; and 2. What does it teach in regard to that subject. These surely, are not questions in natural history: and it will take all the logic, and all the sophistry besides, of our opponents, to twist them into such.

The truth is that Prof. Agassiz, has strangely confounded two entirely distinct questions. The real question in dispute, is, did all mankind spring from one origin: but the question which he argues, is this, how did the diversities between the different races, the African and the Caucasian, for example, arise. That these are radically different questions, and not merely different aspects of the same question, if it is not intuitively evident, can easily be made apparent. Suppose for the sake of argument we grant the assumption of Prof. A. that the causes to which philosophers have ascribed the varieties characteristic of the different races, are inadequate to account for those diversities;—what then? Does it follow from this, that those races did not spring from one common ancestry, as the Bible has been universally understood to affirm? By no means. The utmost that would follow, is that the causes of those diversities was still a mystery; but it would not follow that other agencies, might not have produced them. What is there, for example, to prevent our ascribing them to special supernatural agency. Our inability to explain the philosophy of a fact, does not disprove the existence of the fact. Prof. Agassiz may controvert, to his satisfaction, the solutions which have been offered to explain the varieties of colour, features and form, existing among men. These are questions of science about which the Bible is no text-book; but when he proceeds to deny the unity of their origin, he is passing be-

yond the proper domain of science, and joining issue with the authority of the inspired record, about a question of fact. None of the known agencies, collectively referred to what we term climate and civilization, may be adequate to account for the differences of the races, and yet they may have originated from the same source notwithstanding.

The utmost that can be required of us in holding fast to the doctrine of the scriptures, is to suggest a hypothesis by which the diversities of men may be conceived to have arisen, on the supposition that they are all children of the same primeval pair, and not to explain the agencies by which they have been actually produced. Indeed in strictness even this is not indispensable to our belief of the fact, if its evidence be clearly made out. It may, like the darkening of the sun on the day of the crucifixion, or the occurrence of the deluge, transcend all analogy, and yet it may be true.

This leads us to say that besides misapprehending the true point at issue, and confounding two distinct questions, Prof. Agassiz has inverted the true order of the topics involved in the argument. Instead of inquiring what the Bible actually teaches about the facts of man's origin, as he should have done after admitting its authority, and then proceeding to inquire how far the facts accord with the existing laws of the human constitution, how far the changes involved are referable to natural agencies, and how far they transcend or contradict our present knowledge of those agencies, he first sets himself to prove, or rather assumes, that existing or known causes are inadequate to explain these changes; and then hastily infers that the changes could not have occurred at all, as the history affirms. In other words instead of applying his philosophy to the facts, resting as they do upon inspired testimony, he undertakes to square the facts to his imperfect philosophy; or which amounts to the same thing, he forces the Bible to utter a language in contradiction to the uniform interpretation of the Christian world.

His mode of argument is precisely analogous to the fallacy by which the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, has been assailed and rejected on scientific grounds, viz: because it is incompatible with all the known laws and agencies of

nature. Who does not see that this is inverting the order of these truths: and that the friends of revelation are not required to explain how the dead are raised, or tell with what body they come, but simply to vindicate the possibility of the doctrine; or in other words to suggest a hypothesis, consistent with the analogies of nature and providence, by which the power of God can accomplish the result in question. Indeed we could easily construct an argument, on the very principles of Prof. Agassiz, against the doctrine of the resurrection, or against a hundred historic facts in the history of Israel, like the crossing of the Red Sea, or the capture of Jericho, a thousand fold more plausible than that by which the unity of origin of the races of men, has been assailed. The truth is the process is false in its logic; no wonder therefore that the result is a fallacy. It is this same method of reasoning which has proved the prolific source of the error and infidelity which has overrun the theology and the church, of both Germany and France, under the imposing name of rationalism.

The argument of the naturalists resting as it does upon the alleged impossibility of accounting for the extreme diversities of men, supposing them to spring from the same stock, falls to the ground of course, if we can suggest a hypothesis, by which the possibility of the result becomes conceivable. What would Prof. Agassiz say if we should persist in denying that the butterfly had ever been a chrysalis, or a moth or a larva, because none of the known laws of vital mechanics, or of vital chemistry will account for the transformation. Is it not abundantly plain, that the primary and fundamental question in all such cases, is not a question as to the manner or the means, but a question of fact; subject only to the single condition that the fact does not involve a palpable impossibility, or rather contradiction; for in all cases depending upon the purpose and power of God, there can be no impossibility, except that which involves a contradiction. Scepticism has, in all ages, built its ramparts and constructed its batteries upon this very foundation, the determination to reject as false in fact, what it cannot comprehend in philosophy.

We think, therefore it is clear, whatever line of argument we take up, that if we have a revelation at all, whose author-

ity is admitted in regard to the origin, the character and the destiny of the race, the true method of procedure is to ascertain whether that revelation has spoken at all, and if it has, what is the purport of its teaching.

We have already shown the fallacy and futility of the reasoning, which would rule out the testimony of the Scriptures, on the ground that they were not intended to be a text-book of science. The only question that remains upon this point, is the fundamental question, What is the doctrine of the Scriptures?

The exegetical hypothesis of Prof. A. is, that the Bible professes to give only "the history of the white race, with special reference to the history of the Jews," and that "nowhere, the coloured races as such are even alluded to." All the general statements of the Bible are interpreted on this assumed hypothesis, and we must do the author the justice to say, that it is consistently and fairly carried out. "Do we," asks the writer, "find in any part of the scriptures, any reference to the inhabitants of the arctic zone, of Japan, of China, of New Holland, or of America?" "We challenge those who maintain that mankind originated from a single pair, to quote a single passage in the whole scriptures, pointing at those physical differences which we notice between the white race and the Chinese, the New Hollanders, the Malays, the American Indians, and the negroes, which may be adduced as evidence, that the sacred writers regarded them as descended from a common stock."

There is nothing in these passages of the obscure inuendos, or sneaking equivocation, characteristic of the scriptural references made by other writers, whose insincere, as well as shallow columns we have recently waded through. We are met with a frank and open challenge to produce the doctrine of the scriptures. This is a fair issue; and though we are startled at the boldness with which the glove is thrown down, we cannot hesitate to take it up.

That the Scriptures do really and unequivocally teach, that all mankind are descended from one primitive pair, may be argued 1. from that class of passages which directly affirm their unity. It would be alike impossible and useless to

attempt to exhaust this division of our argument; because the doctrine underlies and pervades the whole Bible. We can, therefore, present only a selection of the passages which affirm the doctrine, and treat them as specimens of their class.

We naturally turn first to that explicit and remarkable declaration of the Apostle Paul, in his address to the learned and philosophical Athenians,—“God hath made of one blood, all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him.” This passage is too comprehensive and explicit in its statements, to be interpreted under the Canon of Prof. A., which restricts the import of the historic scriptures to the Jewish, or at most the white races of men. He therefore attempts to break the force of its testimony, by maintaining that it imports merely, “that all men are men, equally endowed with the same superior nature, inasmuch as this figurative expression applies to the higher unity of mankind, and not to their supposed genital connexion by natural descent.” We greatly fear from this specimen, that Prof. A. would cut as bad a figure in expounding Greek, as in playing the theologian. He surely knows that the phrase ἐξ ἑνὸς ἁμαρτος in uniform Greek usage, as well as the analogous expression in Latin, denotes with idiomatic precision, the very “supposed genital connexion by natural descent,” which he repudiates: and if we may venture to throw back a challenge, we invite him to produce a single passage, from any Greek author, whether Classical, Hellenistic, or patristic, in which this expression “applies to the higher Unity of mankind.” We fancy he will find that questions in Greek philology, cannot be settled to the satisfaction of scholars, by investigations in natural history, any more than questions in theology, and the social history of man. If this passage be conceded to include all the races of men, as it must, it settles beyond the reach of debate, that their relation is one of consanguinity, (the very idea can hardly be expressed without using a synonym for “one blood,”) and not of those higher intellectual moral qualities which ally us with angels, just as much, and often more, than with the degraded nations of the earth.

Another class of texts which affirm the same truth, are those which describe our first parents by name, as the actual progenitors of all mankind. Some of these refer to Adam and some of them to Eve; some of them are explicit, others implicit only, in their testimony. In Genesis iii. 20, it is said, Adam called his wife's name Eve; *because she was the mother of all living.*" We really feel much the same difficulty in reasoning on such a text, as in attempting to prove that two and two are four, or that the simplest declaration in history means just what it says. How can the meaning of such a statement be made plainer? On what ground can it be pretended that it means that she was the mother of the white race alone? Were there no other races known to Moses, when he penned the passage? Was he not familiar with the African races in Egypt and Ethiopia? We do not mean to meddle now with the question whether the Egyptians and Ethiopians of the Bible were Africans or Caucasians. However this may be, it is notorious from the paintings and inscriptions of the Pyramids and temples, that the negro race were no strangers to the Egyptians. Were they not recognized as human beings, at least in a sense that would class them under so general a phrase as that used by Moses, when he says "she was the mother of all living?" What idea must this expression have conveyed to readers who were as familiar with the negro race in social life, as we are? Or had some philosophic naturalist already demonstrated, on physiological principles, that all the coloured races were of distinct and inferior animal origin; so that this comprehensive statement of the inspired historian, was in no danger of being understood as including any others than the white races. How can we treat such reasonings with soberness or patience.

Again, in Deut. xxxii. 8, the "divided nations," are expressly called "the sons of Adam." And by the Apostle Paul, who will hardly be thought ignorant of the existence of the coloured races, or guilty of excluding them from the promises and blessings of the gospel, Adam is called "the first man;" not simply, as the connexion shows, because he was the first in point of time, but first as the head of the race, including all its varieties so far at least as they are interested in the

salvation of Christ ; who accordingly is set in contrast with the first Adam, as "the second man, the Lord from heaven."

Not only does the sacred historian assert this doctrine in naked general statements, but he expressly undertakes to trace down the re-peopling of the earth after the deluge, from the sons of Noah, to his own cotemporary period. As we are hampered at every turn for the want of space, we shall pass entirely the intermediate varieties of men, and give our opponents the utmost advantage of controverting, if they can, the extreme position that the negro races are deduced in Scripture, expressly from the progeny of Ham.*

We shall not argue the question, whether the Egyptians belong to the Caucasian or African divisions of the race. It will not be disputed that they are descendants of Ham, and not of either Japhet or Shem. "The sons of Ham," says the sacred writer, (Gen. 10 : 6.) "were Cush and Mizraim, and Phut and Canaan." That Mizraim is Egypt, is not disputed. That the term Cush, uniformly rendered Ethiopia, not only in our version but most others, both ancient and modern, describes the home of a coloured race, we presume no one will have the boldness to deny. A portion of the Cushite race, it is well known, inhabited the south of Arabia, and so belonged to the Asiatic and not African geographical divisions of the race. This is the source of the confusion in the use of the word Ethiopia by Herodotus and other secular historians and ethnologists. On this it is unnecessary to dwell. The only point upon which we now insist, is that the scriptural patronymic Cush, is used to designate a coloured African race, and that race is expressly declared to be descended from Ham. In this sense it was understood by almost every ancient authority known to us. In this sense it is used by the Prophet in the proverb, "Can the Ethiopian (*Cushite*, in the original), change his skin."† In this sense Champollion found it uni-

* There is no chart comparable for explicitness and authority in unfolding the mazes of ancient ethnology, with the 10th and 11th chapters of Genesis.

† By the way, could any more explicit reply be given to the remarkable challenge of Prof. A. to produce a single passage in the whole Scriptures, pointing at those physical differences which we notice between the white race and the Chinese negroes, &c., and the equally remarkable assertion, that "there is no where any mention of those physical differences characteristic of the coloured races of

formly used upon the hieroglyphic monuments of Egypt, and Lepsius has traced it back as far as the monuments of the sixth dynasty, B. C. Even our Mr. Gliddon admits that "the hieroglyphical designation Kesh is exclusively applied to African races, as distinct from the Egyptians, for 3000 years before Christ," and therefore long before the great influx of Negro and Mulatto races into Egypt as captives.* That this term designates not only an African but a Negro race, is proved not only by the genuine negro skulls being found among the Egyptian mummies, but by the monumental paintings, where they are portrayed in unmistakable limning, as in the conquests of Rameses II. on the Temple at Beit-e-welle. It can hardly be necessary to reply to the feeble remonstrance of Mr. Gliddon, against the contribution he had accidentally made to the cause of truth, by alleging that the Cush of the monuments is not identical with the Cush of Scripture. If other scriptural terms are used in great numbers and in the same sense,—“If, for example, the KHeM of the monuments is the Ham of the Scriptures, and the Ka Na Na of the monuments is the Canaan of the Scriptures,” and if innumerable other names both of countries and persons are identical, as the Egyptologists admit with one voice, when there is no point to be carried, “why is not the monumental *Kush* also the Cush of the Bible.” Let Prof. A. and his friends answer the question if they can; and when they have made a show of reasoning upon the negative of the question, we may have something farther to say.

Truly our opponents must count largely upon our patience. While they assume merely on remote analogical grounds the most extravagant and radical hypotheses, upturning the whole

men, such as the Mongolians and negroes, showing that the sacred writers considered them as descended from a common stock.” This is another proof, if any were needed, that Prof. A. has ventured on ground which does not belong to him, and from which he can hardly hope to escape without broken bones. And if he does, we advise him to study Hebrew, before he ventures back again. He will then ascertain that the Ethiopian, who certainly “points at those physical differences,” &c. between the white and coloured races is none other than a Cushite; and that Cush was the oldest son of Ham. Is it necessary for us to go farther, and tell the Professor who Ham was?

* See a copious abstract of this argument and the authorities from whom it is compiled in the learned work of Dr. Smyth, chap. ii. and appendix A.

foundations of the social relations of the race, they require us to prove the most elementary propositions, even though they may have formed unquestioned portions of the universal belief of mankind in all ages. And when we produce the explicit declarations of cotemporary records, we are coolly told that language has changed its meaning, and we are expected to believe, without proof, that when Moses, born in Egypt and educated "in all the learning of the Egyptians," uses the name of a prominent country, he means an entirely different country, inhabited by a totally distinct race of beings, from that which the same name uniformly designated among the Egyptians at the same period, and for centuries before.

The force of these considerations is all the greater from the undisputed fact, that the coloured races of men certainly were known to the sacred writers, even if we grant that they were not included in their historic narrative. The silence of the scriptures with regard to them, especially in view of the concession that "they were men equally endowed with the same superior nature," strikes us as a most violent and unaccountable supposition, while using language so comprehensive and particular. In view of the admitted unity of the races of mankind is it not incredible that such studied language should be intended to be restricted to a single division of that race, in defiance of "that general bond which unites all men of every nation," so strongly that "the physical relation arising from a common descent is entirely lost sight of, in the consciousness of its higher moral obligations." If such was the clear consciousness of unity pervading mankind, we ask whether such language and such statements would not have been so liable to misapprehension, as to call for a caution or a limitation. If the interpretation now set up be the true one, have they not in point of fact been misunderstood in all ages, and by those most, who have most studied them. Is it credible that a revelation from God covering such great and momentous themes, would be couched in a phraseology, which it requires the comparative physiology of a few naturalists in this remote age of the world, to interpret to us, by applying the disputed hypotheses of natural science? We really can hardly refrain from replying to those grave inquiries by the belittling but expres-

sive monosyllable—pshaw. Seriously we submit that the silence of the scriptures as to the existence of other races of men, is itself conclusive proof that no such races exist.

But it is contended by our opponents that these are vague general statements, like the language of the Bible on all matters of science which have no necessary relation to the great moral lessons which it was intended to inculcate. Now although this certainly has no appearance of being loose popular language, we shall find the same doctrine clearly taught, in forms demanding the rigorous interpretation of careful logical statements, and woven into the whole fabric of the scriptures in such a way that it can neither be separated from them, nor misunderstood in its connexions.

It will hardly be denied by Prof. A. that the moral character and condition of the human race, is a fundamental theme in the revelation of the scriptures, and that they intend to explain the origin and history of sin and evil in the world. This, at least, will not be claimed to be a question in natural history. Here then at last we seem to have found a fulcrum on which our scriptural lever may rest. It has been the universally received doctrine of the Christian world, that the scriptures ascribe the introduction of sin, the existence of evil, the spread of corruption and violence among men, the occurrence of the deluge, the selection of the Jewish nation, and in a word the entire history and economy of the old testament, to the fall of Adam, and the natural descent from him of a fallen race, “begotten in his own likeness, after his image.” Whatever diversities of opinion may have divided the theological world, as to the philosophy of this result, we believe there is none as to the fact, intended to be asserted in the scriptures; namely that somehow, sin and evil were introduced into the race through Adam as its progenitor. No other meaning is conceivable in multitudes of passages which occur, not in loose popular declamation, but the terse rigid logic of Paul, in his reasoning upon death and the resurrection, and upon the cognate topics of sin and righteousness, of condemnation and redemption. To quote the passages in detail, would be to quote the whole Bible. This is the very gist of the Bible. It is humanity in its fall and recovery, not as Prof. A. assumes, Judeism, nor Caucasian-

ism, nor white civilization, but the fall and recovery of man. The Bible asserts this fall and destined recovery, not of the Jews merely, nor of the white races, but of the whole race, and of all the races. Many of them, that are not Caucasian are specified by name, Ethiopia (*Cush*, African,) Sinim, (*China*, Mongolian,) the Islands of the sea (*Oceanica*?) "God looked down from heaven upon *the children of men*, (not the Jews nor Caucasians merely but the *sons of Adam*, as the Hebrew has it, referring to the fall of Adam as the source of their evils,) to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek God. Every one of them is gone back, they are altogether become filthy; there is none that doeth good, no not one." The history of all the races confirms and demands this interpretation. They are all equally sinners, and their sinfulness can be explained on no other principle in accordance with the uniform teaching of the scriptures.

That this is the true interpretation of these passages is made, if need be, still more clear, by the corresponding texts relating to the redemption of the human race. These two classes are precise counter parts of each other. "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." 1 Cor. 15: 22. "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous." Rom. v. 19. The most cursory perusal of these two chapters will satisfy any one that the sacred writer is running a parallel between the effects of the natural head of the race and the effects of the second Adam, the Lord from heaven. No matter what explanation may be given of the philosophy of the relation which they sustain to those whom they respectively represent. If there are races whose sinfulness and suffering do not come to them through their descent from Adam, it is clear that they have no connexion with the benefits of the redemption of Christ. If we are to read that as in Adam the Jewish nation or the Caucasian race all die; we must continue the reading, so in Christ shall the Jewish nation or the Caucasian race, all be made alive. Surely naturalists make bad work with theology and the scriptures.

There are but two methods of evading the conclusiveness of this reasoning. The one is to repudiate the scriptures en-

tirely, or which amounts to the same thing in effect, to argue every question of religion on the principles of science, and force revelation to utter whatever conclusions may be extorted by the process. The other is to accept the other alternative, and boldly admit that there is no provision in the scriptures for the salvation of any of the colored races. This resource is equally desperate.* Have not thousands and hundreds of thousands, even of the obnoxious negro races, in point of fact already come under the saving power of the gospel? That they are sinners precisely in the same sense, and to the same extent as the white races, will not be denied. They cannot, therefore, be saved without the gospel, any more than they; unless indeed they have some other gospel. Or is it true, that notwithstanding their admirable and beautiful exemplification of the Christian virtues, due solely to a religion in which they have no interest, they are all destined to ultimate and eternal degradation and misery. Either they are so pure and elevated in character, as not to need the atonement of Christ and the washing of regeneration to fit them for heaven; or else they are all doomed to perish without an interest in the redemption that is in Christ Jesus; seeing the benefits of that redemption are limited in the scriptures, to the sin and condemnation which descend, in some sense, as an inheritance from their first father, to the race of Adam. We are painfully aware that these points on which we have been insisting at wearisome length, belong to the very alphabet of theology, and are no more to be brought into question by doubtful conclusions in natural history than the definitions and axioms of geometry. But if influential and learned men will deny that the scriptures mean what they say, and when they speak of "men," of "all men," of "all nations dwelling on all the face of the earth," of "all living," of "every creature," insist that they mean only the white races, what can we do, but undertake to prove as we best can, that white is not the only colour, and that a half is not equal to the whole.

With this disposition of the subject we might rest, for

* Does not the command, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature*, mock this arbitrary restriction of redemption.

we have no fear of the world,—(we hope we may add none of Prof. A.)—giving up its revelation, its religion, its hopes and its immortality, or compromising those of half the race, for the sake of a hypothesis in natural history, that is without any other proof than conjecture, supported at the best by a rhetorical analogy; and which has been repudiated and is still rejected by the great majority of the naturalists themselves.

But as we cannot forget that there are some, and among them we fear the Nestor of the opposing argument himself, who will not accept a demonstration based upon the Scriptures, however clear it may be; and as we fully believe that the facts of the natural world will be found in perfect harmony with the revealed doctrines of the word of God, we propose to examine briefly the physical analogies that are involved in this issue. The main positions of Agassiz are 1. that the diversities of men are too great to be explained on the supposition of their unity of origin; 2, that the doctrine of diverse origins is indicated by the analogies of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and 3, that it is indirectly taught in the Bible itself.

To the first of these positions we reply 1. that the result in question may be supernatural. Of course if we fall back upon the resources of Almighty power, the hypothesis cannot fail for the want of adequate agency, unless it involves a contradiction. We think we could easily answer the objection, if we thought it worth our while, that this solution “assumes that the order of creation has been changed in the course of historical times.” Are we not assured that such changes have occurred, not only by the historical testimony of the Scriptures, supported by tradition and profane history, but by the scientific records graven upon the great tablets of nature. To say, nothing of the successive creations and revolutionary epochs of geology, was not the entire destruction of the race of man, with the exception of a single family, and the re-peopling of the earth by the dispersion of the descendants of that family, a “change in the order of things within the course of historical times,” fully equal to that which is briefly recorded in the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of the races? Is it not sufficient to vindicate the probability of the change in question, if we

suggest a reason of sufficient magnitude to justify it,—according to the requirement of the great Roman critic, “*Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus inciderit.*” And is not such an occasion suggested by the previous stages of human history? If the first great experiment with man of 1600 years resulted in “a change in the order of things,” such that the race of man was exterminated by a universal deluge, is it against analogy to suppose, that when God saw the rise of a new empire of universal wickedness and violence, he should break up the powerful combination by which its consummation was sought, by another change, implying no specific departure from the type of the race, but simply a confusion of their language, and a dispersion of the several branches, by means of such diversities as would effectually secure its end? Was not the separation and preservation of a seed to serve him and to be the depositories of his truth and his church, an event of sufficient importance, to justify such a dispersion, by any agency that did not infringe upon the humanity of the races? Is there any thing in the fact, admitting it to be supernatural, that is contradicted by the clear analogies of creation and providence; and admitting that it does transcend in magnitude any other divine interposition, or change in the history of the race, is there any thing in it impossible, or even so improbable, as to compel us to reject a well attested Revelation as untrue, merely because it teaches the doctrine in question. If God by the prophetic lips of Noah in the combined patriarchal characters as King and prophet of his race, forejudged one portion of his offspring to be not only the depository of his truth, but to develop that type of humanity which was to enshrine the glory of the Godhead, and another to sway the sceptre of ultimate dominion, and doom a third, for the guilt and shame of its head, to long degradation and servitude to its brethren, is there any thing out of the common analogy of Providence, if he who is wise in counsel, and wonderful in working, should write his decrees in the physical constitution of the respective races,—if he should clothe the one in the outward symbols of its glory as the ancestry of the Messiah, and invest the others in the public badges of imperial dominion on the one hand, and of degradation, inferiority and subjection on the other. Who does not

know that it is by these very means, he executes his will; and that the physical inferiority of subject races, as they exist for example in the castes of India, is as much the instrument, as the sign, of that inferiority.

But we state this ground, not for the purpose of resting our argument upon it, but to show the superfluity of strength and resources, which the question involves. Although we believe, this view of the subject to be just and unanswerable, yet we fully believe and hope to show, in the second place, that the result in question does not transcend the analogies of existing agencies and laws.

In the first place, the inferior orders of the animal kingdom supply us with innumerable examples of varieties spontaneously springing up under our eyes, analogous in every particular, including features, form, colour and hair, to those which distinguish the coloured from the white races of men. That familiar domestic creature, the swine, within the limits of what are well known to be varieties of the same stock, and within a very recent period, will furnish any of our readers analogies in point. In general form, and colour, and in the size and shape of the cranium, and face, the diversities will be found far surpassing those which separate the coloured from the white races of men. We will find varieties ranging from 50 to 1200 lbs., in weight, and with the greatest differences of physiognomy. Perfectly black specimens of the animal, and an entire variety, as black as any African, is familiar to many of our readers. If Prof. A. insists upon the web finger as a mark of inferior development in the African, we can match it again, by the variety with the hoof entirely solid, existing not only in Hungary where it might be claimed to be of doubtful origin, but springing up and multiplying rapidly among ourselves. If the objector makes his stand upon the wool of the negro, we point to the inverse but analogous change in the sheep and the goat. The former covered with straight hair in the West Indies and the latter clothing itself with its exquisitely soft, furry covering in Cashmere, and exchanging it for coarse hair when removed from its home in the Himalaya ranges.

It is unnecessary for us to inquire into the causes of these changes; it is sufficient that they occur. We beg to refer

our readers again to the admirable manual of Dr. Bachman, noticed in a late number of our Journal, where they will find an argument upon this point which seems to us unanswerable.

2. The second analogy to which we appeal, is the origin of individual peculiarities in all the races of men, equal to, or even greater than those which separate the races from each other. Dr. Prichard has collected numerous and curious examples of this well known fact. He mentions, for example, the case of a negro family from the heart of Africa, where no white traveller had ever been seen, in which for several successive generations, one member, at least, had been entirely white, (not of the variety called albinos nor yet a mulatto) and with scarce a vestige of the negro features. On the other hand, it is within the observation of us all, that individual varieties are constantly arising among the pure white race, very strikingly analogous to a qualified form of the negro type, and surpassing the characteristics of the other coloured races, in all their essential features. Now if such varieties can spring up in the very heart of any given type of men, without any of the assignable causes, merely as extreme accidental products of the law of personal diversity, where is the impossibility of races being produced by the same means, from a single original source. What hinders us to suppose, that in the dispersion of the human family, it was ordered by Providence, for the more perfect separation of the fragments, that the progenitor of each race should possess strongly marked peculiarities of this description; and that the separated families were so completely severed from each other by linguistic and other causes, that those marked peculiarities were propagated, as a family likeness would be, if the parties were shut up to exclusive intermarriage among themselves, so as to exclude all disturbing or corrective elements. That this is possible, is clearly proved by the case of the Jews, who present to us a physiognomy, bodily, mental and moral, which after thousands of years of every extreme of climactic influence, the most casual observer will recognize at the present hour; in every quarter of the globe.

At this point we are to introduce an element, in accounting for the diversity of men, on the hypothesis of their common

origin, which we believe has been entirely left out, or at any rate egregiously overlooked and underrated, by Prof. Agassiz—we mean the law of hereditary descent. That law is such, that all the personal peculiarities of the parents are liable to be transmitted to their offspring, not only in their fulness, but with a constant tendency to exaggeration.* This latter principle is well known to those who are interested in preserving or improving the breed of the lower orders of animals. Hence the necessity of preserving the blood of a variety perfectly pure. A single cross is liable to spoil the process. The same law exists to the same purport and the same extent in man; but its evidence is less obvious from the constant intermixture of different or remoter blood. This law of essential sameness with a tendency to exaggeration, applies to the mental as well as the bodily features of men. Its existence and power are very strikingly displayed in the well known tendency of repeated intermarriages in the same family, to produce insanity. The obvious solution of this fact is, that mental and moral peculiarities descend with increasing exaggeration till they soon become monstrosities, or what we term derangements, i. e., departures from the standard specific type, occasioned by successive additions to the strength of the individual peculiarities which are exclusively propagated, until they become morbid, or in other words abnormal. This result is prevented, by the constant mixture in all conceivable proportions, of those countless diversities which are constantly springing up, in obedience to another element of the law of reproduction, viz: that which provides for individual peculiarities, in subordination to general similarity. This same law applies to physical or bodily peculiarities; provided only that they are originally, set up not as the result of external violence, but functionally—that is, as the product of constitutional organic action. It is not necessary that they should be congenital; if they arise by a functional or constitutional process. Indeed it would seem that varieties are sometimes established and propagated from accidental organic lesions. Dr. Bachman has

* Hence it is that varieties when once set up, are permanent; and do not alter back again, unless by a process, which consists essentially in a skillful mixture of breeds.

shown that this has happened repeatedly among the lower animals; and we ourselves know of a family, in which for four successive generations, one or more of the children has been born with a hole in the ear, identical in character with that which fashion prescribes for the insertion of a ring. It is well known, however, that congenital or constitutional varieties of form, features, colour, hair, and every thing which separates one extreme of mankind from another, even to such as are entirely abnormal to the standard type of the species, like persons with six fingers, six toes, defective limbs, albinos, woolly hair, and the remarkable porcupine family in England, (cited by Prichard and Lawrence) all are liable to be propagated for generations; until the *vis formativa* of the constitution in which they inhere, is overcome and eliminated by the successive and predominant intermixture of other organic lives. And the facts, as we have them under all these disadvantages, seem to establish the point, that if these varieties could be isolated, they would establish and perpetuate varieties of men still wider from the standard type of the human species, than any that are extant, and yet originating in a common source.

But we have now to superadd to all these diversifying agencies, that in which alone the solution of the whole phenomena has been sought, and by many able philosophers believed to be found; namely the influences of climate, and culture and social position. How far these may operate in producing by the secret but powerful chemistry of nature, the individual peculiarities on which we have been insisting, we have no means of determining. But that they exert a deep and controlling influence upon the human constitution, and thus tend to produce widely different varieties, is so obvious as not to need any elaborate proof.

On this point we are obliged again to accuse Prof. A. either of extreme unfairness; or if his argument is candid, then we must pronounce it unworthy of him, for feebleness. The assumption runs through the whole of this portion of his articles, that climate depends solely upon temperature; or upon temperature combined with similarity in the external features of the country. The whole force of his argument against the potency of climate in the production of diversities like those

which distinguish the human races may be stated in two propositions; viz. 1. That we find the different races inhabiting precisely similar climates without the production of the same physical peculiarities. Those peculiarities cannot therefore be the result of climate. 2. No change of climate will restore the different varieties of men to one common primitive type. The African, for example, does not grow white, and conform his features or hair to the type of the white race, when he is brought to the United States.

It cannot be necessary for us to dwell for a moment on so familiar and elementary a truth, as that varieties when once established from whatever cause, are rendered permanent by the law of reproduction, where no mixture of blood occurs; and no climatic or physical treatment, without this, will restore them to the same type from which they are known to have originated. The argument of Prof. A. upon the insufficiency of climate, food, and mode of life, assumes throughout, not only that climate means similarity of temperature and geographical locality, but that climate is claimed to be the sole cause of the diversities in question. Hence he says, "if men originated from a common centre, and spread from that centre over the world, their present differences must be owing to influences arising out of peculiarities of climate and mode of life. And if such changes have really taken place, they must correspond to each other in different parts of the world, in proportion as the physical conditions are more or less similar. Compare now the inhabitants of China with those of the corresponding parts of Africa and America; and in regions which are physically speaking under most circumstances alike, we shall find the greatest differences between them. In the temperate zone we have in the old world, Mongolians and Caucasians and Indians in America,—races which do not resemble each other, but yet live under the most similar circumstances." This reasoning we must say looks disingenuous; though we hope it is not. In the first place, it is not contended that the climate and mode of life alone, produce the effects in question. The agency mainly relied upon, is the two fold bearing of the law of reproduction, which is well known to establish a national type of features and physical

constitution so marked as to be easily recognized in a very few generations. Even New England, the common receptacle of people from every nation of Europe, has already developed a type of physiognomy and character, which we will undertake to discriminate from that of every other country upon the face of the earth. But in the second place, there is a vast deal more in climate, as Prof. A. very well knows, than he seems to include. There are agencies whose existence we have no means of detecting or measuring, but whose potency we cannot question. How easy it would be to prove, on the principles of his argument, that *cretinism* is not a climatic product; because we do not find it produced in other Alpine localities "which are physically speaking under most circumstances alike." Although we may not be able to display the noxious agents in any tangible form, we know but too well that there are hidden causes, which belong to climate, which do produce changes of the most decided and deleterious kind, upon the constitution of man, both physical and mental; and that these are capable of incorporation into the individual and national characteristics of those who are permanently subjected to their influence.

A single glance at the population of a manufacturing or mining town in England, *with their children*, will send the fearful conviction through the heart of the stranger, that even the artificial circumstances connected with a crowded population, in its death struggle for existence under the crushing social power of overgrown wealth, may produce the most appalling influence upon the physical, mental and moral constitution of its victims; and that these are subject to the law of hereditary transmission. To these must be added the more formidable and resistless agencies of nature, working on a scale of power which man cannot rival. There are causes which in their subtle but destructive activity elude our detection, but reveal their power in the fatal waste of vital energy, both physical and mental, at which the traveller stands aghast, as he looks upon the wan, spectre-like, inhuman, or idiotic victims of the insidious poison. They must be seen to be appreciated: but some idea of our meaning may be suggested, if we refer the reader to the population of the low sea-coast of

Batavia, in the island of Java, where no foreigner can spend a night without inhaling death, to the deadly malaria of the west coast of Africa, where the white race seem incapable of living even now, and to that repulsive inscrutable but unquestionably climatic product, the *cretinism* of Alpine Europe. If the human species is to be perpetuated under these noxious influences at all, must it not be in inferior forms and imperfect development? And who does not know that all these are transmissible by natural descent? Now if there be this intimate and appalling connection between the secret powers which in their collective form we term climate, and the physical and mental health of those who are subjected to them, why may they not reveal themselves in the course of long generations, in outward forms expressive of their destructive tendencies; forms of mental and bodily inferiority, such as we see originating no where but in regions of this sort. And does not the constitutional resistance which nature makes to these deteriorating and deadly influences develop just that predominance of low, animal, we had almost said vegetative, force, which ultimately characterizes such populations?

The strength of the case against the common origin of men, arises from setting the extreme degeneracy of the African race, in immediate proximity with the highest type of the Caucasian. The contrast is truly appalling. But to say nothing of the intermediate races which graduate these extreme diversities with every intermediate gradation of diversity, so that there is no part of the scale where individuals cannot be found, who might not with equal propriety be assigned to the rank below or the rank above, we will risk the judgment of our readers by a comparison the most favourable possible for our opponents. We will place in juxtaposition three persons, one of whom shall be the stalwart chief of a pure negro tribe from the northern boundary of Senegal, another a member of the lowest caste of Hindoos, but of unmixed Caucasian blood, and the third, the finest specimen which humanity has yet produced, a portly English nobleman; and we put it to Prof. Agassiz, or any other man, whether the African is not as far superior in every physical element to the one Caucasian, as he is inferior to the other. The same result would be obtained

if we place a female coal-heaver from the mines of Northumberland, with massive, muscular, gnarled limbs, curved spine, bent form, open and projecting mouth, dilated nostrils, low forehead, unintelligent eye and sensual expression, by the side of a refined and cultivated daughter of an old baronial house. In all the essential features of humanity we will undertake to furnish wider diversities, and those produced within a few short generations, from the British Islands alone, and such as the observer will find more difficult to reconcile with unity of origin, colour alone excepted, than those which divide the lower and degenerate classes of the white races from the better sorts of any of the coloured races. We will undertake to match every characteristic feature of the negro race, with equal individual departures from the standard type of the white, excepting only the colour and the hair. For these also we will find analogies in almost every species of domestic animal: and if we are allowed the entire range of the Caucasian family, we will furnish parallels even to them, without asking for four thousand years of isolated barbarism and degeneration to produce them. And if we must be reminded by the more vulgar abettors of the hypothesis of diversity of origin, of the distinguishing odours which repel us from the inferior races of men, we will only ask to introduce our objectors into the atmosphere of typhoid patients, subjected for a single fortnight to a malaria scarce more virulent, than that which the negro races have been breathing for forty centuries. Is it wonderful that in the compensative organic instincts of their nature, they should have been enabled to exhale these poisons, along with the gross materials of their barbarous food, through the cutaneous tissues, in a form so little harmful. But whatever the philosophy of this sebaceous aroma of the African may be, it is surely no sufficient reason, any more than his woolly head, for turning the world upside down, in order to reduce him to a beast of burden.

The diversities of colour which we have excepted from the solution thus far offered, of the diversities of men, will hardly be claimed as an inseparable barrier to their unity of origin. It will not be denied that each of the primitive races, whatever their origin may be, includes almost if not quite every variety

of colour, either as a permanent or accidental peculiarity. We ourselves have seen Mongolians, Malays, and Oceanicans, of lighter colour, than multitudes of the European stock of Caucasians. And on the other hand, it is notorious that some portions of the Caucasian race, are as black as any Guinea negro. If therefore, we receive Prof. Agassiz's hypothesis, which assigns these different races to different local origins, there is still wanted some solution for the origin of every hue of colour, found among the unquestioned descendants of each separate original locality. If we admit his reasoning against the adequacy of climate and civilization, to produce these diversities of colour, still the fact remains, that these diversities have somehow sprung up, and among "historic nations" too, in their extremest forms, without any intermixture of blood from the coloured races. To say nothing of the Hindoo nations, whose language, civilization, traditions, and historic testimony, settle their Caucasian origin; every body knows that the pure Jewish race exhibit every variety of colour, from the ruddy English complexion, through the brunette and swarthy hue of the continent of Europe, to the dark, or almost black, of the Indian peninsula. It is notorious, that colour, both in animals and men, is among the most variable qualities of species, even where the unity of origin is undoubted. The same difficulty exists in the way of Prof. Agassiz, and his twenty zoological centres, as in that of those who make but one. We cannot, therefore, be embarrassed by this fact, or yield to it any such predominance, as to adjust the ethnology of man, by the outlines which it describes upon the geography of the world. And as we have shown before, that all the other features which distinguish the races of men are found as individual or class varieties in each race, and that, collectively regarded, essential diversities as fundamental and extreme, exist between different individuals and classes of the same race, as between the lowest class of one race, and the highest class of the race below, we submit whether we have not redeemed our promise, to furnish analogies which render the common origin of all mankind conceivable; and which leave us at perfect liberty to accept what the entire Christian world has always understood to be the doctrine of the scriptures.

And we desire it to be always borne in mind, that we offer these analogies, not so much by way of explaining fully the actual causes of the diversities of men, as for the simple purpose of vindicating the possibility of their occurrence, on the supposition of a community of origin; for this is all that even courtesy demands of us.

The only avenue of escape, we can see, from the conclusion to which this reasoning shuts us up, lies in the assumption, that while individual varieties, equal or even greater than those which distinguish the human races, are liable to originate from the common type, yet these are inadequate to account for the phenomena, when they occur upon so large a scale, as the human races exhibit.

Although we might well leave the objection to be answered by the multitudes of analogous cases in the animal kingdom, and the known capability of the human race to establish and perpetuate similar varieties, on the principles already indicated, yet we will apply to the objection a final analogy, which seems to us conclusive. We allege, therefore, that in historic times, whole tribes of men have diverged from a common origin, and established diversities so wide, and comprehending so many and important features, as to furnish analogies fully adequate to answer the objection now before us.

Prof. A. divides Africa into three distinct zoological provinces, each constituting a separate origin of population; the north peopled by a branch of the great Caucasian race, the middle by the pure African or negro race, and the South, by the collected, and affiliated tribes of Caffres, Hottentot and Bushmen.

The Bushmen (Bojesmans) may be regarded as the lowest existing race of human beings; and if any can vindicate the necessity for Prof. A's hypothesis of a distinct origin, it is they. They are without houses or huts of any sort, kenneling in caves or open excavations in the ground, naked, lank, and half starved, living on roots, insects, lizards, snakes, and the eggs and larvæ of ants. The average stature of the men, according to Prof. Lichtenstein's observations, is about four and a half feet, and that of women about four feet. Peculiar and abnormal, organic appendages characterize the sexes, the spine is

curved in a remarkable manner, and deposits of fat are laid upon the hips, analogous precisely to that which occurs in the variety of tail-less, fat-rumped Cape-sheep, so well known to travellers in the East. The organs of speech are also quite peculiar. "They have numerous guttural sounds produced deep in the throat, and pronounced with a peculiar clack of the tongue. They combine their aspirated gutturals with hard consonants, without an intervening vowel, in a manner that Europeans cannot imitate." They were considered by Prof. Lichtenstein, who examined them with care, and by very general consent for a time, as a separate race of men, both from their anatomical structure, and their strange and diverse speech. That their peculiarities could not be referred to climate, in the narrow sense of the word, was clear from the remarkable contrast exhibited by the adjoining tribe of Caffres; who are noble specimens of savage human nature for height, strength and beauty of form. Prof. Vater at length succeeded in analysing their extraordinary speech, and found that it was a comparatively recent dialect of the common Hottentot language, merely masked by the excessive barbarism of those who used it. Subsequent researches have cleared up their history. It is now well known, that they are an affiliated tribe of the Hottentot and Caffre family, reduced to this state of unparalleled physical degradation, by complete isolation from surrounding tribes, and the pressure of causes subsequent to the historic period of the occupation of South Africa by the white races of men. The Korannas, one of the finest and most portly of the Hottentot tribes, and far superior in every physical and moral respect to some tribes of Caucasian stock, was overtaken in the very process of transition from their comparatively elevated pastoral state, to that of these miserable wrecks of human beings. Here then we have a decisive analogy on a large scale, in proof of the possibility of producing such extreme diversities of form, size, features, and speech, as separate the different races of men, where yet community of origin is historically ascertained. No one conversant with the facts, we think, can hesitate to admit, that the difference between the miserable puny race of Bushmen, and the upright and noble forms of the adjoining Caffres, is immeasurably

greater, in every essential particular, than that between the negroes of the Niger and the Fellatahs of the Desert. Why then are we to assign distinct origins to the two last, when the first are known to be branches of a single stock, of comparatively very recent growth?

This question brings us to the positive evidence, if we can by courtesy consider any thing in the article of Prof. A. as positive evidence, in favour of the new hypothesis. And in the first place, we find a hesitating claim, that the Bible favours the hypothesis of separate creations, because "Cain is represented to us as wandering among foreign nations, after he was cursed, and taking a wife from the people of Nod, where he built a city, certainly with more assistance than his two brothers." This argument we venture to leave standing in its solitary grandeur on the vast tract of revealed truth: the more so, from the fact that if it has not been answered, against the cavils of a thousand infidels, we are disposed to admit that it is unanswerable.

The last, and we might almost say the only argument, on which Prof. A. relies, is the analogy which he "assumes" to exist between the creation and distribution of men and the lower orders of the animal and vegetable world. The hypothesis, "to which" he informs us, "more recently, naturalists have seemed to incline, is the assuming several centres of origin from which organized beings were afterwards diffused over wider areas." This hypothesis, he argues, if true in the case of animals and plants, must be applied also on analogical grounds, to the origin of man. And as it would be preposterous to suppose that each species of plants sprang from a single seed or even a single centre, or each species of animals from a single pair, so "we are entitled to conclude that these races (of men) must have originated where they occur, as well as the animals and plants inhabiting the same countries, and have originated there in the same numerical proportions, and over the same area, in which they now occur; for these conditions are the conditions necessary to their maintenance, and what among organized beings is essential to their temporal existence, must be at least one of the conditions under which they were created."

"We maintain, that like all other organized beings, mankind cannot have originated in single individuals, but must have been created in that numeric harmony which is characteristic of each species; men must have originated in nations as bees have originated in swarms and as the different social plants have at first covered the extensive tracts over which they naturally spread."

We certainly have no occasion to take up the lamentation of the perplexed patriarch, "O that mine enemy had written a book." The most mischievous imp could not desire better game than the Professor makes himself in this extraordinary passage. We really have not the heart or face to attack him in such a plight, with serious argument. We freely concede that a rhetorical analogy is no target for the weapons of logic.

We might it is true, suggest, that the language in which the inspired historian describes the creation of plants and animals, is very different from that which is used in the history of the creation of man. "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind." "Let the waters bring forth *abundantly* the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the Earth." "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle and creeping thing and beast of the earth after his kind; and it was so." Though we have no very high estimate of the exegetical powers of Prof. A., we think he might perhaps perceive, that the sacred record does not require us to believe that all plants of a kind came from one seed, or all herrings from one pair; although it does teach very explicitly, that God made a single pair of human beings, "in his own image, male and female created he them. And God blessed them and God said unto them. Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the Earth, and subdue it." If "the races of men must have originated where they occur," if "mankind cannot have originated in single individuals," and if "men must have been created in nations as bees were created in swarms," then, indeed, besides giving up the Bible as a text-book in natural history, we must concede that the inspired historian was sadly qualified by his inspiration, to say nothing of his common sense, to tell the simplest truths. If the "same numerical proportions"

which now exist among the races, "must be at least one of the conditions under which they were created," it seems to follow, that Adam and Eve were not the progenitors even of the white race, who "must have originated where they occur, as well as the animals and plants inhabiting the same countries." We had always supposed, moreover, that man was a migrating being, and that it was an elementary fact in his social life, that the present races of men did not, all of them at least, "originate where they occur." But if the origin of men can be determined on a priori principles, we do not see why their subsequent history cannot be also. We, in common with our ethnological brethren, would be greatly obliged if Prof. A. would discover and show us at least the skeletons of the true original population of Europe, who, as history affirms, lie buried beneath six or eight successive landslides of Asiatic Nomades. And whom, we beg respectfully to ask, does the author mean by the indigenous American race? He knows of course, that this continent has been successively submerged by at least two deluges of restless human beings, differing in language and in civilization, as widely as the noble architectural remains of the Southwest differ from the naked and sometimes grotesque earth mounds and rude implements of the North Western races.

The simple fact is, that while plants and animals were doubtless created in large numbers, and probably each species in its appropriate locality, yet it is very far from being an established doctrine in natural history, that any single species, was originally created in more than one locality or province. And even if it were, the analogy utterly breaks down, in passing from the history of the animal and vegetable creation, to that of the single race, which was set as sole monarch over both; and whose origin, history, and destiny are given with minute particularity in the sacred record.

In expressing our gratification that Prof. A. has abandoned the old hypothesis of diversity of species, in favour of that of unity of species but diversity of origin, we wish it to be understood that while we appreciate the nature and importance of the change, we do not look upon it as a change for the better, in itself considered. It is far otherwise. The new position is

just as hostile to the scriptures, as flatly contradicts their obvious meaning, and is just as pernicious in its social bearings, as that for which it is exchanged. But for these mischievous results, we should not deem it worthy of an argument at all; for we are confident, from its inherent weakness, that it will soon fall to pieces under its own weight.

We do not forget that Professor A. indignantly denies all sympathy with the infidelity and inhumanity, which have fastened themselves to the publication of his views. And we confess that the temper with which he disavows all responsibility for these consequences, is not entirely to our mind. It is more easy than satisfactory, for him to say, "I am not responsible for the results. I did not make the facts." Very true. The facts, we may thank God in the name of humanity, are not made by philosophers or naturalists, however eminent or honoured. But is it nothing to broach opinions, susceptible, we will not say of abuse, but of applications whose legitimacy is not denied but admitted at least by implication, in the very attempt to throw the responsibility of their consequences coolly upon God. This will never do. However he may disavow all hostile designs, he should know that those to whom he is lending the sanction and influence of his name and reputation, (for they have none of their own,) have one great ultimate object in view; and that is to break down the Bible, in order to get rid of its sanctions, for ulterior purposes. We should fancy that Prof. A. would be startled, if not humiliated, by the yell of congratulation and triumph, with which his avowal of these opinions has been received, by the whole crew of infidel philosophers, and seized upon as a justification of their traffic, by the breeders and drivers of slaves. Is there no evidence in such companionship of the tendency of his doctrines; and does this tendency furnish no clear suggestion of their falsehood? Are there no principles of morals or humanity, settled in such sense that the remote analogies and vague conjectures of science would be disproved by their simple antagonism. Is there no such thing as the *reductio ad absurdum*. To be the hero of such a mixed multitude, we should think, would be quite as dubious as a testimony to the truth of the views which awaken their hosannas, as it is questionable as a

compliment. At any rate, the notorious consequences which, as corollaries of these views, have filled the lower class, both of our populace and our periodicals, with joy, constitute a sufficient reason, why the friends of humanity should look after these speculations.

We confess, moreover, to some fear, that the learned Prof. is not wholly unaware of the important and radical social bearings of the doctrines he has propounded. In the very act of disclaiming all responsibility for the consequences, and all connexion with "the religious, moral and political relations of men," we are not so much surprised as pained, to find him recognizing and sanctioning some of the most obnoxious and repulsive of the deductions, which both friends and foes of the hypothesis have seen to be inevitable. We should think his own complacency in the harmlessness of his scientific speculations, would be somewhat startled by finding himself discussing, on the grounds of those speculations, the great questions which occupy the attention of this Christian age of the world. He denounces as "mock philanthropy and mock philosophy," the whole ground on which rests the grand Christian movement of this century, to clothe the barbarism of the remoter and inferior races of men with what he calls the "civilizations among the nations of the white race." The plain English of this, as it seems to us, obviously is, that it is "mock philanthropy and mock philosophy" to attempt to Christianize "the submissive, obsequious, imitative negro," or the "tricky, cunning, cowardly Mongolian." That this would be the triumphant inference of the avowed enemies of the Bible and Christianity, might have been easily foreseen; but that Prof. A., an avowed believer in both, should have pushed his doctrines to this open conclusion, is certainly rather startling evidence, that they have something to do, notwithstanding his disclaimer, with "the religious, moral and political relations of men."

It is very true that Prof. A. attempts to shield his hypothesis from so serious a responsibility, by alleging that these inferences follow from the notorious and admitted inequalities of the different races, in "abilities, powers and natural dispositions," "whether those inequalities are primitive, or whether

they have been introduced subsequently to the creation of one primitive stock." To this method of defence, by involving others in the same condemnation with himself, we must again beg leave to demur. There is a world wide difference between the hypothesis which ascribes the inequality,—the moral and social degradation of the negro, for example,—to a primitive and separate origin, and that which regards it as a mere deterioration from one common primitive standard of humanity. In the one case of course, it is hopeless. The stream can never rise higher than the fountain. If such was the true original created type, such it must remain substantially. In this view of it, the author may well say, "we have always considered it as a most injudicious proceeding, to attempt to force the peculiarities of our white civilization of the nineteenth century (Christianity?) upon all nations of the world." But if, on the other hand, those nations which have sunk lowest in barbarism, are only the more degenerate offspring of the same parentage, and degenerate chiefly or wholly in consequence of the withdrawal of a pure religion, in order that it might be kept pure by a single chosen people, under the immediate guidance and control of God himself, until Immanuel should come to perfect and extend the work of man's regeneration:—if in a word, the theory of the Bible and the Christian world be true, what hinders but the restoration of that religion, now instinct with a divine power infused by the Son of God, may, by a gradual regenerating influence, restore these fallen races to their primitive condition;—or to use the language of the New Testament, that they may be "renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created them." And that this glorious consummation is not to be restricted to the Jews, or even to the white races, the Apostle adds, "where there is neither Jew nor Greek, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all."

We have now endeavored to set the question on its true basis; and having vindicated the title of the scriptures to be heard as an authoritative witness in the case, we have shown that their testimony is clear, multiform and decisive. We have farther vindicated the credibility of their teaching, by pointing

out various obvious methods of reconciling it with the constant analogies of nature, and above all with the Power and Providence of God. We have also examined the reasoning on which the new hypothesis rests, and found it wholly unsatisfactory and futile; as well as fraught with monstrous consequences. It still remains for us to show, that if the Christian revelation were out of the way, as well as the radical and preposterous consequences of the doctrine, in regard to the future treatment of the coloured races, the hypothesis is still directly contradicted by the present state of our ethnological, and especially our philological knowledge. This after all, is the argument from which we had hoped the most, so far as we have any hope of convincing the authors and abettors of the new hypothesis; as it is philosophical in its character, and conclusive in its applications. We find ourselves, however, unexpectedly compelled, for want of space, to postpone this portion of the discussion, at least for the present. Meantime we wish to say, that we hold ourselves prepared abundantly to show, that whether all the races of men are children of one common parentage or not, it is clear at least, that the hypothesis of Prof. Agassiz cannot be true. Nations whom he assigns to distant zoological provinces, originally without any sort of community, speak languages that are fundamentally the same. These linguistic analogies, moreover, will be found not in immediate contiguity with their assumed centres of origin, or among tribes that might possibly have changed their language as the Goths did in conquering Italy, but in the very heart of other provinces, removed beyond the possibility of any such changes, and of so radical and decisive a character, as not to admit of being grafted, by intercourse, upon the stock of a distinct race of beings. And if we may be allowed, without offence, and with the most profound respect for the learned and distinguished Professor upon all questions belonging to his own department, to use the language of the drama, the whole may be concluded with the amusing philosophic comedy, (for it certainly cannot be regarded as a serious argument) in which Prof. Agassiz undertakes to account for the similarity of language found among the nations belonging to his different

zoological provinces, and to nullify any possible argument in favour of their unity of origin, from the striking analogies which the study of comparative philology, still in its infancy, is every day disclosing.

ART. VII.—*The Theology of the Intellect and that of the Feelings. A Discourse before the Convention of the Congregational Ministers of New England, in Brattle Street Meeting House, Boston, May 30th, 1850. By Edwards A. Park, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.*

THE normal authority of scripture is one of the subjects about which, at the present time, the mind of the church is most seriously agitated. The old doctrine of the plenary inspiration, and consequent infallibility of the written word, is still held by the great body of believers. It is assailed however from various quarters and in different ways. Some of these assaults are from avowed enemies; some from pretended friends; and others from those who are sincere in thinking they are doing God service in making his word more pliant, so that it may accommodate itself the more readily, not to science, but to the theories of scientific men; not to philosophy, but to the speculations of philosophers. The form of these attacks is constantly varying. The age of naked reason is almost over. That system is dying of a want of heart. Its dissolution is being hastened by the contempt even of the world. It is no longer the mode to make "common sense" the standard of all truth. Since the discovery of the *Anschauungs Vermögen*, men see things in their essence. The intuitional consciousness has superseded the discursive understanding; and Rationalists have given place to Transcendentalists. In the hands of many of the latter, the scriptures share the same fate which has overtaken the outward world. As the material is but the manifestation of the spiritual—so the facts and doctrines of the Bible are the mere forms of the spirit of Christianity; and if you have the spirit, it matters

not what form it takes. These gifted ones, therefore, can afford to be very liberal. They see in Christianity as in all things else, a manifestation of what is real. They pity, but can bear with those who lay stress on the historical facts and doctrinal assertions of the scriptures. They look on them as occupying a lower position, and as belonging to a receding period. Still men can have the substance in that form as well as in another. The misfortune is that they persist in considering the form to be the substance, or at least inseparable from it. They do not see that as the principle of vegetable life is as vigorous now, as when it was expressed in forms extant only as fossils, and would continue unimpaired though the whole existing flora should perish; so Christianity would flourish uninjured, though the New Testament should turn out to be a fable.

This theory has more forms than one; and has many advocates who are not prepared to take it in its full results. Neither is it confined to Germany. With most of the productions of that teeming soil, it is in the process of transplanting. Shoots have been set out, and assiduously watered in England and America which bid fair to live and bear fruit. The doctrine that "Christianity consists not in propositions—it is life in the soul,"* and a life independent of the propositions, of necessity supercedes the authority, if not the necessity of the scriptures. This doctrine, variously modified, is one of the forms in which the word of God is made of none effect.

Another theory, intimately related to one just referred to, is the doctrine that inspiration differs in degree, but not in nature, from the spiritual illumination which ordinary men enjoy. Just in proportion as the religious consciousness is elevated, the intuition of divine things is enlarged and rendered more distinct. If sanctification were perfect, religious knowledge would be perfect. "Let there be a due purification of the moral nature," says Morell, "a perfect harmony of the spiritual being with the mind of God—a removal of all inward disturbances from the breast, and what is to prevent or disturb this immediate intuition of divine things?" p. 174.†

* Morell's *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 172.

† Morell is a very superior man. He stands among the first rank of repro-

The inspiration of the sacred writings, resembles, he tells us, that of men of genius. The natural philosopher is so in harmony with nature he has a sort of intuition of her laws; the poet from sympathy with his fellow men, can unfold the workings of the human breast; and so good men, from congeniality with God, can see the things of God. Of course the trustworthiness of the sacred writers differs with their goodness. Those of the Old Testament, standing on a much lower level of moral culture than those of the New, are proportionately below them in authority. The weight due to what these writers say, depends not only on their relative goodness, but also on the subjects of which they treat. Beyond the sphere of moral and religious truths, they can have no peculiar authority, because to that sphere the intuitions of the religious consciousness are of necessity confined. The greater part of the Bible, therefore, is not inspired, even in this low sense of the term; and as to the rest, it is not the word of God. It is merely the word of good men. It has at best but a human, and not a divine authority; except indeed, for those who repudiate the distinction between human and divine, which is the case with the real authors of this system. We are, however, speaking of this theory as it is presented by professed theists. It has appeared under three forms, according to the three different views entertained of the Holy Spirit, to whom this inspiration is referred. If by that term is understood the universal efficiency of God, then all men are inspired, who under the influence of the general providence of God, have their religious consciousness specially elevated. This is the kind of revelation and inspiration which many claim for heathen sages, and concede to Christian apostles. But if the Holy Spirit, is regarded as merely "the forming, animating, and governing principle of the Christian church," then inspiration

ducing, as distinguished from producing minds. His book is a simple reproduction of the doctrines of the German school to which he is addicted; but it is remarkably clear, well digested, and consistent. He understands himself and his masters. This is a great deal. Still he is but an intelligent pupil; and those who wish to understand the theory which he presents, would do well to study it in the writings of its authors. They will find it there in its nakedness, freed from those delicate concealments which a traditionary faith has imposed on Mr. Morell.

is confined to those within the church, and belongs to all its members in proportion to their susceptibility to this pervading principle. Again, if the Holy Spirit be recognised as a divine person, dispensing his gifts to each one severally *as he wills*, inspiration may be a still more restricted gift, but its essential nature remains the same. It is that purifying influence of the Spirit upon the mind which enables it to see the things of God. It is simply spiritual illumination granted to all believers, to each according to his measure; to the apostles, it may be conceded, in greater fullness than to any others, but to none perfectly. The Bible is not the word of God, though it contains the aspirations, the convictions, the out-goings of heart of men worthy of all reverence for their piety. The distinction between the Scriptures and uncanonical writings of pious men, is simply as to the degree of their piety, or their relative advantages of knowledge. It is not our business to discuss this theory of inspiration; we speak of it as one of the modes in which the authority of the Bible is, in the present age, assailed.

Under the same general category must be classed the beautiful solo of Dr. Bushnell. He endeavoured to seduce us from cleaving to the letter of the scriptures, by telling us the Bible was but a picture or a poem; that we need as little to know its dogmas, as the pigments of an artist; the aesthetic impression was the end designed, which was to be reached, not through the logical understanding, but the imagination. It was not a creed men needed, or about which they should contend. All creeds are ultimately alike. It is of no use however to score the notes of a dying swan, as the strain cannot be repeated, except by another swan in *articulo mortis*. Dr. Bushnell has had his predecessors. A friend of ours, when in Germany, had Schleiermacher's *Reden über die Religion* put into his hands. When asked what he thought of those celebrated discourses, he modestly confessed he could not understand them. "Understand them!" said his friend, "that is not the point. Did you not feel them?"

We are sincerely sorry to be obliged to speak of Prof. Park's sermon, which was listened to with unbounded admira-

tion, and the fame of which has gone through the land,* as inimical to the proper authority of the word of God. But if it is right in him to publish such an attack on doctrines long held sacred, it must be right in those who believe those doctrines, to raise their protest against it. We are far from supposing that the author regards his theory as subversive of the authority of the Bible. He has obviously adopted it as a convenient way of getting rid of certain doctrines, which stand out far too prominently in scripture and are too deeply impressed on the heart of God's people, to allow of their being denied. It must be conceded that they are in the Bible. To reconcile this concession with their rejection, he proposes the distinction between the theology of feeling and that of the intellect. There are two modes of apprehending and presenting truth. The one by the logical consciousness (to use the convenient nomenclature of the day) that it may be understood; the other by the intuitional consciousness, that it may be felt. These modes do not necessarily agree: they may often conflict, so that what is true in the one, may be false in the other. If an assertion of scripture commends itself to our reason, we refer it to the theology of the intellect, and admit its truth. If it clashes with any of our preconceived opinions, we can refer it to the theology of the feelings, and deny its truth for the intellect. In this way, it is obvious any unpalatable doctrine may be got rid of, but no less obviously at the expense of the authority of the word of God. There is another advantage of this theory of which the Professor probably did not think. It enables a man to profess his faith in doctrines which he does not believe. Dr. Bushnell could sign any creed by help of that chemistry of thought which makes all creeds alike. Professor Park's theory will allow a man to assert contradictory propositions. If asked, Do you believe that Christ satisfied the justice of God? he can say, yes, for it is true to his feelings; and he can say, no, because it is false to his intellect. A judicious use of this method will carry a man a great way. This whole discourse, we think will strike the reader, as a set of variations on the old theme, "What is true

* While writing we have received a copy of the "the third thousand" of this discourse.

in religion is false in philosophy:" and the "tearful German," of whom our author speaks, who said: "In my heart I am Christian, while in my head I am a philosopher," might find great comfort in the doctrine here propounded. He might learn that his condition instead of a morbid, was in fact the normal one; as what is true to the feelings is often false to the intellect.

We propose to give a brief analysis of this sermon and then, in as few words as possible, endeavour to estimate its character.

The sermon is founded upon Gen. vi. 6, and 1 Sam. xv. 29. In the former passage it is said, "It repented the Lord;" and in the latter, God—"is not a man that he should repent." Here are two assertions in direct conflict, God repented and God cannot repent. Both must be true. But how are they to be reconciled? The sermon proposes to give the answer, and to show how the same proposition may be both affirmed and denied. Our author begins by telling us of a father who, in teaching astronomy to his child, produced a false impression by presenting the truth; while the mother produced a correct impression by teaching error. This, if it means anything to the purpose, is rather ominous as a commencement. A right impression is the end to be aimed at in all instruction; and, if the principle implied in this illustration is correct, we must discard the fundamental maxim in religion, "Truth is in order to holiness," and assume that error is better adapted to that purpose; a principle on which Romanists have for ages acted in their crass misrepresentations of divine things in order to impress the minds of the people.

But we must proceed with our analysis. "The theology of the intellect," we are told, "conforms to the laws, subserves the wants and secures the approval of our intuitive and deductive powers. It includes the decisions of the judgment, of the perceptive part of conscience and taste, indeed of all the faculties which are essential to the reasoning process. It is the theology of speculation, and therefore comprehends the truth just as it is, unmodified by excitements of feeling. It is received as accurate not in its spirit only, but in its letter also." p. 534.* It demands evidence. It prefers general to

* Our references are to the reprint of the Sermon in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1850.

individual statements, the abstract to the concrete, the literal to the figurative. Its aim is not to be impressive, but intelligible and defensible. For example, it affirms "that he who united in his person a human body, a human soul and a divine spirit, expired on the cross, but it does not originate the phrase that the soul expired, nor that 'God the mighty Maker died.'" "It would never suggest the unqualified remark that Christ has fully paid the debt of sinners, for it declares that this debt may be justly claimed from them; nor that he suffered the whole punishment which they deserve, for it teaches that this punishment may still be righteously inflicted on themselves; nor that he has entirely satisfied the law, for it insists that the demands of the law are yet in force." It gives origin to "no metaphor so bold, and so liable to disfigure our idea of the divine equity as that Heaven imputes the crime of one man to millions of his descendants, and then imputes their myriad sins to him who was harmless and undefiled." "It is suited not for eloquent appeals, but for calm controversial treatises and bodies of divinity; not so well for the hymn-book as for the catechism; not so well for the liturgy as for the creed." p. 535.

We must pause here for a moment. It so happens that all the illustrations which our author gives of modes of expression which the theology of the intellect would not adopt, are the products of that theology. They are the language of speculation, of theory, of the intellect, as distinguished from the feelings—That Christ bore our punishment; that he satisfied the law; that Adam's sin is imputed to us, and our sins to Christ, are all generalizations of the intellect; they are summations of the manifold and diversified representations of scripture; they are abstract propositions embodying the truth presented in the figures, facts, and didactic assertions found in the sacred writing. It would be impossible to pick out of the whole range of theological statements, any which are less impassioned, or which are more purely addressed to the intellect. They have been framed for the very purpose of being "intelligible and defensible." They answer every criterion the author himself proposes for distinguishing the language of the intellect from that of the feeling. Accordingly, these are

the precise representations given in catechisms, in calm controversial treatises and bodies of divinity for strictly didactic purposes. They are found in the accurately worded and carefully balanced confessions of faith, designed to state with all possible precision the intellectual propositions to be received as true. These are the very representations, moreover, which have been held up to reproach as "theoretical," as "philosophy" introduced into the Bible. Whether they are correct or incorrect, is not now the question. What we assert is, that if there be any such thing as the theology of the intellect; any propositions framed for the purpose of satisfying the demands of the intelligence: any purely abstract and didactic formulæ, these are they. Yet Prof. Park, simply because he does not recognise them as true, puts them under the category of feeling, and represents them as passionate expressions designed not to be intelligible, but impressive; addressed not to the intellect but to the emotions!

The theology of the feelings is declared to be the form of belief which is suggested by, and adapted to the wants of the well-trained heart. It is embraced as involving the substance of truth, although, when literally interpreted, it may, or may not be false. It studies not the exact proportions of doctrine, but gives special prominence to those features which are thought to be most grateful to the sensibilities. It insists not on dialectical argument, but receives whatever the healthy affections crave. p. 535. It sacrifices abstract remarks to visible and tangible images. It is satisfied with vague, indefinite representations. p. 536. For example, instead of saying God can do all things which are the objects of power, it says, He spake and it was done. Instead of saying that the providence of God comprehends all events; it says, "The children of men put their trust under the cover of Jehovah's wings." To keep back the Jews from the vices and idolatry of their neighbours, it plied them with a stern theology which represented God as jealous and angry, and armed with bow, arrows and glittering sword. But when they needed a soothing influence, they were told that "the Lord feedeth his flock like a shepherd." It represents Christians as united to their Lord as the branch to the vine, or the members to the head; but it

does not mean to have these endearing words metamorphosed into an intellectual theory of our oneness with Christ, for with another end in view it teaches that he is distinct from us, as a captain from his soldiers. The free theology of the feelings is ill-fitted for didactic or controversial treatises or doctrinal standards. Any thing, every thing can be proved from the writings of those addicted to its use, because they indite sentences congenial with an excited heart, but false as expressions of deliberate opinion. p. 537. This is the theology of and for our sensitive nature, of and for the normal emotion, affection, passion. It is moreover permanent. Ancient philosophy has perished, ancient poetry is as fresh as ever. So the theology of reason changes, theory chases theory, "but the theology of the heart, letting the minor accuracies go for the sake of holding strongly upon the substance of doctrine, need not always accommodate itself to scientific changes, but may often use its old statements, even if, when literally understood, they be incorrect,* and it thus abides permanent as are the main impressions of the truth." p. 539.

We must again pause in our analysis. If there is any such thing as the theology of the feeling as distinct from that of the intellect, the passages cited above neither prove nor illustrate it. Our author represents the feelings as expressing themselves in figures, and demanding "visible and tangible images." We question the correctness of this statement. The highest language of emotion is generally simple. Nothing satisfies the mind when under great excitement but literal or perfectly intelligible expressions. Then is not the time for rhetorical phrases. There is a lower state of feeling, a placid calmness, which delights in poetic imagery, which at once satisfies the feelings and excites the imagination, and thus

* This is a rather dangerous principle. Röhr, superintendent of Weimar, though a pure Deist, admitting nothing but the doctrines of natural religion, still insisted on the propriety of retaining the language and current representations of orthodox Christians, and telling the people in his public ministrations that Christ was the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world; that men are saved by his blood. He did not think it necessary that the language designed to move the people "should accommodate itself to scientific changes," even, when, if literally understood (i. e., if understood according to its true import) it was incorrect. It is easy to see what latitude in saying one thing and meaning another, this principle will allow.

becomes the vehicle of moral and aesthetic emotions combined. The emotions of terror and sublimity also, as they are commonly excited through the imagination, naturally clothe themselves in imaginative language. But the moral, religious, and social affections, when strongly moved, commonly demand the simplest form of utterance. "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts," is the language of seraphic devotion, yet what more simple! "The loving kindness of the Lord is over all his works," is surely as much the language of feeling, and tends as directly to excite gratitude and confidence, as saying "The Lord is my shepherd." The most pathetic lamentation upon record is that of David over his son Absalom, which is indeed an apostrophe, but nothing can be freer from tropical expression. How simple also is the language of penitence as recorded in the Bible. "God be merciful to me a sinner!" "Against thee, thee only have I sinned and done this evil in thy sight." "Behold I am vile what shall I answer thee?" "O my God! I am ashamed and blush to lift up my face to thee my God."

Admitting, however, that figurative language is the usual vehicle of emotion, this affords no foundation for the distinction between the theology of feeling and the theology of the intellect—the one vague and inaccurate, the other precise and exact. For, in the first place, figurative language is just as definite in its meaning and just as intelligible as the most literal. After the church had been struggling for centuries to find language sufficiently precise to express distinctly its consciousness respecting the person of Christ, it adopted the figurative language of the Athanasian creed, "God of God, Light of Light, Begotten, and not made." Calling God our shepherd presents as definite an idea to the mind as the most literal form of expression. To say that God is angry, or jealous, expresses as clearly the truth that his nature is opposed to sin, as the most abstract terms could do. We have here no evidence of two kinds of theology, the one affirming what the other denies; the one true to the feelings and false to the intellect, and the reverse. The two passages on which this sermon is founded, chosen for the purpose of illustrating this theory, might be selected to show that it is without foundation.

The declarations, "God repented," and "God cannot repent," do not belong to different categories; the one is not the language of feeling and the other of the intelligence; the one does not affirm what the other denies. Both are figurative. Both are intelligible. The one, in its connexion, expresses God's disapprobation of sin, the other his immutability. The one addresses the sensibilities as much as the other; and the one is as much directed to the intellect as the other. To found two conflicting kinds of theology on such passages as these, is as unreasonable as it would be to build two systems of anthropology on the verbally contradictory propositions constantly used about men. We say a man is a lion, and we say, he is not a quadruped. Do these assertions require a new theory of psychology, or even a new theory of interpretation in order to bring them into harmony? Figurative language, when interpreted literally, will of course express what is false to the intellect; but it will in that case, be no less false to the taste and to the feelings.

Such language, when interpreted according to established usage, and made to mean when what it was intended to express, is not only definite in its import, but it never expresses what is false to the intellect. The feelings demand truth in their object; and no utterance is natural or effective as the language of emotion, which does not satisfy the understanding. Saying God repents, that he is jealous; that he is our shepherd; that men hide under the shadow of his wings, are true to the intelligence in the precise sense in which they are true to the feelings; and it is only so far as they are true to the former that they are effective or appropriate for the latter. It is because calling God our shepherd presents the idea of a person exercising a kind care over us, that it has power to move the affections. If it presented any conception inconsistent with the truth it would grate on the feelings, as much as it would offend the intellect. We object therefore to our author's exposition of his doctrine, first because much that he cites as the language of feeling is incorrectly cited; and secondly, because, granting his premises his conclusion does not follow. A third objection is that he is perfectly arbitrary in the application of his theory. Because figurative language is not to

be interpreted literally, the Socinian infers that all that is said in scripture in reference to the sacrificial nature of Christ's death, is to be understood as expressing nothing more than the truth that he died for the benefit of others. When the patriot dies for his country; or a mother wears herself out in the service of her child, we are wont to say, they sacrifice themselves for the object of their affection. This deceives no one. It expresses the simple truth that they died for the good of others. Whether this is all the scriptures mean when they call Christ a sacrifice, is not to be determined by settling the general principle that figures are not to be interpreted according to the letter. That is conceded. But figures have a meaning which is not to be explained away at pleasure. Prof. Park would object to this exposition of the design of Christ's death, not by insisting that figurative language is to be interpreted literally, but by showing that these figures are designed to teach more than the Socinian is willing to admit. In like manner we say that if we were disposed to admit the distinction between the theology of the feelings and that of the intellect, as equivalent to that between figurative and literal language, or as our author says, between poetry and prose, we should still object to his application of his principle. He is just as arbitrary in explaining away the scriptural representations of original sin, of the satisfaction of divine justice by the sacrifice of Christ, as the Socinian is in the application of his principle. He just as obviously violates the established laws of language, and just as plainly substitutes the speculations of his own mind for the teachings of the word of God. Entirely irrespective, therefore, of the validity of our author's theory, we object to this sermon that it discards, as the language of emotion, historical, didactic, argumentative statements, and in short everything he is not willing to receive, as far as appears, for no other reason, and by no other rule than his own repugnance to what is thus presented.

Having considered some of the differences between the emotive and intellectual theology, the author adverts to the influence which the one exerts over the other. And first, the theology of the intellect illustrates and vivifies itself by that of the feelings. We must add a body, he says, to the soul of a

doctrine, whenever we would make it palpable and enlivening. The whole doctrine of the spiritual world, is one that requires to be rendered tangible by embodiment. An intellectual view is too general to be embraced by the feelings. They are balked with the notion of a spaceless, formless existence, continuing between death and the resurrection. p. 540.

In the second place, the theology of the intellect enlarges and improves that of the feelings, and is also enlarged and improved by it. The more extensive and accurate are our views of literal truth, so much the more numerous and salutary are the forms which it may assume for enlisting the affections. It is a tendency of pietism to undervalue the human intellect for the sake of exalting the affections, as if the reason had fallen deeper than the will. It cannot be a pious act to underrate those powers which were given by him who made the soul in his image. We must speculate. The heart is famished by an idle intellect. When fed by an enquiring mind, it is enlivened, and reaches out for an expanded faith.

The theology of reason not only amends and amplifies that of the affections, it is also improved and enlarged by it. When a feeling is constitutional and cannot but be approved, it furnishes data to the intellect by means of which it may add new materials to its dogmatic system. The doctrines which concentrate in and around a vicarious atonement are so fitted to the appetences of a sanctified heart, as to gain the favour of the logician, precisely as the coincidence of some geological or astronomical theories with the phenomena of the earth or sky, is part of the syllogism which has these theories for its conclusion. The fact that the faithful in all ages concur in one substance of belief, is a proof of the correctness of their faith. The church is not infallible in her bodies of divinity, nor her creeds, nor catechisms, nor any logical formula; but underneath all, there lies a grand substance of doctrine, around which the feelings of all reverent men cling ever and everywhere, and which must be right, for it is precisely adjusted to the soul, and the soul was made for it. These universal feelings provide a test for our faith. Whenever our representations fail to accord with those feelings something must be wrong. "Our sensitive nature is sometimes a kind of instinct

which anticipates many truths, incites the mind to search for them, intimates the process of investigation, and remains unsatisfied until it finds the object towards which it gropes its way.

But while the theology of reason derives aid from the impulses of emotion, it maintains its ascendancy over them. In all investigations for truth, the intellect must be the authoritative power, employing the sensibilities as indices of right doctrine, but surveying and superintending them from its commanding elevation. p. 543—546.

In the third place, the theology of the intellect explains that of the feeling into essential agreement with all the constitutional demands of the soul. It does this by collecting all the discordant representations which the heart allows, and eliciting the one self-consistent principle which underlies them. The Bible represents the heart sometimes as stone, sometimes as flesh; sometimes as dead, sometimes alive; sometimes as needing to be purified by God, sometimes as able to purify itself, &c., &c. These expressions, literally understood, are dissonant. The intellect educes light from these repugnant phrases, and reconciles them into the doctrine, "*that the character of our race needs an essential transformation by an interposed influence of God.*" p. 547. Certainly a very genteel way of expressing the matter, which need offend no one, Jew or Gentile, Augustin or Pelagius. All may say that much, and make it mean more or less at pleasure. If such is the sublimation to which the theology of the intellect is to subject the doctrines of the Bible, they will soon be dissipated into thin air.

Another illustration is borrowed from "the heart's phrases" respecting its ability. Sometimes the man of God longs to abase himself, and exclaims without one modifying word: "I am too frail for my responsibilities, and have no power to do what is required of me." At another time he says: 'I know thee, that thou art not an hard master, exacting of me duties which I have no power to discharge, but thou attemperest thy law to my strength, and at no time imposest upon me a heavier burden than thou at that very time makest me able to bear.' The reason seeks out some principle to reconcile these and similar contradictions, and finds it, as Prof. Park thinks,

in the doctrine that man with no extraordinary aid from Divine grace, is fully set in those wayward preferences which are an abuse of his freedom. His unvaried wrong choices imply a full, unremitted natural power of choosing right. The emotive theology, therefore, when it affirms this power is correct both in matter and style; but when it denies this power, it uses the language of emphasis, of impression, of intensity; it means the certainty of wrong preference by declaring the inability of right; and in its vivid use of *cannot* for *will not* is accurate in substance but not in form. p. 549.

It is to be remembered that it is not the language of excited, fanatical, fallible men that our author undertakes thus to eviscerate, but the formal didactic assertions of the inspired writers. We can hardly think that he can himself be blind to the nature of the process which he here indicates. The Bible plainly, not in impassioned language, but in the most direct terms, asserts the inability of men to certain acts necessary to their salvation. It explains the nature, and teaches the origin of that inability. This doctrine, however, is in conflict, not with other assertions of Scripture, for there are no counter statements, but with a peculiar theory of responsibility, which the author adopts; and therefore, all the expressions of this truth are to be set down to irrational feeling which does not understand itself. Thus a doctrine which is found in the symbols of all churches, Latin, Lutheran, and Reformed, is explained out of the Bible, and the most vapid formula of Pelagianism (viz. that present strength to moral and spiritual duties is the measure of obligation,) put in its place. The author has surely forgot what a few pages before he said of the informing nature of christian consciousness. If there is one thing which that consciousness teaches all christians, more clearly than any thing else, it is their helplessness, their inability to do what reason, conscience and God require, in the plain unsophisticated sense of the word inability. And we venture to say that no christian ever used *from the heart*, such language as Prof. Park puts into the "good man's" mouth, about his power to do all that God requires. Such is not the language of the heart, but of a head made light by too much theorizing. Give us, by all means, the theology of the heart,

in preference to the theology of the intellect. We would a thousandfold rather take our faith from Prof. Park's feelings than from what he miscalls his reason, but which is in fact the fragments of a philosophy that was, but is not.

His fourth remark is, that the theology of the intellect, and that of the feeling tend to keep each other within the sphere for which they were respectively designed, and in which they are fitted to improve the character. When an intellectual statement is transferred to the province of emotion, it often appears chilling, lifeless; and when a passionate phrase is transferred to the dogmatic province, it often appears grotesque, unintelligible, absurd. To illustrate this point he refers to the declaration in reference to the bread and wine in the eucharist. "This is my body, this is my blood." To excited feelings such language is appropriate, but no sooner are these phrases transmuted into utterances of intellectual judgments, than they become absurd. So the lamentation: 'Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me,' is natural and proper as an expression of penitential feelings. But if seized by a theorist to straighten out into the dogma that man is blameable before he chooses to do wrong, deserving of punishment for the involuntary nature which he has never consented to gratify, really sinful before we actually sin, then all is confusion.

Here again a plain doctrine of the Bible, incorporated in all Christian creeds, inwrought into all Christian experience, is rejected in deference to the theory that all sin consists in acts; a theory which ninety-nine hundredths of all good men utterly repudiate; a theory which never has had a standing in the symbols of any Christian church, a clear proof that it is in conflict with the common consciousness of believers. Because the doctrine here discarded finds expression in a penitential psalm, is surely no proof that it is not a doctrine of scripture. Thomas's passionate exclamation at the feet of his risen Saviour, "My Lord and my God," is no proof that the divinity of Christ belongs to the theology of feeling, and is to be rejected by the reason. It is because such doctrines are didactically taught in the Bible, and presented as articles of faith, that they work themselves into the heart, and find expression

in its most passionate language. The doctrine of innate sinful depravity does not rest on certain poetic phrases, it is assumed and accounted for it; it is implicated in the doctrines of redemption, regeneration, and baptism; it is sustained by arguments from analogy, experience, and consciousness; it is part and parcel of the universal faith of Christendom, and its rejection, on the score that passionate phrases are not to be interpreted by the letter, is as glaring an example of subjecting scripture to theory, as the history of interpretation affords.

In the conclusion of his discourse, our author represents the confusion of the two kinds of theology, which he endeavours to discriminate as a great source of evil. "Grave errors," he says, "have arisen from so simple a cause as that of confounding poetry with prose." Is it not a still more dangerous mistake to turn prose into poetry? What doctrine of the scriptures, have Rationalists, by that simple process, failed to explain away? What do they make of the ascription of divine names and attributes to Christ, but eastern metaphor and hyperbole? How do they explain the worship paid to him on earth and heaven, but as the language of passion, which the intellect repudiates? The fact is that poetry and prose have their fixed rules of interpretation, and there is no danger of mistaking the one for the other, nor are they ever so mistaken, where there is a disposition humbly to receive the truth they teach.

"In the Bible," says our author, "there are pleasing hints of many things which were never designed to be doctrines, such as the literal and proper necessity of the will, passive and physical sin, baptismal regeneration, clerical absolution, the literal imputation of guilt to the innocent, transubstantiation, eternal generation and procession. In that graceful volume, these metaphors (?) bloom as the flowers of the field; *there* they toil not neither do they spin. But the schoolman has transplanted them to the rude exposure of logic, *there* they are frozen up, their juices evaporated, and their withered leaves are preserved as specimens of that which in its rightful place surpassed the glory of the wisest sage." p. 558. It would be a pity to throw the vail of comment over the self-evidencing light of such a sentence. Its animus is self-revealing.

A more cheering inference from the doctrine of his sermon our author finds in the revelation it affords of "the identity in the essence of many systems which are run in scientific or aesthetic moulds unlike each other." There are indeed kinds of theology which cannot be reconciled with each other. There is a life, a soul, a vitalizing spirit of truth, which must never be relinquished for the sake of peace even with an angel. "There is," as we rejoice to hear our author say, "a line of separation which cannot be crossed between those systems which insert, and those which omit the doctrine of justification by faith in the sacrifice of Jesus. This is the doctrine which blends in itself the theology of intellect and feeling, and which can no more be struck out from the moral, than the sun from the planetary system. Here the mind and the heart, like justice and mercy, meet and embrace each other; and here is found the specific and ineffaceable difference between the gospel and every other system. But among those who admit the atoning death of Christ as the organic principle of their faith. There are differences, some of them more important, but many far less important than they seem to be. One man prefers a theology of the judgment; a second, that of the imagination; a third, that of the heart; one adjusts his faith to a lymphatic, another to a sanguine, and still another to a choleric temperament. Yet the subject matter of these heterogeneous configurations may often be one and the same, having for its nucleus the same *ergon*, with the formative influence of which all is safe." p. 555. But what in the midst of all these diversities becomes of God's word? Is that so multiform and heterogeneous in its teaching? Or is the rule of faith after all subjective, a man's temperament and preferences? It is obvious, first, that the scriptures teach one definite form of faith to which it is the duty and for the spiritual interests of every man to conform his faith, and every departure from which is evil and tends to evil. Secondly, that there is doubtless far more agreement in the apprehension, and inward experience of the doctrines of the Bible, than in the outward expression of them; so that sincere Christians agree much more nearly in their faith than they do in their professions. Thirdly, that this is no proof that diversities of doctrinal propositions are matters

of small moment; or that we may make light of all differences which do not affect the very fundamentals of the gospel. Truth and holiness are most intimately related. The one produces and promotes the other. What injures the one, injures also the other. Paul warns all teachers against building, even on the true foundation, with wood, hay and stubble. He reminds them that God's temple is sacred; that it cannot be injured with impunity, and that those who inculcate error instead of truth, will, in the great day, suffer loss, though they may themselves be saved, as by fire. It will avail them little to say that their temperament was lymphatic, sanguine, or choleric, that they conceived of truth themselves, and presented it to others, in a manner suited to their idiosyncracies. They were sent to teach God's word, and not their own fancies. The temple of God, which temple is the church, is not to be built up by rubbish.

When we began to write we intended to furnish an analysis of this discourse before making any remarks on the views which it presents. We have been seduced however into giving expression to most of what we had to say, in a sort of comment on the successive heads of the sermon. We shall, therefore, not trespass much longer on the reader's patience. There are two points to which it has been our object to direct attention. First the theory here propounded, and secondly the application which the author makes of his principle.

As to the theory itself, it seems to us to be founded on a wrong psychology. Whatever doctrine the writer may actually hold as to the nature of the soul, his thoughts and language are evidently framed on the assumption of a much greater distinction between the cognitive and emotional faculties in man than actually exists. The very idea of a theology of feeling as distinct from that of the intellect, seems to take for granted that there are two percipient principles in the soul. The one sees a proposition to be true, the other sees it to be false. The one adopts symbols to express its apprehensions; the other is precise and prosaic in its language. We know indeed, that the author would repudiate this statement, and deny that he held to any such dualism in the soul. We do not charge him with any theoretic conviction of this

sort. We only say that this undue dissevering the human faculties underlies his whole doctrine, and is implied in the theory which he has advanced. Both scripture and consciousness teach that the soul is an unit; that its activity is one life. The one rational soul apprehends, feels and determines. It is not one faculty that apprehends, another that feels, and another that determines. Nor can you separate in the complex states of mind of which we are every moment conscious, the feeling from the cognition. From the very nature of affection in a rational being, the intellectual apprehension of its object, is essential to its existence. You cannot eliminate the intellectual element, and leave the feeling. The latter is but an attribute of the former, as much as form or colour is an attribute of bodies. It is impossible therefore that what is true to the feelings should be false to the intellect. It is impossible that a man should have the feeling (i. e. the consciousness) of inability to change his own heart, and yet the conviction that he has the requisite power. The mind cannot exist in contradictory states at the same time. Men may indeed pass from one state to another. They may sometimes speak under the influence of actual experience; and sometimes under the guidance of a speculative theory; and such utterances may be in direct conflict. But then the contradiction is real and not merely apparent. The intellectual conviction expressed in the one state, is the direct reverse of that expressed in the other. These are the vacillations of fallible men, whose unstable judgments are determined by the varying conditions of their minds. We have known men educated under the influence of a sceptical philosophy, who have become sincere Christians. Their conversion was of course, a supernatural process, involving a change of faith as well as feeling. But as this change was not effected by a scientific refutation of their former opinions, but by the demonstration of the Spirit revealing to them the truth and power of the gospel; when the hearts of such men grow cold, their former sceptical views rise before them in all their logical consistence, and demand assent to their truth, which for the time is reluctantly yielded, though under a solemn protest of the conscience. When the Spirit returns revealing Christ, these demons of

doubt vanish and leave the soul rejoicing in the faith. These states cannot co-exist. The one is not a state of feeling; the other of cognition. Both are not true; the one when judged by one standard; and the other, by another. They are opposite and contradictory. The one affirms what the other denies. One must be false. A poor, fallible man driven about by the waves, may thus give utterance to different theologies under different states of mind; but the difference, as just stated, is that between truth and falsehood. Nothing of this kind can of course be admitted with regard to the sacred penmen, and therefore this change to which uninspired men may be subject in their apprehension and expression of religious truth, cannot be attributed to those who spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.

The changes just referred to are therefore something very different from those for which our author contends, and consequently the occurrence of such changes in the experience of men, is no proof of the correctness of his theory; neither do they show that the mind is not one percipient, feeling, and willing agent. The point which we wish now to urge is that the theory of Professor Park assumes a greater difference in the faculties of the soul than actually exists. From its individuality and unity, it follows that all its affections suppose a cognition of their appropriate objects, and that such cognition is an intellectual exercise, and must be conformed to the laws of the intelligence; and consequently in these complex states of mind to which our author refers as illustrating the origin of the theology of feeling, the rational element, is that very cognition by the intellect which belongs to the other form of theology. Besides, it is to be remembered that although in the apprehension of speculative truths, as in mathematics for example, the cognition is purely an intellectual exercise, but when the object is an aesthetic or moral truth the apprehension is of necessity complex. There is no such thing as a purely intellectual cognition of a moral truth. It is the exercise of a moral nature; it implies moral sensibility. It of necessity, involves feeling to a greater or less degree. It is the cognition of a being sensitive to moral distinctions, and without that sensibility there can be no such cognition. To separate these two elements therefore is impossible, and to place them in col-

lision is a contradiction. A man can no more think an object to be cold which he feels to be warm, or to be beautiful which he feels to be deformed, than he can apprehend it as false and feel it to be true. It contradicts the laws of our nature as well as all experience, to say that the feelings apprehend Christ as suffering the penalty of the law in our stead, while the intellect pronounces such apprehension to be false. You might as well say that we feel a thing to be good while we see it to be sinful, or feel it to be pleasant while we know it to be the reverse. Professor Park's whole theory is founded upon the assumption such contradictions actually exist. It supposes not different modes of activity, but different percipient agencies in the soul. It assumes not that the soul can perceive one way at one time and another way at another time, which all admit, but that the feelings perceive in one way and the intellect in another; the one seeing a thing as true while the other sees it to be false. It is important to note the distinction between the different judgments which we form of the same object, in different states of mind, and the theory of this discourse. The distinction is two fold. The diverse successive judgments of which we are conscious, are different intellectual cognitions; and not different modes of apprehending the same object by different faculties—the feelings and the intellect. For example, if a man judges at one time Christianity to be true, and at another that it is false, it would be absurd to say that it is true to his feelings, and false to his intellect. The fact is, at one time he sees the evidence of the truth of the gospel and assents to it. At others, his mind is so occupied by objections that he cannot believe. This is a very common occurrence. A man in health and fond of philosophic speculations, may get his mind in a state of complete scepticism. When death approaches, or when he is convinced of sin, he is a firm believer. Or at one time the doctrines of man's dependence, of God's sovereignty, and the like, are seen and felt to be true; at another, they are seen and felt to be false; that is, the mind rejects them with conviction and emotion. In all such cases of different judgments, we have different intellectual apprehensions as well as different feelings. It is not that a proposition is true to the intellect and false to the feelings, or the

reverse; but at one time it is true to the intellect and at another false to the same faculty. This, which is a familiar fact of consciousness, is we apprehend, very different from Prof. Park's doctrine. The second distinction is this. According to our author these conflicting apprehensions are equally true. It is true to the feelings that Christ satisfied divine justice; that we have a sinful nature; that we are unable of ourselves to repent and believe the gospel, but all these propositions are false to the intellect. He therefore can reconcile it with his views, that good men, and even the inspired writers, should sometimes affirm and sometimes deny these and similar propositions. We maintain that such affirmations are irreconcilable. The one judgment is true and the other false. Both can never be uttered under the guidance of the Spirit. He cannot lead the sinner to feel his helplessness, and inspire Paul to deny it;* much less can he inspire men sometimes to assert, and sometimes to deny the same thing. When the mind passes as we all know it repeatedly does, from the disbelief to the belief of those and other doctrines, it is a real change in its cognitions as well as in its feelings—a change which implies fallibility and error, and which therefore can have no place in the Bible, and can furnish no rule of interpreting its language, or the language of Christian experience. To make the distinction between Professor Park's theory and the common doctrine on this subject, the more apparent, we call attention to their different results. He teaches that the theology of feelings which apprehends and expresses truth in forms which the intellect cannot sanction, is appropriate to the Hymn Book and the Liturgy. He assumes that forms of devotion which are designed to express religious feeling may properly contain much that the intelligence rejects as false. He condemns those critics who "are ready to exclude from our psalms and hymns all such stanzas as are not accurate expres-

* This is so plain a matter that Professor Park has himself given utterance to the same truth. "Is God," he asks, "the author of confusion; in his word revealing one doctrine and by his Spirit persuading his people to reject it?" p. 544. Surely not; and therefore, if the sanctified heart, i. e. the feelings under the influence of the Spirit, or, to use our author's phraseology, if the theology of feeling pronounces a doctrine to be true, nothing but a sceptical intellect can pronounce it to be false.

sions of dogmatic truth." In opposition to this view, we maintain that the feelings demand truth, i. e., truth which satisfies the intellect, in the approbation and expression of their object. The form in which that truth is expressed may be figurative, but it must have the sanction of the understanding. The least suspicion of falsehood destroys the feeling. The soul cannot feel towards Christ as God if it regards him as merely a man. It cannot feel towards him as a sacrifice, if it believes he died simply as a martyr. In short, it cannot believe what it knows to be a lie, or apprehend an object as false and yet feel toward it as true. Let it be assumed that a man is convinced that ability is necessary to responsibility; that sin cannot be imputed to the innocent; that Christ did not satisfy divine justice, then no genuine religious feeling can find expression in such forms of speech. Professor Park says, on this principle he must believe that God actually came from Teman, and the Holy One from Mount Paran; that he really rode upon a chariot, &c. This indicates a most extraordinary confusion of mind. Is there no difference between the figurative expression of what is true and what is false? The phrase that 'God came from Teman,' or, 'He made the clouds his chariot,' when interpreted according to the established laws of language, expresses a truth. The phrases 'Christ took upon him our guilt;' 'He satisfied divine justice,' &c., &c., when interpreted by the same laws express, as our author thinks, what is false. Is there then no difference between these cases? Professor Park evidently confounds two things which are as distinct as day and night; viz: a metaphor and a falsehood—a figurative expression and a doctrinal untruth. Because the one is allowable, he pleads for the other also. Because I may express the truth that Christ was a sacrifice by calling him the Lamb of God who bears the sin of the world—I may, in solemn acts of worship, so address him without believing in his sacrificial death at all! All religious language false to the intellect is profane to the feelings and a mockery of God. That such is the dictate of Christian consciousness is plain from the fact that the Hymn Book or Liturgy of no church contains doctrines contrary to the creed of such church. We challenge Professor Park to produce from the hymns used

by Presbyterians a single phrase inconsistent with the Westminster Confession. If one such could be found, its inaccuracy as an expression "of dogmatic truth" would be universally regarded as a sufficient reason for its repudiation. Men may no more sing falsehood to God, than speak it in the pulpit, or profess it in a creed. In the early part of his discourse, our author says, the intellect does not originate the phrase "God the mighty maker died." This he attributes to the feelings as a passionate expression, designed to be impressive rather than intelligible. This, therefore we presume he would adduce as an example of doctrinal inaccuracy in the language of devotion. A moment's reflection however, is sufficient to show that instead of this phrase being forced on the intellect by the feelings, it has to be defended by the intellect at the bar of the feelings. The latter at first recoil from it. It is not until its strict doctrinal propriety is apprehended by the intelligence, that the feelings acquiesce in its use, and open themselves to the impression of the awful truth which it contains. An attempt was actually made, on the score of taste, to exclude that phrase from our hymn book. But its restoration was demanded by the public sentiment of the church, on the score of doctrinal fidelity. It was seen to be of importance to assert the truth that He, the person who died upon the cross, was 'God the mighty Maker, the Lord of glory, the Prince of Life,' for on this truth depends the whole value of his death. In all cases, therefore, we maintain that the religious feelings demand truth and repudiate falsehood. They cannot express themselves under forms which the intelligence rejects, for those feelings themselves are the intelligence in a certain state, and not some distinct percipient agent.

Here, as before remarked, is the radical error of our author's theory. It supposes in fact two conflicting intelligences in man; the one seeing a thing to be true, and the other seeing it to be false, and yet both seeing correctly from its own position and for its own object. We have endeavoured to show that there is no such dualism in the soul, and therefore no foundation for two such systems of conflicting theologies as this theory supposes. The familiar fact that men sometimes regard a doctrine as true and sometimes look upon it false;

that they have conflicting judgments and give utterances to inconsistent declarations, we maintain is no proof of a theology of the feelings as distinct from that of the intellect. These vacillating judgments are really contradictory apprehensions of the intellect; one of which must be false, and therefore to attribute them to the sacred writers, under the plea that they sometimes spoke to be impressive, and sometimes to be intelligible, is to destroy their authority; and to use in worship expressions which the intellect pronounces doctrinally untrue, is repudiated by the whole Christian church as profane. If we wish to get the real faith of a people, that faith on which they live, in which intellect and heart alike acquiesce, go to their hymns and forms of devotion. There they are sincere. There they speak what they know to be true; and there consequently their true creed is to be found.

Having endeavoured to show that Prof. Park finds no foundation for his theory in the constitution of our nature, or in those familiar changes of views and feelings, in varying states of mind, of which all are conscious, we wish to say further, that this theory finds no support in the different modes in which the mind looks on truth for different purposes. Sometimes a given proposition, or the truth which it contains, is contemplated merely in its relation to the reason. Its import, its verity, its consistency with the standard of judgment, is all that the mind regards. Sometimes it contemplates the logical relations of that with other truths; and sometimes it is the moral excellence of truth which is the object of attention. When the mind addresses itself to the contemplation of truth, its posture and its subjective state will vary according to the object it has in view. But neither the truth itself nor the apprehension of it as truth suffers any change. It is not seen now as true, and now as false; or true to the feelings and false to the reason, but one and the same truth is viewed for different purposes. When, for example, we open the Bible and turn to any particular passage, we may examine it to ascertain its meaning; or having determined its import, we may contemplate the truth it contains in its moral aspects and in its relation to ourselves. These are different mental operations, and the state of mind which they suppose or induce

must of course be different. Every Christian is familiar with this fact. He knows what it is to contemplate the divine perfections, for the purpose of understanding them, and to meditate on them to appreciate their excellence and feel their power. He sometimes is called on to form a clear idea of what the Bible teaches of the constitution of Christ's person, or the nature of his work; but much more frequently his mind turns towards the Son of God clothed in our nature, to behold his glory, to rejoice in his divine excellence, and amazing condescension and love. In all such cases, the intellectual apprehension is the same. It is the very truth and the very same form of that truth which is arrived at, by a careful exegesis, which is the subject of devout meditation. A Christian does not understand the Bible in one way when he reads it as a critic, and in another way when he reads for spiritual edification. His thoughts of God and Christ when endeavouring to discover the truth revealed concerning them, are the same as when he is engaged in acts of worship. Nay more, the clearer and more extended this speculative knowledge, the brighter and more undisturbed is the spiritual vision, *other things being equal*. One man may indeed be a better theologian but a less devout Christian than another; but the devout Christian is only the more devout with every increase in the clearness and consistency of his intellectual apprehensions. It may be further admitted, that the language of speculation is different from the language of emotion; that the terms employed in defining a theological truth, are not always those which would be naturally employed in setting forth that truth as the object of the affections. But these representations are always consistent. All hymns to Christ express precisely the same doctrine concerning his person, that is found in the Athanasian creed. The same remarks may be made in reference to all departments of theology. The doctrines concerning the condition of men by nature, of their relation to Adam; of their redemption through Christ; of the work of God's Spirit; may be examined either to be understood or to be felt. But in every case it is the truth as understood that is felt. The understanding does not take one view and the feelings a different; the former does not pronounce for plenary power, and

the latter for helplessness ; the one does not assert that all sin consists in acts, and the other affirm the sinfulness of the heart ; the one does not look on Christ as merely teaching by his death that sin is an evil, and the other behold him as bearing our sins in his own body on the tree.

This subject admits of abundant illustration, did our limits allow of a protracted discussion. A man may look over a tract of country and his inward state will vary with his object. He may contemplate it in reference to its agricultural advantages ; or in regard to its topography, or its geological formation, or he may view it as a landscape. Another may gaze on a picture on any other work of art as a critic, to ascertain the sources of the effect produced, or simply to enjoy it as an object of beauty. He may listen to a strain of music to note the varying intervals, the succession of chords and the like, or merely to receive the pleasurable impression of the sounds. In all these cases the object contemplated is the same—the intellectual apprehension is the same, and though the state of mind varies as the design of the observer varies, and though the terms which he employs as an agriculturalist, or a geologist, or a critic, may differ from those which he uses to give expression to his emotions, there can be no contrariety. He cannot apprehend the same region to be barren and yet fertile, the same picture to be beautiful and yet the reverse, the same strain to be melodious and yet discordant. His intellect cannot make one report, and his feelings an opposite one. It is thus with regard to divine truth. It may be viewed in order to be understood, or in order to be felt. We may come to the contemplation of it as theologians or as christians, and our inward state will vary with our object, but there will be no contrariety in our apprehensions or in their expression.

The points of differences between the views expressed in the foregoing paragraph, and the theory of this discourse are two. First, Professor Park makes the perceptions themselves to vary, so that what appears true to the feelings is apprehended as false by the intellect. Secondly, he says that the expression of these different perceptions is or may be contradictory. Hence there may be, and actually are, two theologies, the one affirming, the other denying ; the one teaching sound old school

orthodoxy, the other, any form of new school divinity that suits the reigning fashion in philosophy. We maintain on the contrary that there is perfect consistency between the intellectual apprehension of truth when viewed in order to be understood and when contemplated in order to be felt; and that however different the language employed on these different occasions, there can be no contradiction. There cannot therefore be two conflicting theologies; but, on the contrary, the theology of the feeling is the theology of the intellect in all its accuracy of thought and expression.

There is still another view of this subject, so extensive and important that we hesitate even to allude to it in the conclusion of this article. What is the true relation between feeling and knowledge in matters of religion? The discussion of this question might properly be made to cover the whole ground embraced in this discourse. This is really the point which Prof. Park's subject called upon him to elucidate, but which he has only incidentally referred to. We have already endeavoured to show that this relation is not such as his theory assumes. It does not admit of contradiction between the two. There cannot be two conflicting theologies, one of the feeling and another of the intellect. But if these principles cannot be in conflict, what is the relation between them? Are they independent, as rationalism supposes, which allows feeling no place in determining our faith? Or is the intellect determined by the feelings, so that the province of the former is only to act as the interpreter of the latter? Or are the feelings determined by the intellect, so that the intellectual apprehension decides the nature of the affection? These are questions upon which we cannot now enter. It appears very evident to us that neither the first nor the second of the views here intimated has any support either from scripture or experience. The intellect and feelings are not independent, nor is the former the mere interpreter of the latter. This is becoming a very current opinion, and has been adopted in all its length from Schleiermacher by Morell. Knowledge, or truth objectively revealed, is, according to this theory, of very subordinate importance. We have certain religious feelings, to develop the

contents of those feelings, is the province of the intelligence, so that theology is but the intellectual forms in which the religious consciousness expresses itself. The standard of truth is, therefore, nothing objective, but this inward feeling. Any doctrine which can be shown to be the legitimate expression of an innate religious feeling is true—and any which is assumed to have a different origin, or to be foreign to the religious consciousness, is to be rejected.

What the scriptures teach on this subject is, as it seems to us, in few words, simply this. In the first place, agreeably to what has already been said, the Bible never recognises that broad distinction between the intellect and the feelings which is so often made by metaphysicians. It regards the soul as a perceiving and feeling individual subsistence, whose cognitions and affections are not exercises of distinct faculties, but complex states of one and the same subject. It never predicates depravity or holiness of the feelings as distinct from the intelligence, or of the latter as distinct from the former. The moral state of the soul is always represented as affecting its cognitions as well as its affections. In popular language, the understanding is darkened as well as the heart depraved. In the second place, the scriptures as clearly teach that holiness is necessary to the perception of holiness. In other words, that the things of the Spirit must be spiritually discerned: that the unrenewed have not this discernment, and therefore, they cannot know the things which are freely given to us of God, i. e., the things which he has graciously revealed in this word. They may have that apprehension of them which an uncultivated ear has of complicated musical sounds, or an untutored eye of a work of art. Much in the object is perceived, but much is not discerned, and that which remains unseen, is precisely that which gives to these objects their peculiar excellence and power. Thirdly, the Bible further teaches, that no mere change of the feelings is adequate to secure this spiritual discernment; but on the contrary, in the order of nature and of experience, the discernment precedes the change of the affections, just as the perception of beauty precedes the answering aesthetic emotion. The eyes must be opened in order to see wondrous things out of the law of God. The glory of

God, as it shines in the face of Jesus Christ, must be revealed, before the corresponding affections of admiration, love and confidence rise in the heart. This illumination is represented as the peculiar work of the Spirit. The knowledge consequent on this illumination is declared to be eternal life. It is the highest form of the activity of the soul. It is the vision of God and of the things of God, now seen indeed as through a glass darkly. This knowledge is the intuition not merely of the truth, but also of the excellence of spiritual objects. It is common to all the people of God, given to each in his measure, but producing in all a conviction and love of the same great truths.

If this be a correct exhibition of scriptural teaching on this subject, it follows first, that the feelings are not independent of the intellect, or the intellect of the feelings, so that the one may be unholy and the other indifferent; or so that the one is uninfluenced by the other. It must also follow that the feelings do not determine the intelligence, as though the latter in matters of religion was the mere exponent of the former. The truth is not given in the feelings and discovered and unfolded by the intellect. The truth is objectively presented in the word; and is by the Spirit revealed in its excellence to the intelligence, and thus the feelings are produced as necessary attributes, or adjuncts of spiritual cognition. This is not "the light system." We do not hold that the heart is changed by the mere objective presentation of the truth. The intellect and heart are not two distinct faculties to be separately affected or separately renewed. There is a divine operation of which the whole soul is the subject. The consequence of the change thus effected is the intuition of the truth and glory of the things of God. If this representation be correct, there must be the most perfect harmony between the feelings and the intellect; they cannot see with different eyes, or utter discordant language. What is true to the one, must be true to the other; what is good in the estimation of the one, must be good also to the other. Language which satisfies the reason in the expression of truth, must convey the precise idea which is embraced in the glowing cognition which constitutes religious feeling; and all the utterances of emotion

must justify themselves at the bar of the intellect, as expressing truth before they can be sanctioned as vehicles of the religious affections. The relation then between feeling and knowledge, as assumed in scripture and proved by experience, is utterly inconsistent with the theory of this discourse, which represents them in perpetual conflict: the one affirming our nature to be sinful, the other denying it; the one teaching the doctrine of inability, the other that of plenary power: the one craving a real vicarious punishment of sin, the other teaching that a symbolical atonement is all that is needed: the one pouring forth its fervent misconceptions in acts of devotion, and the other whispering, all that must be taken *cum grano salis*.

We have now endeavoured to show that there is no foundation for Prof. Park's theory in the use of figurative language as the expression of emotion: nor in those conflicting judgments which the mind forms of truth in its different conditions: nor in the different states of mind consequent on contemplation of truth for different objects; nor in what the scriptures and experience teach concerning the relation between the feelings and intellect. We have further endeavoured to show that this theory is destructive of the authority of the Bible, because it attributes to the sacred writers conflicting and irreconcilable representations. Even should we admit that the feelings and the intellect have different apprehensions and adopt different modes of expression, yet as the feelings of the sacred writers were excited, as well as their cognitions determined, by the Holy Spirit, the two must be in perfect harmony. In unrenewed, or imperfectly sanctified, uninspired men, there might be, on the hypothesis assumed, this conflict between feeling and knowledge, but to attribute such contradictions to the scriptures is to deny their inspiration. Besides this, the practical operation of a theory which supposes that so large a part of the Bible is to be set aside as inexact, because the language of passion, must be to subject its teachings to the opinion and prejudices of the reader. No adequate criteria are given for discriminating between the language of feeling and that of the intellect. Every one is left to his own discretion in making the distinction, and the

use of this discretion, regulated by no fixed rules of language, is of course determined by caprice or taste.

But even if our objections to the theory of this discourse be deemed unsound, the arbitrary application which the author makes of his principles would be enough to condemn them. We have seen that he attributes to the feelings the most abstract propositions of scientific theology, that he does not discriminate between mere figurative language and the language of emotion; that he adopts or rejects the representations of the Bible at pleasure, or as they happen to coincide with, or contradict his preconceived opinions. That a sentence of condemnation passed on all men for the sin of one man: that men are by nature the children of wrath; that without Christ we can do nothing; that he hath redeemed us from the curse of the law by being made a curse for us; that men are not merely pardoned, but justified; are represented as bold metaphors, impressive but not intelligible, true to the feelings but false to the reason.

It will be a matter of deep regret to many to find Prof. Park, with his captivating talents and commanding influence, arrayed against the doctrines repudiated in this discourse; and many more will lament that he should have prepared a weapon which may be used against one doctrine as easily as another. Our consolation is, that however keen may be the edge, or bright the polish of that weapon, it has so little substance, it must shiver into atoms with the first blow it strikes against those sturdy trees which have stood for ages in the garden of the Lord, and whose leaves have been for the healing of the nations.

SHORT NOTICES.

ART. VIII.—*English Grammar.* The English Language in its Elements and Forms. With a history of its Origin and Development. Designed for the use of Schools and Colleges. By William C. Fowler, late Professor in Amherst College. New York: Harpers. 1850. 8vo. pp. 675.

The best recommendation of this large and elaborate work will be to inform the reader what he will find in it, and in no other single volume. The history of the language is given, beginning with the oriental tongues, and tracing the course of change through the Gothic and Anglo Saxon. This part of the work is diversified by many entertaining instances. The Phonology, or doctrine of sounds follows. Orthography occupies the third part. The fourth is taken up with a large and diligent examination of etymological forms. Great labour has been bestowed on the difficult subject of classification and definition. The strength of the author has been bestowed on this part, and on the sixth, which contains the syntax. The fifth and seventh are on logic and rhetoric; as connected with language: these we regard as less necessary to the symmetry and unity of the book, than its other parts. The eighth part is on poetical forms, including metre. As a whole, the work is the product of unusual care and is wrought with patience, diligence and cautious accuracy. Its plan is such as to make it more convenient for a class-book, than inviting to the cursory reader; but the matter is so extensive, various and often entertaining, that it could not fail to give pleasure to general scholars, under any arrangement. We owe a great debt to the learned author, in one respect, that he has been prompt and unwearied in doing a work which was greatly needed, and which no American writer had attempted. The volume will for a long time stand alone, as a Grammar of the English upon philosophical and philological principles.

Letters and Papers of the late Theodosia, Viscountess Powerscourt. Edited by the Rev. Robert Daly, D. D., now Bishop of Cashel. From the fifth London edition. New York: Carters. 1850. 12mo. pp. 273.

Lady Powerscourt's Letters are remarkably fitted to awaken spiritual thoughts and to console the afflicted. In the latter capacity we have known them to be eminently useful. We can say this, without assenting to her views on the premillennial advent and some other points. The author was a lady not only of religious fervour but of genius. In a lukewarm age, she writes with a warmth and energy which go to the

heart. Gladly would we see the book in the hands of all, but especially of bereaved and otherwise afflicted persons.

An Address, delivered before the Alumni and Former Students of the Ohio University, August 7, 1850. By the Rev. D. V. McLean, D.D., of Freehold, N. J. New York. Spalding & Shepard. 1850. 8vo. pp. 50.

In this well written address, the author evinces his practical judgment, by avoiding the generalities usual on such occasions, and filling his space with a careful history, which, if interesting to us, must be greatly more so to those who live in the West. This gives the pamphlet a permanent value, in the annals of Ohio and of the country. Laudable diligence is apparent in the collection of materials, and the facts are for the most part such as will be new to the majority of readers. For the sound, conservative and pacific opinions, warmly urged in the latter part, Dr. McLean merits the thanks of every patriot.

An Address on the Missionary Aspect of African Colonization.

By James A. Lyon, Pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, St. Louis. 1850.

A useful and animated discourse on a great topic of increasing interest.

A Discourse on the Death of Zachary Taylor, twelfth President of the United States. By John M. Krebs, D.D. New York. 1850.

The doctrine and the style both recommend this sermon, delivered by a pastor to his people, on a late affecting occasion.

A Sermon, preached at Setauket, at the funeral of the Rev. John Gile, October 14, 1849; by the Rev. James C. Edwards, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Smithtown, L. I. New York. 1850.

The melancholy event commemorated in this modest but truly excellent discourse, is the death of an amiable and useful

minister of our church, who was drowned about a year ago. The truth dwelt upon by the preacher, from John xiv. 3, is that there is a coming of Christ at the death of his people.

Christ's Second Coming: will it be pre-millennial. By the Rev. David Brown, A. M., St. James's Free Church, Glasgow, second Edition. Edinburgh. 1849. pp. 497.

In the October number of this periodical, in the year 1849, we gave a short review of the first edition of this work, to which our readers, who feel an interest in the subject, are referred. To this volume of Mr. Brown, several answers were returned; one by the Duke of Manchester, one by the Rev. H. Bonar, and another by the Rev. A. Bonar. The objections and arguments of all these are, in our opinion, fully met and refuted by our author. He has not confined himself to the arguments of those who have written against his book, but has brought into view the opinions of all the most eminent pre-millennarians, who have written on the subject in England and Scotland; so that this volume will furnish the reader with a full view of the whole subject. And as the doctrines of the pre-millennarians begin to gain admirers and advocates in this country, it is important, in our view, that our ministers and people should have something put into their hands to read. For while a number of volumes in favour of the doctrine of Christ's "Personal Reign on the Earth," have been republished in this country, and some books written on this side the Atlantic, with like opinions, scarcely anything has appeared in opposition. We have been surprised that some one of our enterprising booksellers has not observed that this is likely to become a subject of universal interest to our churches; and that it would be meeting the public sentiment, to reprint such works as this of the Rev. Mr. Brown. If we are not much mistaken there are many who would buy and read this volume with avidity.

A Sermon on Election, in which the doctrine is proved by Scripture, and shown to be in accordance with the experience, the practice, and the prayers, of all truly regenerate

men. By Francis Bowman, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Greensborough, Ga. Milledgeville, 1850.

The title happily expresses the subject of this discourse, which abounds in good sense and scriptural argument. In every part of our wide spread church, we rejoice to see defenders of the faith ready and able to stand forth in time of opposition.

The Testimony of Science to the Truth of the Bible: An Address delivered before the Bible Society of the University of Virginia. January 27, 1850. By Rev. B. M. Smith, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Staunton. Charlottesville. 1850.

The author, in this vindication of revealed religion, appeals to Biblical Criticism, to Ethnography, to Archaeology, and to Natural History and Geology. In the course of his brief but able argument, he of course encounters the objections derived from the variety of races; here he strongly states the true doctrine. The discussion is clear and convincing, and well suited to the place and occasion. The author is both a good reasoner and a polished writer, whose pen we hope to see often exercised in this way.

Nature, Progress, Ideas. A Discourse on Naturalism, in its various phases, as opposed to the true scriptural doctrine of a Divine Imperium. Delivered at Union College, Schenectady, July 24, 1849. Before the New York Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. By Tayler Lewis, LL. D. Professor of Greek in Union College. Schenectady, 1850. 8vo pp. 56.

This is a brave uncompromising assault on some of the German hypotheses which are gaining ground among our young men. Dr. Lewis's views on these matters are well known, and he defends them with equal frankness and learning. Timely things are said about progress, development, and 'God in History,' about the turning of religion into philosophy and ethics into æsthetics. The admirers of Morell and Maurice will be less pleased than we, with the unsavoury judgments respecting their whims of development. The writings of Prof.

Lewis are not always as perspicuous as we could wish, but we love to see his well dealt blows at these chimeras of the day, which no man understands better or hates more.

The Private, Domestic and Social Life of Jesus Christ: a Model for Youth. By the Rev. John M. Krebs, D. D. Philad. Martien. 1850. 24mo. pp. 71.

A delightful subject, handled in a popular manner, which we hope will win its way to the hearts of that class to whom it is more particularly addressed.

The Works of Leonard Woods, D. D. In five volumes. Vol. III. IV. and V. Andover. 1850.

Dr. Woods may well be congratulated on the completion of this publication. A more important contribution has seldom been made to the theological literature of our country. The third volume contains the conclusion of his lectures on theology. Volumes fourth and fifth are made up of letters, essays and sermons. The author has thus erected an enduring monument to his memory, which we doubt not will long be cherished with affection and respect. All the works here collected bear the impress of a perspicacious, wise, and devout mind, and may be recommended to a very large class of readers as a store-house of theological truth. We hope to have an opportunity of presenting a more extended estimate of the character of these volumes, which for the present we must dismiss with this short notice.

Montaigne; The Endless Study, and other Miscellanies. By Alexander Vinet. Translated with an Introduction and Notes. By Robert Trumbull. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd. 1850.

This is an interesting collection of miscellaneous writings of one of the most gifted men belonging to the Reformed Church of France. They all contain discussions of important questions in morals and religion.

Journal of Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia. By the Rev. Samuel Gobat, now Bishop of Jerusalem. Preceded by an

Introduction, Geographical and Historical on Abyssinia. Translated from the French, by Sereno D. Clark. Accompanied with a Biographical Sketch of Bishop Gobat, by Robert Baird, D. D. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1850. pp. 480.

Nothing beyond this title page can be necessary to recommend this work to the attention of those interested in the missionary work.

The Rights and Duties of Masters. A Sermon preached at the dedication of a church erected in Charleston, S. C., for the Benefit and Instruction of the Coloured Population. By J. H. Thornwell, D. D. Charleston, S. C. 1850. pp. 51.

We learn from the introduction to this sermon, that the church at whose dedication it was preached, is under the supervision of the Second Presbyterian Church. The Rev. John B. Adger, so long a faithful Missionary in Western Asia, is the present pastor of this interesting congregation. The cost of erecting the building was \$7,700. There is a Sunday School connected with the church, containing about one hundred and eighty scholars, taught by the minister and some twenty or thirty ladies and gentlemen. This method we think indicates the true solution of the slavery question. Let the slaves be thoroughly instructed; let them be treated with justice and humanity, and the result may be safely left to God.

An Address delivered before the St. Aloysius Literary Society of the University of Notre Dame du Lac, on commencement day, July 3d, 1850. By David M. Gregg, M. A. Niles, Michigan.

There is something peculiarly interesting in such publications from the far West. They show that the civilization of the East is moving westward in its completeness. Our brethren carry with them the municipal, religious, and educational institutions with which they were familiar in the home of their early days. Universities arise in the midst of unfelled forests, and science is inculcated on those whose hands are hardened

by honest labour. This is a peculiarity of American life for which the history of nations can hardly furnish a parallel.

Prejudice and its Antidote. An address delivered before the East Alabama Presbyterial High School. By Rev. W. T. Hamiltom D.D. of Mobile, Alabama. Philadelphia; Wm. F. Geddes. 1850.

Church Development on Apostolic Principles: An Essay addressed to the Friends of Biblical Christianity. By S. S. Schmucker D. D. Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. Gettysburg. 1850.

Addresses, delivered at the Inauguration of Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, LL. D., Pres. of Rutgers College. By the Hon. A. Bruyn Hashbrouck, LL. D., His Ex. Governor Haines, Rev. James S. Cannon, D. D., and Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, LL. D. New Brunswick: Press of J. Terhune and Son. 1850.

A Review of the Rev. W. Craik's Essay on the Divine Life and the New Birth. By Rev. John S. Watt. Louisville: 1850.

Influence. A Quarter-Century Sermon, Preached in behalf of the American Tract Society. May 5, 1850. By Rev. Gardiner Spring, D. D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, one of the founders of the Society.

The above are among the number of interesting pamphlets which we have received, but which the crowded state of our pages forbids our noticing more particularly.

The Star of the Wise Men: Being a Commentary on the Second Chapter of St. Matthew. By Richard Chenevix French, B. D. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1850. pp. 116.

This may be described as an exhaustive commentary on this passage of the holy scriptures. All the curious and incidental questions which have been raised, touching the strange, eventful, and supernatural incidents related in the chapter, are discussed with varied and comprehensive learning, and the con-

clusions reached, we think, will generally commend themselves to the common sense of the reader. The author is already so well known to scholars, by his Hulsean Lectures, as to require no farther introduction to our readers. His peculiar province may be said to be the apologetical literature, rather than the theology, whether doctrinal or practical Christianity.

The Elements of Christian Science. A Treatise upon Moral Philosophy and Practice. By William Adams, S. T. P. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1850.

We regret that we have not been able to redeem time enough, since this volume came into our hands, to give it a careful examination; and to offer a criticism upon it, without such an examination would be unfair both to the author and to our readers. We need not say that a good Treatise upon this subject, is still a very great desideratum. We know of nothing in the language that is suitable for a text-book on the science. The work of Paley still holds its place to some extent, in consequence of its intellectual ability, especially its transparency of thought and diction; while the fundamental error which underlies and pervades it, has poisoned the theology and morals of whole communities of readers. On the other hand, the modern books upon the subject, which are sound in the main in their ethical doctrines, are not philosophies at all; but mere classified collections of moral precepts, taken chiefly from the scriptures. These are excellent in their place; but what is really needed, is a philosophical induction of the great principles of ethical science drawn from a complete analysis of the human constitution; with the aid, of course, of the light which revelation sheds upon the origin, constitution, and destiny of man.

How far the work before us answers the demand we are not yet prepared to say. It evidently rests upon an original, independent, and vigorous analysis of the moral nature of man. We fancy, from dipping into it at several points, that we should often have occasion to hesitate, and not seldom perhaps dissent from the authors bold analysis and deductions; and still oftener from the mode of statement adopted by the author. These remarks apply especially to the points of con-

tact between ethics and theology. We are glad, however, to perceive that he does battle with equal good will, against the hypothesis which resolves all virtue into disinterested benevolence, as well as that which makes it to consist in an enlightened selfishness: hypotheses, which, however seemingly opposed and contradictory to each other, are yet really but different poles of one and the same great moral heresy.

The author seems to be well read in the literature of his subject, with the single exception of the prolific results of the modern German Philosophy; which, however little we may prize its fruits for their own sake, might, we think, have served to correct some of the author's oscillations from the true middle point, by its extreme departure on the other side.

The Parables of Jesus Explained and Illustrated. By Frederick Gustav Lisco, Minister of St. Gertraud Church, Berlin. Translated from the German, by the Rev. P. Fairbairn. Philadelphia: Daniels and Smith. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln. 1850.

Such works always have our hearty approbation, as valuable contributions to the Spiritual Treasury of the Church. We commend it especially to those who wish to study or expound the Parables; which, we need not add, are among the most characteristic and precious of the divine instructions of our Lord.



